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A HISTORY  
OF  
**MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIANITY AND SACRED ART**  
IN ITALY.



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A HISTORY

OF

MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIANITY AND SACRED ART

IN ITALY

( A. D. 900-1550 )

BY CHARLES I. HEMANS

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FLORENCE

PRINTED BY M. CELLINI AND C.<sup>o</sup>

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## PREFACE

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THIS volume is intended as sequel to another, — « A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy, » published in 1866; and it resumes the subject at the point of time where that previous publication leaves it. Such a title as « History of Rome in the Middle Ages » might be deemed more suitable than that (perhaps too ambitious) here chosen; but I have wished to consider the religious state of Italy in general as implied in, and dependent upon, the conditions of the Church at the great centre of her life and influences. I should reproach myself for any injustice that could be discovered in these pages against either that Church or any other form of Christianity. In respect to the lives of the Roman Pontiffs, I have sought information from the original and earliest, rather than later, sources. My purpose has been to extend the period comprised in my studies to the end of the fifteenth century; but I have found it necessary to limit myself, in the range attempted within the present pages, on account, partly, of the increasing opulence of Art and Monuments demanding attention from the

opening of the fourteenth century; but, still more, on account of the immense importance of the movement, intellectual, social, and religious, of all signs of the times indeed, between A. D. 1400 and 1500, that most remarkable of transitionary epochs in the history of Civilization. What remains, and obviously enters into the scope of the argument here undertaken, I hope to work out at a future day, supplying a sequel to this volume, if life and strength sufficient be allowed me.

C. I. H.





## I.

### **The Tenth Century.**

I PROPOSE to sketch the history of the Mediaeval Italian Church, but more especially the Church in Rome, and of Mediaeval Italian Art, considered as the expression of ideas or feelings fostered by Catholicism in this land; taking up my subject at the opening of the X century. That period, from A. D. 900 to 1000, seems the more to claim attention and to challenge investigation, on account of the very fact that so much opprobrium rests upon it, and because it has been branded with a mark of infamy, as affording proof that all progress in Christian civilization was suspended during what was called, not inaptly, an « iron age ».

It was from about the beginning of this indeed gloomy epoch that the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries assumed the character and habits of secular princes rather than spiritual pastors, taking part in unholy contests of faction, often exchanging the mitre for the helmet, and combating on the battle-field. Popes appeared at the head of armies; and there were lordly Bishops who proved devouring wolves, instead of shepherds, to their flocks; while the lower clergy were sinking deeper and deeper into depravity and ignorance. Ratherius, bishop of Verona, A. D. 932, tells us in his note-worthy writings that he had found in his diocese many priests unacquainted with the Apostles' Creed; and his requirement that candidates for orders should know by heart that symbol, as well as the Nicene and Athanasian, should be able to interpret those creeds in orthodox sense, and at

least understand the Canon of the Mass, supplies a measure for the state of ecclesiastical education in his time. Italy was now torn by rival claimants for her crown, which eventually passed to the head of the German king, or Emperor, as that potentate was styled after his coronation at Rome. Certain southern provinces, however, were tranquil under the stagnant despotism of the Greek Empire, whose religious system and worship there prevailed, subject to the authority of the Byzantine Patriarch.

Though a considerable territory now formed what was nominally the States of the Church, it cannot be inferred that immediate or unchecked control was exercised by the Popes, at the period here referred to, over any provinces except the Roman Duchy, which had been alienated from the Greek Empire since the last Duke appointed at Constantinople had lost his office, and left Rome, in 726. Momentous consequences resulted from the struggle in the iconoclast movement, and from the dauntless opposition of Gregory II to the persecuting Emperor Leo; for it was in revolt against his tyranny that the Roman people voluntarily submitted, whether or not they bound themselves by oath, to become subjects of the Holy See. The territory over which the Pontificate thus acquired administrative dominion, comprised, besides the Roman Campagna, seventeen cities in more or less proximity to the capital, — among which were Perugia, Narni, Anagni, Alatri, Ferentino. It is certain that, after the overthrow of Greek dominion in that capital deserted by Constantine, the Senate freely accepted the pontific sovereignty; and the decisive step of refusing farther tribute to the Byzantine Court is supposed by some writers the free act of the Roman citizens, though others ascribe it to Gregory II. In 753 Stephen II crossed the Alps — first Pope to perform such journey — in order to demand succour from Pepin against the incursions of the Longobards, who had frequently invaded the pontific provinces, bringing fire and slaughter to the gates of Rome. Pepin twice entered Italy as champion of the

Church, and constrained the Longobard king, Astolphus, to abandon the Exarchate of Ravenna, which, together with the province of Emilia and twenty-two cities in other parts, he (Pepin) handed over to the dominion of the Pontiff — thus effecting the celebrated donation. It is, however, fully proved that the Duchy of Rome was not comprised in this gift, but held by the Roman See according to rights established antecedently. In 784 Charlemagne confirmed to the Papacy those previously acquired dominions, and augmented them by the Sabina province, the Islands of Corsica and Sardinia; and either on this, or his next expedition beyond the Alps, in 787, added to that donation several towns he had wrested from the Duke of Benevento; also the Duchy of Spoleto and six cities, Viterbo being one, previously comprised in the Tuscan states. Pope Adrian I confirmed to the king the title of Roman Patriarch; and Charlemagne received from that Pope the symbolic gift of a pair of golden Keys containing filings from the chains of St. Peter, with the standard of Rome — implying the obligation, in the recipient, to defend the Roman Church in its civil as well as ecclesiastical rights.

Those donations included some of the most important possessions ever held by the Papacy — Ravenna, Ancona, Rimini, Fano, Forlì, Urbino, Gubbio, besides those above-named; but they comprised also territories over which the Popes never obtained governmental control, as Sardinia and Corsica, the cities of Aquino, Teano, Grosseto &c.; besides others over which such control was not secured till ages afterwards. The Spoleto Duchy continued to be incorporated in the kingdom of Italy, and ruled by Dukes who were vassals of the Western Empire; and even the district of Sabina, whose mountains are seen from Rome, continued to belong to the same Duchy till A. D. 939, when it became annexed to the Papal States. Though, in their internal government, the Popes were free from the action of municipal or provincial councils, from all the checks upon sovereign power in feudal kingdoms, it is certain that their authority was limited by civic privileges,

founded on charters or usage, in virtue of which municipal bodies directed the affairs of their respective cities, and of districts around their walls. Even the smaller towns, as was the case with Tivoli, elected their own magistrates; and Velletri had a perfectly free constitution till at least as late as the XIII century; whilst some towns were long in a condition of vassalship, and paid taxes, to baronial families, — like Terracina, which was thus subject to the Frangipani; and Palestrina, to the Colonnas. It is assumed that the cities on the eastern side of the Apennines, nominally subject to the Pope, were in fact, till after the XII century, in a relation towards him like that of the Lombard towns towards the German Emperor; perhaps proud of his protection and prestige, but not receiving laws or enactments from the sacerdotal throne. From A. D. 888 to 896 a continual competition in arms had been kept up for that crown worn, during, the interval, by ten sovereigns, five of whom were crowned at Rome as Emperors. No succeeding prince of the race of Charlemagne had exercised efficient or vigorous authority in the Italian States; and after the feeble Charles le Gros had been deposed, A. D. 888, in a Diet of the Empire, no other of the direct Carlovingian line ascended any throne. The principal southern vassals had by this time assumed absolute independence. Among these, the Dukes of Benevento were the most powerful, though their territory had been dismembered by the erecting of the separate principality of Salerno and the countship of Capua. The Longobardic Dukes of Spoleto and Friuli were alike independent; as also were the Marquises of Ivrea and Susa, and the rulers who successively styled themselves dukes, counts, marquises of Tuscany. The Greek Empire had reconquered Apulia and Bruttium, to which latter province was transferred the name of Calabria, anciently given to an Apulian district. In the result of the contests among the Longobardic princes of the south, Naples, Gaeta, and Amalfi had become free republics, though for but brief enjoyment of such autonomy. One

other city, Venice, founded in 809 on the island of Rialto by fugitives from Padua, flying before the invasion of Attila, had already attained the independent self-government that developed into a system so well-organized, a power so illustrious. All the Italian islands, together with most of the mainland provinces, had been lost by the Greek Emperors. In 878 was completed the conquest of Sicily by the Saracens, who had first invaded that island in 827, led by Eufemio, the young Sicilian, who, according to a romantic story, became the traitor against his fatherland in order to avenge the private wrong that had wounded him in his tenderest affections. At about the same period Corsica, and Sardinia, still nominally Greek islands, were in part occupied by the Saracens, settlers who long kept up a struggle with the Frankish or German government, till at last, at the beginning of the XI century, Corsica became subject to the Germanic crown, and Sardinia became a Saracenic kingdom governed by Musat, a Moorish pirate, who had invaded it in 1000, and by his successors for a short time after him.

The feudal system had been continually striking roots deeper in Italy since the Longobardic occupation; but the Germanic nations introduced various modifications, among others, the formalized and legal emancipation of the serf. The vassals of those barons, who resided in their castles amidst rural districts, were divided into several degrees; the class of bondmen standing lowest, and next above these the vassals, affixed to the ground they tilled. In the XII century this system was almost entirely extirpated throughout Italy, thanks to the rise of municipal constitutions, and to the vigorous spirit that animated them.

A too exclusive concentrating of attention on this Peninsula may have led some historians - Baronius among others - to entertain an opinion, and draw a picture, of the X century even more unfavourable than realities justify. Still were there bright and good examples, especially among the Italian Clergy, during this generally darkened age; as the above-named



Ratherius of Verona (ob. 974); and Attone, appointed bishop of Vercelli in 746, author of the « *De Pressuris Ecclesiae* », sermons, epistles ec. In the cloisters were seen models of austere and fervid piety, combined with intellectual energies – as S. Romuald, Abbot of Classe near Ravenna (997), and founder of the Camaldulense Order; S. Nilus, a Calabrian, who, from about A. D. 998, became distinguished for learning and zeal, for his life and writings; the Sicilian S. Elias; John of Parma, Benedictine Abbot in his native city, A. D. 976; and Aligernus, Abbot of Monte Cassino in 987, called the third founder, after S. Benedict and S. Petronax, of that celebrated cloister. One of the instances of enthusiastic self-devotion in the same sphere, is supplied by the canonized Pietro Orseolo, Doge of Venice, who secretly quitted his palace at night (978) to seek a retreat of solitude and penance, and fled into Gascony, where he spent the rest of his days in the exercises of an austere monk. Among the noble Army of Martyrs, many of whom suffered during this age in other lands, the Italian Church is proud to claim the Sicilian bishop, S. Procopius, of Taormina, who, with numerous fellow-sufferers, fell in the massacre after the capture of that city by the Saracens, A. D. 903. In the walks of literature (little, indeed, illustrated in any country during this age), Liutprand, bishop of Cremona (ob. 971), together with the above-named prelates of Verona and Vercelli, and the anonymous author of a poem in honour of the Emperor Berengarius, may be considered to represent the Italian intellect of the period. Of Rome it has been said (not without reason) by a modern writer (1) that she was, during this century, « the most miserable and vicious city of a depraved and wretched country ».

Profound social depression, a gloom of ignorance and semi-barbaric manners seem to have prevailed within her walls. Almost all studies, mathematics, astronomy, and physics,

(1) SPALDING, « *Italy and the Italian Islands* ».

hitherto in some degree maintained here, were abandoned. Even the school of music, created by S. Gregory, had fallen into decline.

Owing to the dearness of papyrus, consequent upon the Moslem conquest of Egypt, the remorseless practice now began to prevail of obliterating ancient MSS. in order to write over them. But one fact, important to the history of national literature, is the gradual rise, from about the middle of this century, of the Italian language, first in the form of a corruption, and finally as a new birth, from the classic Latin, which was gradually superseded by it. Curious examples of this transition, and of the contrast between two idioms struggling for mastery, are at hand in the inscriptions under wall-paintings in the recently-discovered church of S. Clemente. John XII, the son of a patrician lady who could not sign her name, is said to have been unable to express himself in any other than what may be henceforth called the vulgar Italian; but the epitaph at St. Peter's to the German Pope, Gregory V, eulogises him for the mastery of three languages:

« Usus Francisca, Vulgari, et voce Latina — » (1)

the second named among which must certainly have been an idiom proper to Italians, and distinct from the Latin. The highest civic authority at Rome was the Prefect, whose office for a time eclipsed that of the Patrician, having been either revived under the Emperor Otho I, or at least raised into new prominence between the years 954 and 965. Invested, as representative of the imperial, and, in a certain sense, of the Papal sovereignty also, with the sword and the eagle as insignia, this official exercised power over life and death, till he was at last reduced, through the skilful policy of the Popes, to the character of a mere bailiff dependent on the pontificate. Classic monuments in Rome were, for the great-

(1) Supposed the earliest monumental reference (A. D. 999) to the Italian as a distinct idiom.

est part, before the end of this century, encumbered with the ponderous brick fortresses of the turbulent aristocracy, who divided the City and Campagna under a sway already systematized into feudalism; and those gloomy castles, now represented but by solitary square towers that look down from the summits of mausolea on the Appian Way, or raise their high dusky fronts in the midst of wide-spreading uncultured plains, attest the power of masters, who were gradually rising into the importance that made them formidable. On the summits of the mausolea of Hadrian and Augustus now stood chapels dedicated to St. Michael, the Archangel especially revered in sanctuaries on high places. In general plan and disposal of street-lines the material City of this period was becoming more and more unlike the Rome of antiquity. Beyond the Aelian bridge, and beneath the large rotunda of the mausoleum then known as « castle of Theodoric », rose an outer city, or cincture of walls and towers, raised by Pope Leo IV (846-52) for defence of the great basilica, the Vatican palace, and its purlieus. The Campus Martius, subsequently encroached on by modern streets, had already assumed aspects unknown to that arena for military exercises and public displays, where, amidst fair gardens, rose the mausoleum of Augustus, the Villa Publica, and the Flaminian Circus. The Via Lata, forming the southern portion of the actual Corso, had become populous; indeed it seems certain that other quarters continued still, as of old, frequented and animated, especially in the neighbourhood of the Forum, on the Caelian and Aventine Hills. At this period the plunder of classic ruins, in order to use their material for new buildings, seems to have been quite unchecked, and systematically carried on by all citizens who had means. Before the opening of this century the monastic institution had fallen into deep decline. A decree passed in a council at Rome, A. D. 827. against the appointment of laymen to abbacies, had become almost a dead letter. The description of abuses in this sphere, published by the councils



of Metz and Trosly (909) is lamentable (4). After many cloisters had been pillaged, and their inmates dispersed, by invaders, such communities as returned brought into those retreats the spirit and vices of the world they had quitted. But a brighter day dawned at last. Between 904-911 arose from ruin two of the most celebrated establishments, Monte Cassino, which had been sacked and fired by the Saracens twenty seven-years previously, and Nonantola (near Modena), destroyed by Hungarian invaders nine years before its renovation.

Though the history of religious institutions and the aspects of Christian society are desired to be more especially kept in view in these pages, the lives and characters of individuals, however subordinate to more important interests, must be allowed due prominence, especially in the case of S. Peter's successors. The Pontiffs who filled the Roman See had so conspicuous a part to sustain, and through their merits as well as demerits claimed the attention, or influenced the destinies of the Church in such a degree, that it is necessary to dwell on their historic figures in order to the full understanding of religious and social realities at Rome. The extremely unfavourable estimate generally formed of the Popes of the X century has been, in regard to several, convicted of injustice by the more searching investigation of evidence; and the vices, 'or incompetency, of others are found to be not without palliation from the adverse circumstances amid which they lived, and the utterly unsuitable antecedents of their careers before being raised, often by the unworthiest means, to a sacred office which some had no capacity, others no occasion for illustrating by merits; others no inclination to occupy. Mabillon (*Annales*) observes of the Popes of this period, that, except Stephen VIII, Leo VII, Agapitus II, and a few others, all were utterly unworthy of the Holy See, and lived « rather like monsters or wild beasts than like Bishops ».

(4) « De monasteriorum vero non statu, sed lapsu, quid dicere vel agere debeamus, jam paene ambigimus ».

At the opening of this century the Papal chair was occupied by a man of patrician birth and eminent virtues (another of those to be excepted from the general sentence), Benedict IV (900-3), who won gratitude by his large charities to the poor and his zeal for the public welfare. He was succeeded by Leo V, whose short pontificate ended in his deposition and imprisonment by act of a treacherous Cardinal, admitted to his closest intimacy, Christophorus, who intrigued for the ruin of his benefactor as preliminary towards securing for himself the throne made vacant by violence. The usurpation by the latter lasted scarce a year; for his crimes provoked opposition from a large party among the clergy and chief citizens, who invited Sergius, an ecclesiastic driven some years before into exile, then in Tuscany, to return to Rome and take possession of the See now secured to him in prospect. Sergius had been already elected to the Papacy, but without effect, by a party in his favour after the death of Theodore II, 898; had compromised himself by taking part in the disgraceful persecution against the dead Formosus, carried on by Stephen VII; and is said to have for seven years aimed at that supreme rank in the Church now freely offered to him. With escort of an army supplied by Adalbert, Marquis of Tuscany, he arrived in Rome, and was at once canonically elected; the usurper being confined in a monastery, from whence he was after a time removed in chains, by Sergius's order, to the prison where he died. We know little of the Pontificate of Sergius III (904-41), but that he undertook the rebuilding of the Lateran Basilica, and that he was accused (but without shadow of proof) — see the contemporary historian Liutprand — of an amorous intrigue with Marozia, a woman disgracefully conspicuous in Roman affairs at this time. A donation in the name of Sergius, bestowing certain lands upon a convent of Nuns, imposes the condition that the sisterhood should daily chant 100 *Kyries* for the repose of his soul. Anastasius III (914-43), whose piety and virtues won general respect, restored the then ruinous church of S. Adriano

on the Forum, founded by Honorius I about A. D. 630, and again re-consecrated, after being repaired, by Gregory IX, 1228. Landon (914) occupied the See but six months, and was succeeded by John X (914-28), « a man (as Muratori describes him) of great mind and large heart »; whose talents and energies, rather those of the soldier than of the priest, were heroically exerted to render good service to the national cause. The panegyric poem on the Emperor Berengarius, perhaps by a contemporary, attributes great qualities to this Pontiff:

Summus erat Pastor tunc temporis Urbe Iohannes,  
Officio affatim clarus, sophiaque repletus.

Some obscurity rests on the story of his life; but enough is known to convince us that he won the esteem of his contemporaries, notwithstanding that warlike policy for which he is severely rebuked by Baronius. Gregorovius (*Geschichte d. Stadt Roms*) does justice to the heroic character of this Pope. At this time the Saracens were the frequent invaders, the scourge and terror of Italy; and Rome had already felt their sacrilegious violence when the basilica of S. Peter was despoiled of its incalculable wealth, the very tomb of the Apostle violated by those marauders. The whole Patrimony of S. Peter now lay at their mercy. Issuing from a strong fortress on the Garigliano, they, from time to time, overran the Campagna, attacked and plundered pilgrims on their way to Rome, capturing such travellers as they chose to detain till high prices were paid for their release. Hoping to accomplish their expulsion, John X sought the alliance of Berengarius, King of Italy, and invited the Greek Emperor to form a league with certain Italian cities. In order to attach the Italian King more effectually to his own, truly the patriotic, cause, he took the responsible step of offering him the imperial crown, which he invited him to receive at Rome, together with the title of Emperor of the West now held by his rival, Louis

of Provence, whom Berengarius had defeated and avenged himself upon by causing his eyes to be put out — the horrid practice too common in these times. On the vigil of Easter, 916, the Italian King arrived in Rome, met beyond the gates by the Senators, chief citizens, and the *Scholæ* of the different nations, here represented by colonies so-called — Greek, French, Saxon etc., = all singing, in their several idioms, the praises of Berengarius, and bearing their respective standards, high among which soared the war-ensigns of the Romans, heads of lions, wolves, and dragons (1). The Pope, in robes of state, with all the Clergy, received their royal guest on the stairs before S. Peter's, where Berengarius dismounted from the white palfrey sent for his use by the pontiff from his own stud. The two potentates (as we may style them) met on the highest landing-place of those stairs, where they embraced; but the church-doors remained shut till the Emperor elect had sworn to confirm all the possessions bestowed by Charlemagne and his successors on the Papacy. All then entered the church and prayed before the Apostle's sepulchre, after which Berengarius went to the Lateran Palace to partake of a sumptuous supper. The next day, the Pontiff and the King, both attired in gorgeous vestments, proceeded to S. Peter's amidst the exulting shouts of the crowd; and in the course of the High Mass for the great festival ensued the anointing and coronation, greeted by the usual *ex-voto* acclamations of the Clergy and people, probably the same heard when Charlemagne received the crown from Leo III. After this, silence was intimated, and an official read in loud voice the diploma confirming, in the name of Berengarius, all the donations of states and properties made to the Church and the Roman Pontiff by other Emperors, with

(4)

Sonat ecce Subura

Vocibus elatis populi: Properate faventes;

Rex venit, Ausoniis dudum expectatus ab oris.

« De laudibus Berengarii ».

threats of penalty against whoever should disturb or contravene (1). Finally were given tokens of pious munificence by the new « Augustus », in splendid offerings not only to S. Peter's but to other basilicas — to the Pope, the Clergy, Senate, and chief Captains — arms and vestments, and golden circlets studded with gems, the latter probably for altar lamps or images (2). It was about the August of the same year that John X placed himself at the head of an army, giving the extraordinary example of a Pontiff in the character of a military commander. He marched into the Neapolitan states to wage war, — justifiable assuredly, however unsuitable the part assumed by such a leader to *his* individual vocation, — against the Saracens; he defeated and drove that foe from their strongest position on the banks of the Liris (now Garigliano) near Minturnum. « Indescribable » (says Muratori) « was the joy of the Christian faithful, as well in Rome as in other neighbouring countries, at this glorious enterprise; and great were the praises awarded to Pope John, though it did not seem to all men suitable for a peaceful Vicar of Christ to assist in person at such a sanguinary engagement, and become the first to give such example for imitation by others ». (*Annali*, an. 916). It was said that *not one*

- (4)      Lectitat Augusti concessos munere pagos,  
Praesulis obsequio, gradibus stans lector in altis.

« De laud. Bereng. ».

(2) Berengarius, Duke of Friuli, elected and crowned as King of Italy at Milan, A. D. 888, held that disputed title for thirty-six years, and was assassinated at Verona in 924. By his mother's side he was the grandson of Louis the Pious. After his death was elected Hugo of Provence, brother to Guido, Marquis of Tuscany; and who, in 947, was succeeded by his son' Lothaire; the latter, in 954, by Berengarius II, Marquis of Ivrea, who reigned conjointly with his son Adalbert, till both were deposed in a Diet at Milan, and Otho I, whose intervention had been invited by the Italian grandees as well as by the Pope, in 961, was elected and crowned at Milan, 962, the first German King of Italy.



Moslem was left alive on that field, the captives alone surviving their defeat; also that the Apostles Peter and Paul had been seen to combat for the faithful in awful vision above the ranks of Christian soldiery (1). The services of John X, affecting other interests, were meritoriously discharged. Active in promoting the objects of ecclesiastical discipline and monastic reform, he did much to improve the spirit then prevailing in the cloister, and confirmed the Cluny Rule, henceforth the most influential and approved norma of the revived Benedictine Institute. The new Lateran Basilica, begun by Sergius, was completed under this Pope, partly (it is inferred) by means supplied from the rich spoils of the Saracens; and the contiguous palace was also adorned by him with paintings and mosaics. But the close of his brilliant and eventful pontificate was tragic.

The notorious Marozia and her husband Guido, Marquis of Tuscany, who were now, through the successes of bold intrigue, beginning to usurp all temporal power in Rome, and who no doubt had to encounter vigorous resistance from such a Pontiff, engaged a band of ruffians as ministers of their vengeance; the Lateran palace was entered by violence: Peter, the brother of the Pope, and particularly the object of hatred or jealousy to Guido, was assassinated in that pontiff's presence. The Pope himself was seized and dragged to a prison (the castle of S. Angelo), where soon afterwards his life was brought to a close, either by grief or violence; according to Liutprand, by suffocation. His enemies reported, that John X

(1) A species of apparition frequently reported and believed in at this period. Thus was it said that S. James had appeared in battle, ensuring victory to the Spaniards against the Moors, A. D. 969; that S. Theodore, mounted on a white steed, had led the Greeks against the Scythians, under the emperor John Zemisces, 972; and that an Angel had been seen, in form of a warrior, not in combat but in prayer, during a battle resulting in another triumph of the Spaniards over the Moslems, A. D. 993.

had owed his election to the favour of Theodora, sister of Marozia, under which notion it is that Baronius gives vent to such severe indignation against a person unquestionably entitled to respect. Three coins of this pontificate are extant, with the legend : *Ioh., S. Petrus, Berengarii Imp.*, and *Roma* in the middle. Leo VI (928-9) continued, through pacific and moral means, to aim at the same patriotic objects as his predecessor, — namely, the liberation of Italy from barbarian invaders. Of Stephen VIII (929-31) scarce anything is known with certainty; and good authorities reject the report that, being unpopular on account of his German birth (which is not proved), he was assaulted in a tumult, and so mutilated in the face that he never afterwards would show himself in public. The intriguing Marozia, and her second husband, Alberic, Duke of Spoleto, succeeded in raising next to the Papacy their own son as John XI (931-6), then twenty-five years of age, who was condemned to the part of a cipher, never master of himself, but kept under the control of his brother Alberic, and at last an actual prisoner in the S. Angelo castle, after the dominion of Marozia and her third husband, Hugo, King of Italy, had been suddenly overthrown by that brother's efforts. Baronius supposes the See was left vacant for perhaps three years before the election of Leo VII, as to whom we are only informed of the piety and lowliness that gave beauty to his character, and of his effort to restore monastic discipline with the assistance of St. Odo (or Odillon), Abbot of Cluny, whom he invited to Rome as well for religious objects as for that of intervening as peace-maker between the young Alberic and his step-father, Hugo, who was now approaching to besiege the City, and avenge his expulsion. Under the influence of Odo, the St Paul's monastery, on the Ostian Way, arose from deep decline with renewed vitality; and not only in Rome but elsewhere were Italian cloisters restored to the higher standard of ancient discipline by the same holy Abbot; at Pavia in the north, at Salerno in the south; in all which monasteries, thus brought under the

same quickening influence, was adopted the rule of Cluny through St. Odo's means. Marinus II (942-46), a zealous restorer of churches, and noted also for his charities to the poor, was succeeded by a man of saintly life, Agapitus II (946-55), who also directed his cares to the restoration of Rome's basilicas, as well as to the reform of discipline, so deeply declined, in the ecclesiastical sphere.

A powerful family, whose influences were exerted fatally for Rome, now demands a place in the historic page; being at this period represented by two women, of unhonoured memory, one of whom had made herself arbitress of this City's destinies — Marozia and Theodora, the daughters of Theophylactus, who is first mentioned, under date 904, as « Consul of the Romans », Duke, and Patrician, also styled Senator Romanorum, a title shared by his wife, Theodora, as « Senatrix ». The character of the mother seems to have been respectable; not so that of the daughters, though there may be somewhat of gratuitous malice in the censures of Liutprand, who designates the elder sister, Marozia, as an « ebria Venus ». The latter was first the wife of Alberic, Consul, and Marquis of Camerino, to whom she bare two sons, the younger of whom became Pope; the elder, despotic ruler, for some years, over Rome. Having taken possession of the castle of S. Angelo, she thenceforth exercised her usurped sway, defying the legitimate authority of Pope John X. In order to consolidate that sway she gave her hand in second marriage to Guido, Duke, or Marquis, of Tuscany, with whom she seems to have shared an absolute dominion. Finally she became the wife of Hugo, Marquis of Provence, who had been elected King of Italy at Pavia, and crowned at Milan, in 926; and if we may believe Liutprand, it was Marozia who made the first advances, inviting Hugo from Pavia to Rome, offering her power and her person as the prize; though, in fact, such marriage was illegal, Hugo being half-brother of her second husband, Guido. In 932 the King arrived, apparently welcome to the Romans, whose recep-



tion was so friendly that he left his army beyond the gates. A scene characteristic of the manners of the time ensued, not long after that marriage, in the gloomy fortified tomb where Marozia resided with her successive husbands. Her son Alberic being, one day, desired by his mother to give water to the King for washing his hands at table, performed the task awkwardly, spilling the water, perhaps on purpose, and Hugo retorted with a blow. The indignant youth quitted the castle, and appealed to the citizens against a tyranny, the submission to which was infamous on their part, intolerable to himself. His words took effect; a popular insurrection ensued; the castle was attacked; and Hugo, who had not enjoyed, or suffered, his new dignity for more than a few months, made his escape without attempting any defence, causing himself to be let down from the walls by a cord. Alberic, now become master of the fortress and of Rome, scrupled not to condemn his mother to imprisonment for the rest of her life within those same walls that have witnessed so many tragedies and woes (1). For twenty-two years (during four pontificates of Popes alike utterly powerless) did Alberic continue to rule over Rome; and, however illegally secured, his government was not altogether without beneficent action or good intentions. The chronicle of Farfa commends his efforts to restore monastic discipline, and records the renovation through his means of that Benedictine monastery in the Sabina, after it had long been despoiled, and discredited by an

(1) We must not picture to ourselves the S. Angelo castle of this period as the building that now rises above the Tiber with its great rotunda half of modern brickwork, surmounted by towers and barracks of still later date, but as the stupendous mole of the imperial Mausoleum with its unshaken walls of square-hewn travertine, fortified, indeed and enclosed within outworks, but, though deprived of its marble colonnades and decorations, still retaining all the more solid portions of the antique structure. All the works added since it was first fortified in the Gothic war, disappeared before its restoration, near the end of the XV century, by Alexander VI.

infamous Abbot (*Muratori, Annali*, an. 939). An impressive scene occurred at the death-bed of Alberic: feeling that his end was near, he caused himself to be carried to St. Peter's, and summoned all the magnates to assemble around him; there, lying before the confessional, or Apostle's shrine, he required and received from them a solemn oath to raise his own son, Octavian, to the Papacy, so soon as Agapitus, its then occupant, should be no more. Thus did the aristocratic, after its complete triumph over the Papal power, deliberately restore to the Pontificate its political independence by reuniting the spiritual and temporal, with no sacrifice indeed, but with the highest augmentation of its own prerogatives; and certainly the solemn act of Alberic, in his last hours, shows a correct estimate of the prospects and vocation of mediaeval Rome, and of the degree in which her welfare was bound up with the Papacy. After his father's death, Octavian, then but sixteen years of age, succeeded to him in power; and, to the great misfortune of the Church, that same heir, when not more than eighteen, was raised to the Papal throne as John XII (956-'64), fatally conspicuous, among all at that eminence, as one who presents the most striking example of utter contradiction between the ideal standard and personal representation of that high office assigned in Christian belief to St. Peter's successors.

One of his first acts was to invite the Emperor Otho I to repair to Rome, and liberate Italy, like another Charlemagne, from the dominion of the jointly-reigning kings, Berengarius and Adalbert, father and son. Thus did this ill-omened pontificate distinguish itself by taking the initiative in a fatal policy for the subjection of the Italian States to German Rulers! After long delay Otho arrived in Rome, where, on the festival of Candlemas, 962, he was crowned by John XII, after interchange of hollow professions with mutual promises of friendship and alliance; and at the high altar of S. Peter's the Emperor swore to make restitution of several cities which had been taken by force from the Holy See. Gifts of gold,

silver, and gems were then offered by Otho; and the renewed act of donation (or restitution) was drawn up in gold letters on purple parchment, still (v. Ciaconius) preserved in the Castle of S. Angelo; though some contest the genuineness of this document (rejected by Muratori), which in the list of donations includes cities the Emperor had not to give — Naples, Venice, Benevento, and the entire province of Istria. After Otho had withdrawn to Pavia, the Pope availed himself of the pretext that the promised restitution of cities had not been made, and consequently began to favour the cause of the young King Adalbert. Meantime the scandalous private life of John XII became so notorious, after the removal of the check imposed by Otho's presence, that the Romans sent a deputation to that Prince, then in Lombardy, requesting him to find remedy for the intolerable degradation caused to the Roman Church through the conduct of a dissolute youth, who had made the pontific palace a haunt of licentiousness. Otho first sent trusty messengers to inquire into the truth of these charges. After their return, and their confirmatory report, he made the good-humoured reply to another deputation of citizens: — « He (John XII) is yet but a boy, and may be reclaimed by the example of virtuous men. I hope that by frank counsels and just reprimands he may be withdrawn from those evil courses ». Acting benevolently on this notion, Otho sent certain representatives to Rome on the singular mission of converting this incorrigible young Pope. In curious conformity to the manners and ideas of the age, two bishops were charged by the Emperor to offer to John XII satisfaction against his accusers either on their own oath, or on the wager of battle: his soldier, named by Otho, would maintain the imperial honour against any champion named by the Pope. John refused both the expurgation by oath and the trial by single combat; but, in reply to the embassy, charged an ecclesiastic and a nobleman to convey his excuses for the past and promises for the future. A pretext soon afterwards presented itself for the quarrel he desired. Otho

having besieged the city of S. Leo, or Monte Feltro, then held with a garrison by Berengarius, John XII complained of the violation of his own states by German invaders. Adalbert, the Italian King, came by the Pope's invitation to Rome, where he was received with all royal honours; but the Roman citizens speedily appealed to Otho, who hastened to intervene once more in the affairs of the City and Papacy. At Ratisbon all the great dignitaries of the realm, prelates and princes, were assembled. After confessing his sins to Romuald, a holy Abbot, the young Emperor set out, accompanied, on the first stage of this memorable journey, by all his spiritual counsellors, by the Clergy chanting hymns, whilst church-bells were ringing, and the holy lance was borne in front of the stately procession (1). It was (observes Milman) « a great ecclesiastical armament of the Transalpine Clergy to rescue the Papacy from its abasement ». Many episodes occurred, and military enterprises were undertaken, before Otho arrived at Rome. Pope John, on the first tidings of his approach, made a show of gallant resistance, and appeared armed cap-à-piè; but no heroism seems to have redeemed the vices of his character; for at this emergency he fled, together with Adalbert and others of his partisans. Soon was convoked, by imperial authority, a Council of twenty Cardinals and all the principal members of the Roman Clergy, before whom were brought terrible accusations against John XII — their purport being best understood from the letter addressed to him by the Emperor, with the summons he did not regard: « Having arrived in Rome for the service of God, we demanded of the Bishops and Cardinals what was the cause of your absence,

(1) Not the Relic now at S. Peter's, but a lance said to be made of nails of the Crucifixion, which had belonged to Rudolph, king of Burgundy, and been ceded by him to Henry I of Germany, on the threat of the latter to invade and devastate his states unless this inestimable treasure were given up to that prince who so coveted it.

and they asserted against you things so disgraceful as to be unworthy of comedians. All, as well clerics as laics, have accused you of homicide, perjury, sacrilege, of incest with your relatives and with two sisters, of having drunk wine to the honour of the Devil, and having invoked in gambling Jupiter, Venus, and other Demons. We therefore request you immediately to return in order to justify yourself from these charges; and if you fear the insolence of the people, we promise to you upon our oath that nothing shall be done contrary to the canons ». In that extraordinary council voices had been raised, from ecclesiastics and laics, with strange protests against John XII: « The very Iberians, Babylonians, and Indians have heard of the monstrous crimes of the Pope ! » Cardinals deposed that he had been seen to celebrate Mass without communicating; that he had consecrated a bishop in a stable; had bestowed the bishopric of Todi on a boy ten years old ! It was stated also, in reply to Otho's demand for specific charges, that he had caused ecclesiastics to be blinded and castrated, with cruelty fatal to life. The reply made by John to the prelates sent with the Emperor's letter, was laconical: - « We have heard it said that you intend to make another Pope. If you do, I will excommunicate you in the name of the Omnipotent God, so that you shall be no more able to confer holy orders, or to celebrate Mass ». Those emissaries had found him at Tivoli; where, on inquiring after this eccentric successor of the Apostles, they were at first informed that he had gone out to amuse himself with bow and arrows: - « pharetratus jam in campestem abierat ! » The contemporary chronicle of Frodoard sums up the report of this procedure in the few words, that it was for « irreligiousness » John XII was reprimanded by the Council. Twice was that offender cited to appear in order to meet those charges; at last, as he proved contumacious, the Council proceeded to depose him, and elect in his stead the « Protoserinarius » of the Lateran archives, still a layman, who took the name Leo VIII — considered by Baronius as a usurper, but by other



historians, Fleury included, as a legitimate pontiff. Hostilities soon ensued between the Romans and the Germans, who were encamped beyond the Tiber. In an engagement at the bridge of S. Angelo the citizens were worsted by those foreigners; and unconditional submission to Otho, with the consignment of one hundred hostages, was the result. It seems that John XII had not ceased meantime to keep up intelligence in the City with those favourable to his cause; for no sooner had Otho left Rome for Spoleto, than he returned, now received with popular exultation — such the hatred against the Germans that even this most reprobate of Popes was joyfully preferred to a foreign master! In a synod now convoked, the deposed pronounced deposition, in his turn, against his rival, Leo, who had taken refuge in the imperial camp. Then broke out all the atrocity of which John XII was capable, against his antagonists, ecclesiastics and others, who had sided with the intruder. One of the Cardinals suffered the loss of a hand; other chief leaders were barbarously mutilated; the first archivist of the Church was punished by the mutilation of his tongue, nose, and two fingers; a bishop was scourged with rods. At another synod afterwards convoked, and attended by sixteen prelates, were annulled all acts adverse to the interests of Pope John. But the latter did not live long to enjoy his unholy triumph; for in the Spring of 964 occurred his death, under mysterious circumstances that gave rise to reports serving at least to reflect the public estimation of his character — that he had been assassinated at night, beyond the City-gates, by an injured husband who had surprised him at a guilty assignation; that he had been slain (see the report of Liutprand) by no other avenger than the Arch-fiend himself! But modern writers agree as to what seems the better attested account, that he died by natural means, after short illness, without receiving the Sacraments — this fact not being disputed. It is said also (*v. Oldoinus in Ciacon.*) that he despoiled, and very often, not only the Lateran but other Roman basilicas; and the belief in portents, signaling the com-

mencement of this sinister pontificate, when it happened that lightning struck churches, and inflicted death on several priests, is one expression of the public abhorrence against vice on the most sacred of thrones. « *Ab adoloscencia omnibus probris contaminatus* », is the summing up of this Pope's character by the learned ecclesiastical critic, Oldoinus; but perhaps the errors of John XII, however scandalous, were not greater than might have been expected from the education bestowed on the son of Alberic and grandson of Marozia, or from the natural struggle of impulse and passion against the unnatural restraints of a rank forcibly imposed in the absence of every qualification, perhaps of every desire, for its occupancy. A holy Abbot, Leo, writing to the kings Hugo and Robert of France, mentions that an archbishop of Cordova had consulted this Pope on certain grave and difficult questions; Leo himself adding a word to those princes, in the pontiff's defence, « *quem vos incongrui derogastis* » — « whom you have unduly decried ». On the same day that John XII died, all the Roman Clergy and principal citizens elected a cardinal deacon, who took the name of Benedict VI; but Otho soon reappeared before the walls, besieged the City, and reduced the inhabitants by stress of famine to submission. Great cruelties are ascribed to the assailants on this occasion. Those who attempted to escape through the German ranks were barbarously mutilated before being allowed to pass. The defence was gallantly maintained; and the Pope appeared on the walls in person, to threaten the Emperor and all his army with excommunication — a moment strikingly suggestive to the artist who might treat such a scene with pictorial effect. The famished citizens at last opened their gates; and Otho, having entered in triumph, first preceeded, according to his custom, to legitimate his own acts by means of a Council held at the Lateran with assistance of the Roman, Italian, Saxon, and Frankish Bishops, the Clergy and chief citizens in general. Before this assemblage was introduced the unfortunate Benedict VI, to be stripped of the pontific insi-

gnia, the pallium, cope, and sceptre (1), which last was broken to pieces by the now reinstalled Leo VIII. After his degradation the deposed Pope was allowed, at the request of Otho, to retain the rank of deacon alone; and on the departure of the imperial troops was obliged to leave with them for Germany, where he ended his days, treated to the last with some marks of respect, at Hamburg. After the death of Leo (965) the See remained vacant for several months, because, the right of confirming being virtually deferred to the Emperor, Legates had to be sent from Rome to secure his ratification.

Otho sent two prelates to preside at the election, which took place with some show, at least, of freedom; and the Bishop of Narni was now raised to the throne under the name of John XIII (965-72). Liutprand tells us that when the imperial representatives had arrived, that Bishop was elected by all the people (*ab omni plebe*) — so different were the then modes of proceeding from the solemn regularities of the Conclave by which papal succession is now provided for! According to the ancient method, the entire Clergy and Roman people were convoked after the death and funeral of a Pope, to proceed to the electing of the successor, who could not, however, be consecrated till the Emperor, or his ministers in Italy, had been apprised, and the imperial *placet* given (*Muratori, anno 965*). John XIII excited the hatred of the Roman nobles, who complained that their privileges had been taken from them by Otho, and probably desired a degree of power incompatible with the free exercise of pontific authority. The Prefect, the Counts, and Tribunes rose against their new pontiff, and drove him away; first (it is said) confining him in a fortress of the Campania province; though that imprisonment is uncertain. Together

(1) Muratori, says the « crozier »; but that symbol is not used by the Popes, and we may suppose it was a sceptre of sovereignty that figured on this occasion.



with the Prefect, a Count of Campania, Rofredus, continued for a time to govern the City, whilst the Pope took refuge at Capua, well received by Pandulph, Prince of that State. The Emperor marched against Rome to put down the revolt. A reaction led to the recall of the Pope after the violent death of Rofredus; and, after an exile of ten months, John XIII returned, now supported by the presence of Otho, who ordered the most severe measures against the rebels, acts for which the pontiff also has been blamed as responsible. The Consuls were exiled from Italy; the Tribunes — one chronicler says, thirteen chief citizens — were hanged; the Prefect was led through the streets, naked, riding backwards on an ass; was beaten with rods, then thrown into a dark dungeon, and at last conducted in chains to Germany — according to another account, a part of his punishment being to hang suspended by the hair from the bronze horse of Marcus Aurelius' statue (then supposed to be Constantine's) on the Forum. Otho and his son were together crowned by the Pope on the Christmas day of 967, when the donations of Charlemagne and Pepin were renewed. Under this pontificate occurred events of importance in Religious History — as the conversion of the Sarmatians (or Poles), to whom the Pope sent a zealous Cardinal of the Colonna family as archbishop and legate; also the mission from Rome to the Vandals, undertaken at the request of that hitherto Arian people and government. Two Councils were held by John XIII, in the presence of Otho, at Rome and Ravenna, during the year 967; but the acts of both those assemblies have perished. A dark series of tragedies ensued after the death of this pontiff. His successor, Benedict VI (972-94), was deposed through the intrigues of a Cardinal deacon, Franco, and thrown into the castle of S. Angelo, where he suffered death, either by starvation or strangling, by order of Crescentius, son of Theodora, and nephew to Marozia, who acted as leader in this revolt. Franco succeeded in a usurpation which lasted about thirteen months (or, as some writers state, only one month); but was for-

ced, after that interval, to fly to Constantinople, whither he carried with him the many treasures he had sacrilegiously taken from Rome's basilicas. Donus II and Benedict VII successively occupied the throne from 974 to 983; the former surviving but a few months, and not even ranked among the Popes by some historians; the latter assumed, [on one theory, to be no other than the above-mentioned Benedict VI, who had *not* been put to death after the usurpation of Franco; such is the obscurity of Papal annals at this period! Whatever the reality, Benedict VII (or VI) proved a virtuous, prudent, and vigorous ruler, who, during nine years, maintained tranquillity in Rome — an interval of peaceful light amidst stormy darkness. He signalized himself especially as a benefactor and restorer of monasteries; founded the cloisters, and rebuilt the now ruinous basilica, of *S. Croce in Gerusalemme*; and assigned *S. Alessio*, with its convent on the Aventine, to Sergius, an exiled Archbishop of Damascus, who there surrounded himself with a community of Greek and Latin monks, revered for the example given by them, amidst a corrupt age, of piety and self-denial. Through this Pope's means was converted the Prince of Poland, for whom he destined, but was prevented from sending, a royal crown.

John XIV (983), elected through the influence of the young Emperor Otho II, was deposed and thrown into prison, about three months (or, as also stated, but one month) afterwards, by the faction raised up in the interest of the infamous Franco, now returned from the East, and assisted by the Greek Emperor, whose favour he is said to have secured by large bribes — the spoils of churches. This profligate adventurer having again mounted the throne, and assumed the name of Boniface VII, John XIV was put to death, either by strangling or by poison, in the castle of *S. Angelo* — principal scene of this period's tragedies at Rome. How hateful the usurpation that ensued may be inferred from the known fact, that, after the death of this Antipope, either seven, or only four months subsequently to his return, his body was dragged through

the streets by a rope, transpierced with weapons, amidst the derision of the crowd, and left exposed on the Lateran piazza till some clerics gave decent interment to it by night.

John XV (985), who, dying before he could be consecrated, can scarcely rank among historic Popes, was succeeded by John XVI (985-96), under whose reign the famous Crescentius attempted, for a time with success, the transfer of dominion over Rome (in regard to temporal things at least) from the ecclesiastical to the aristocratic party. In the same year, however, the young Otho III for the first time appeared in Italy at the head of forces; on which that leader, informed of his approach, submitted at once and obtained pardon from the Pontiff. The latter had fled into Tuscany; but, on the prayer urged by Crescentius through means of the Pope's own relatives and friends, returned from exile, and received the penitent, revolutionists to do homage and kiss his foot in the vestibule of the Lateran. In the spring of 996 the young Emperor (as yet known only by the title, King of Italy) descended the Alps at the head of an army, and, on arriving at Ravenna, heard of the death of Pope John XVI; apprised of which event, he immediately determined to raise to the Papal throne his first cousin Bruno, a young man of literary attainments, and ardent character, who had accompanied him, in capacity of chaplain, on the march. With the Archbishop of Mayence and the Bishop of Utrecht, this candidate travelled on to Rome, preceded by earnest recommendations from Otho to the citizens; and, whatever the effect of such intervention, the regular formula of election ensued, with all appearance of free procedure on the part of Clergy and people. Bruno, now Pope Gregory V (996-9), had soon the satisfaction of seeing his august cousin at Rome, and crowning him as Emperor on the feast of Pentecost (31st May, 996), amidst the usual demonstrations of rejoicing. A chronicler (« Life of S. Adalbert ») describes the Pope and Emperor as alike exercising sovereign dominion in Italy (*novus Imperator dat jura populis, dat jura novus Papa*). Thus were two young Germans

—both indeed rather below the age when the independent careers of life are generally entered upon, Otho being just sixteen, Gregory about twenty-two, — now brought together in a City scarcely known by either, to whose inhabitants both were strangers; a pair invested by their mutual acts with the highest power over the spiritual and temporal concerns of Europe! Soon after the departure of the Emperor with his troops, Crescentius again raised his standard of revolt; repaired the city-walls and the fortifications of S. Angelo; and, in desperate effort, gave his support to an Antipope, Philagathus, bishop of Piacenza, now led into the contest but for his own destruction, and raised up as John XVII. It is said that the two usurpers concocted together a division of power over the City, the Antipope contenting himself with the spiritual, and Crescentius with the chief temporal authority, in dependence, however, on the Greek Emperor. Gregory V fled in secret and in terror to Pavia, and appealed to Otho, who hastened to lead back his army to Rome. A siege ensued, and again was the City compelled to surrender by stress of famine, though Crescentius still continued his resistance from the castle. The antipope had fled, but was soon overtaken, and brought back to be subjected to such treatment as too well displays the ferocious manners of the time, even in this sacred city, and under the direct sanction of him who called himself « Vicar of Christ. » His eyes and tongue were torn out, his nose was cut off; and in this plight was he conducted through the streets, seated backwards on an ass, in the torn vestments of his usurped dignity. Well might St. Peter Damian reprobate, as he does in one of his letters, that hard-hearted Pontiff (*durus ille Papa*) who took such vengeance on his helpless rival! The report of these cruelties induced a holy man, St. Nilus, founder of the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata, to quit his cloister near Gaeta, and interpose on behalf of that victim, his countryman; both being Calabrians. The renown of that aged Saint had preceded him to Rome; and both Pope and Emperor received him with marks of

high respect, leading him between them by the hand; and making him sit between them in the Lateran palace; honours he deprecated, desiring only to obtain mercy for the unfortunate victim whose claims he urged, reminding them that to both, Otho and Gregory, had the Antipope been sponsor in baptism. The Emperor consented to consign to him that outraged person, on condition that Nilus should henceforth take up his abode in Rome, at the Convent of St. Anastasia, offered for his use, and which had always been occupied by Greek monks. But it was after this concession that Gregory ordered fresh insult to be inflicted on Philagathus by leading him through the streets, as described, in derision of his suffering and shame. Nilus was so much moved at this that he almost immediately left Rome, having first predicted to both Pope and Emperor the wrath of the Most High: « Know then (he said) that as ye have had no mercy for him whom God has delivered into your hands, your heavenly Father will have no mercy towards ye for your sins! » The Germans soon resumed the attack against the fortress still held by Crescentius; and, after vigorous defence, the S. Angelo was taken by storm. Crescentius and twelve of his followers were beheaded, and their bodies afterwards hung from the battlements. According to Leo of Ostia, St. Peter Damian, and other Italian chroniclers, it was by treachery, and in violation of faith, that such vengeance was taken, after Crescentius had capitulated on the promise that his life should be spared (1). Remorse for this deed is supposed to have impelled Otho to undertake a pilgrimage from Rome to the sanctuary of St. Michael on Monte Gargano. As to Pope Gregory V, we know nothing more, save his early death, his

(1) Glaber states that Crescentius was first thrown from the battlements, then dragged by oxen through the moat, and, finally, hanged to a beam in sight of the citizens. The atrocious punishment of the Antipope he describes as expressly ordered by Otho (*Historia*, l. I, c. IV).

repute for large charities, which won for him the epithet, *minor Gregorius*, or the « second St. Gregory », and his learning, recorded in his epitaph at St. Peter's :

Instituit populos eloquio triplice —

as are there also noted his bounties to the poor :

Pauperibus dives per singula sabbata vestes  
Divisit numero cautus Apostolico —

namely, that he dispensed clothing every Saturday to twelve paupers, selecting that number in honour of the Apostles. Within seven weeks after his death was raised to the Papacy one of the most learned ecclesiasties of the day, Gerbert, a French monk, the tutor of Otho III, who had successively become Abbot of Bobbio, Archbishop of Rheims, and Archbishop of Ravenna; henceforth known as Sylvester II (999-1003). To him has been imputed an ambitious and intriguing spirit; and we read of sundry fables invented to account for his scientific attainments. The appearance of this distinguished man on the sacerdotal throne marks a new epoch in the Papacy, even a renovation of its higher character, and rekindling of that light so long serving to guide the Christian world, but which had seemed almost extinct during a disastrous period. One might have anticipated, from the vicissitudes of this century, and from the scandalous example of certain Popes, a serious and permanent injury to the claims of Rome in the religious sphere. Yet such does not appear, to any great degree, among realities of the time. The acceptance of the doctrine of Papal supremacy was now, no doubt, so universal in the Latin Church, that we might say it had its root in conscience as well as in ecclesiastical organization. Some dissentient utterances indeed are heard, elicited by contemporary events, and in a tone to remind us that the doctrine in question was a result, or development, of hierarchic institutions, rather than a part of the foundations



they originally rested upon. In 991, whilst John XV sat on St. Peter's chair, a Synod was held at Rheims for the purpose of judging and deposing an unworthy intruder, and electing another, the celebrated Gerbert, to that See. On this occasion a discourse was held by Arnold, an eloquent bishop of Orleans, denouncing the abuses of the Court of Rome, boldly challenging the Papacy itself on the question of its inherent rights: « Where stands it written, asks the fearless prelate) that the innumerable priests of God, over the surface of the entire globe, ought to be subject to such monsters, the scandal of the whole world, and destitute of all learning, both divine and human? *Whom* do you suppose to be that personage seated on a lofty throne, clad in shining vestments of purple and gold? Truly if he be destitute of charity, if he be only inflated by science, he is Antichrist seated in the temple of God, and showing himself as though he were God! And if he be neither established in charity, nor exalted by wisdom, he is rather like a statue or an idol, responses from which are to be demanded, in the temple of God! » (1). Yet not the less did the deeply seated reverence for the Roman Church prevail; not the less entitled to regards in the eyes of potentates were her Pontiffs. Harassed, insulted, sometimes disgraced by vices, S. Peter's throne stood still superior to all others of Christendom. One great political fact of this age, the revival of the western Empire, after thirty-eight years suppression, and the transfer of the imperial crown from a Frankish to a German dynasty, was effected by that very Pope, John XII, who has been the object of more opprobrium than any other in the long line of pontific succession.

(1) « Quid hunc, — in sublimi soli residentem, quid hunc, inquam, esse censetis? Nimirum si caritate destituer, solique scientia inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus est in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tanquam sit Deus. Si autem nec caritate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei quasi statua, tamquam idolum est, a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere est! » For this very remarkable protest, see Milman, « Latin Christianity ».

During this century the Popes had seen seven dynasties of Emperors arise and disappear, two Italian, five from beyond the Alps; had seen eleven Emperors (who reigned in the West) arrive at Rome to receive that crown, without bestowal of which by Papal hands their title was not deemed fully legitimate; and from all did the pontiffs receive the same oath of fidelity, the same pledge to respect and vindicate all rights of the Holy See!

It was now the general opinion throughout Europe that in Rome every thing was venal; and Gerbert (Sylvester II), in one of his letters, includes all Italy under the same condemnation with that ancient capital: « *Tota Italia Roma facta est. Romanorum mores mundus perhorrescit* ». In the same letter we learn that priests and bishops could scarcely accomplish the visit to this City owing to the perils of the way (Gerbert, ep. XIV); and chroniclers tell how the passes of the Alps were beset by Saracenic marauders, so that the pilgrims used often to turn back instead of prosecuting their journey. A. D. 931, a Bishop of Tours and all his attendants, on their way to the same City, were murdered by brigands in the huts where they had encamped for the night on an Alpine pass. In the history of religious observances the most remarkable fact of this age is the first recorded canonization, that of Ulric, Bishop of Augsburg, raised to the honours of the altar, twenty years after his death, by bull of John XV, A. D. 993, after the immediate successor to that prelate in the same see had supplicated the fathers at a Lateran Council to admit his new name in the catalogue of Saints, though the public veneration for the holy man had been already established in his own diocese. The act of this canonization was not in the name of the Pope *alone*, but also signed by five Cardinal bishops, suffragans of Rome, by nine Cardinal priests, and three Cardinal deacons; and the event marks a memorable stage in the progress of the Papacy from relative to absolute dominion; for it is well known that the privilege of enrolling in the lists of sanctity was originally shared and exer-



cised by all bishops. As to the bestowal of more limited honours through Beatification, it is owned by Benedict XIV that such pertained on principle to, and emanated from, the episcopal office, though the higher act of canonizing was proper to the Roman Pontiff alone.

The constitutions of Alexander III and Innocent III first determined such limitation; and gradually the right of enrolling among the beatified also became a peculiar attribute of the Papacy. An epistle of John XV gives the *rationale* of such procedure with the best argument in its favour that can be adduced: « Thus do we adore and revere the relics of Martyrs and Confessors in order that we may worship Him for whom they became Martyrs and Confessors; we honour the servants that the honour may redound to the Lord; and, whilst we have no confidence in our own righteousness, we may be aided by their merits and prayers at the throne of the most merciful God ». As in previous ages, so in this also, is the freedom of episcopal election distinctly manifest, at least in so far as the capitular Clergy acted independently of Rome, and responsible only to their sovereign; as in the case (to quote but one) of Gerbert, the act for electing whom to the metropolitan see of Rheims, is preserved among his own writings; being in the name of « all that are of God (*qui Dei sunt*) among the Clergy and people » (*i. e.* of that arch-diocese), and with deference only to the assent of the two co-reigning kings of France. The revived energies and sanctities of the Monastic Orders form a bright contrast to the gloom in the social picture of this age. The school of Monte Cassino was restored, again to become a principal nursery of the sciences now cultivated, through means of the energetic Abbot Theobald, who added new chapels to the church, ordered paintings to adorn the walls of the interior as well as of its atrium; and caused the monastic buildings be fortified with towers and bastions. A ghastly story of one of Theobald's predecessors in that abbacy — Manson, who, for his luxurious living, had been reprimanded and laid under anathema by the austere St. Nilus — seems to ex-

emply the possible corruptions of the cloister when unworthy men had the upper hand. An ambitious mitred worldling, Alberic, Bishop of Capua, had secured to himself a party by bribery among the monks and the citizens of that town with intent to obtain the abbatial office at Monte Cassino, and to have Manson blinded. There were monks wicked enough, for the sake of the prelate's gold, to decoy their Abbot into a church at Capua, where they accomplished their evil deed, putting out his eyes within consecrated walls; after which they hastened with the horrid trophy, the bleeding eyes, to claim their reward from Alberic; but, arrived at that bishop's palace, they found that, in the very moment of his and their own crime, he had been struck by sudden death!

Notwithstanding such, and many such traits of horror and guilt, the bright and beautiful enter also into the scene we have been considering. Wise and good men, zealous reformers, devout enthusiasts, holy prelates are not wanting amidst the historic group of these times; and there is enough, even amid such moral darkness, to excite thanksgiving for the proofs of higher life and worthier aims —

For words of hope, and bright example given,  
To show through moonless skies that there is light in Heaven.

(KEBLE, « Christian Year. »)

I may close with a quotation from the « Storia di Monte Cassino », by the learned Padre Tosti, who thus sums up the characteristics of the period in question: « If (he advises) the student were to read, besides Livius and Montesquieu, some old chronicles by ignorant monks, or some dusty memoirs by imperial chatelains, he would not perhaps find cause to lament so much over the Italy of the tenth century, but would learn things that show how, guided by the religious institutions of the Roman Church, this country was, even at that period, first among all to awaken to new life, and advanced before all in the pathway of right-doing ».

## II.

### Monuments of the Tenth Century.

MONUMENTS of the Middle Ages in Rome may seem at first disappointing, compared with those in other ancient Italian cities. Except the lofty square *campanili*, and the gloomy brick towers that once overshadowed feudal castles, there is, indeed, little that stands out saliently, in bird's-eye views of this City, to remind of the eventful periods between the fall of the Western Empire and the so-called *Renaissance*. Even the Italian art-renovations, prior to the sixteenth century, failed to leave such distinct traces here as we might look for. It seems as though the part of Rome had rather been to direct and dominate over, than to participate in, the race of popular enthusiasm. Turning, for instance, to the Crusades, we find that the deep-stirring movement, in which the mainsprings of action were kept working at this centre, passed without impress or record to tell at this day how were felt *here* the reverberations of that world-wide excitement which answered to the appeal of Pope Urban II, at the Council of Clermont, *Deus vult*.

Such comparative deficiency of monuments at a pre-eminently monumental centre may be accounted for variously; in part, no doubt, due to civil discords and public calamities, especially those that weighed down this capital during the absence of her sovereigns; to the oft renewed struggles of antipopes against the legitimately elected occupants of the See; and to the almost normal state of antagonism between

the ecclesiastical and aristocratic bodies. But the local paucity, relatively speaking, of mediaeval remains distinctively Christian, seems most of all due to the dominant influences of the Antique, adverse to the growth of styles opposite to its own. The cloisters of the thirteenth century at the Lateran and S. Paul's; the small, but rich and solemn chapel of the Sancta Sanctorum; the mosaics of basilicas, and various architectural details in other old churches, (S. Lorenzo, S. Maria in Cosmedin, ec.), may rank among exquisite creations of Christian art-genius; but many other relics, also ancient, are either insignificant, or have been spoiled by modern touches. Not a single Roman artist is known to us by name between the fifth and ninth centuries; yet, even at periods lowest in respect to culture and activity, was Rome still recognized as the seat of a school deemed Classic, and giving its name to analogous artistic works. Thus, in the chronicle of Subiaco (Muratori, *Rer. It. Script*) do we read that, about 4055, an abbot, Joannes, erected before the porch of that monastery what is described as *Arcum Romano opere*, « an arch in the Roman style ».

Before dwelling on objects considered in order of date, we might suitably begin the study of mediaeval Rome with a particular class, less altered by modern work than others: those fine old campanili, or belfries, rising so conspicuously in square towers of brickwork, mostly adorned with inlaid crosses and discs of porphyry, or of bright green earthenware, and divided by cornices (the loftier usually by seven) of marble or terra cotta corbels, between which open arcade-windows with marble colonnettes of various sizes, their heavy and barbaric capitals also various. That ornamentation with coloured earthenware and porphyry, in some instances torn off or otherwise lost, is the trace of history on their time-worn walls. It was first adopted by the Pisans, whose example other cities followed, after that people had become masters of Corsica, A. D. 1091, where they found the manufacture of pottery, introduced by the Saracens, in a flourishing state;

and to Pisan taste is due this first application of such coloured plates (as on almost all these towers), for a species of inlaid work that relieves the monotony of the brick surfaces. The number of such belfries in Rome, (including a few quite modern, as we now see them), amounts to forty.

Bells for summoning to worship were scarcely known in Europe till towards the close of the sixth century, and were then first heard in monasteries. In primitive times the faithful used to be apprised of the hours for religious assembly by their ministers; or, in some cloisters, by the sound of a trumpet breaking on the silence of the cell at the hour of prayer. The Italian terms, *campana*, *campanile*, originate in a tradition, not now admitted, that the first sacred bells were heard at Nola, in the Neapolitan province of Campania, now Terra di Lavoro. About the end of the sixth century it was that, soon after the introduction of bells, towers began to be built for receiving them; and in the earliest known instance, about A. D. 560, at Merida, in Portugal; but not till about the year 770 was raised by Pope Stephen II the first belfry in Rome, which blazed forth into fiery splendour at Easter, beside S. Peter's. In the course of the eighth century was inserted in the Pontifical the beautiful form of blessing, popularly called *baptizing*, of bells; and as the religious use of these implements, for exciting memories or devotion, became more multifarious, bells were introduced, first in the eleventh century, at the most solemn passages in rites, and in processions, at marriages and funerals; were ordered, A. D. 1095, by Urban II, to be rung before sunrise and sunset, for inviting all to pray by the chimes, called, from the first words in the orison appointed, the « Angelus », or Ave Maria. How pre-eminently a city of bells Rome seemed to visitors in later ages, appears in the Pantagruel of Rabelais, who, describing his sojourn here in the time of Clement VII, finds no *sobriquet* more suitable for the sacred metropolis he is too cautious to name, than *l'Isle sonnante*.

It is difficult to determine the respective ages of all the Roman belfry towers; but impossible to admit what archaeo-



logists have claimed for their high antiquity. The most ancient churches that still have such towers, *relatively* ancient also, are: S. Pudenziana, Rome's primitive cathedral, consecrated, or rather built on the site first chosen for sacred use, in the house of the Christian senator, Pudens, by S. Pius I, about the year 446; the Lateran, whose two actual belfries (of the fifteenth century) are insignificant; S. Maria Maggiore; S. Giorgio in Velabro, built by Leo II, about 683; S. Maria in Campo Marzo, built as a monastery for Greek Basilians, and with *two*, instead of (as now) but one church within its cloisters — also of the seventh century; and S. Silvestro in Capite, founded by Pope Paul I (757–68), with a contiguous monastery, above the mansion of his forefathers. To the eighth century have also been ascribed the towers of S. Maria in Cosmedin, (one of the finest, 463 palms in height), and S. Giovanni a Porta Latina; to the ninth century, those of S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, S. Maria Nuova (or S. Francesca Romana) — a striking example — and S. Michele in Sassia, near the Vatican colonnades, one of the most graceful and finely proportioned. But tradition is not proof; and in the absence of written evidence, the best test as to the age of buildings must be sought in analogies of construction: applying which to the objects in question, I believe that the Roman belfries, in their aggregate, should be dated at periods ranging between the latter years of the eleventh and the second half of the fifteenth century — though it seems certain that that of the ancient S. Paul's basilica was built long before the close of the former epoch. If we observe one among the finest, the S. Maria Nuova tower, and contrast it with the building it rises from, (on the site of a Pagan temple), we shall perceive how superior its masonry (though indeed poor compared with the antique) to that of the church's nave and aisle, in the part visible on the eastern side; the latter a specimen of most barbaric construction. And if we ascend that tower, we may not only enjoy a grand panorama, but observe the interesting signs of improvement in mediæval building, with much curious use (or abuse) of antique details, columns, capitals, and mouldings, in mar-

ble. A dim, spectral-looking place is the interior of the belfry at S. Prassede, (exteriorly of stunted form), where the lower wall-surfaces are covered on three sides with almost obliterated frescoes, perhaps of the ninth century, scarce one figure being distinguishable, though we discern the faint designs of groups; and may suppose the series to represent the life of S. Agnes, to which saint we know from Anastasius, that a chapel was dedicated at S. Prassede by Pope Pascal I, who rebuilt this church early in the ninth century. Such decoration clearly shows that we have here a building *not* intended for a belfry, but a portion of the original church, adorned (perhaps entirely covered) with paintings — that olden usage now best exemplified in the subterranean basilica of S. Clemente. If we ascend the rickety wooden stairs in that tower, we may see that the part visible from without, above the church-walls, has no other foundation than this same structure, with painted surfaces, cut off from the transepts; just as, on the other side, another section has been separated, in order to be used as a chapel, from the church, laterally to the high altar. It is thus apparent that the actual tower must be the more modern part, probably of the twelfth century, perhaps A. D. 1110, when S. Prassede was restored; and to about the same date must be referred the more graceful tower of S. Pudenziana, two renovations of which church, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are on record.

It is probable that the tiny tower of a tiny church on the river-side in Trastevere, first dedicated as the SS. Salvatore, but now known as S. Maria in Cuppella, *may* be the most ancient in Rome, and pertain to the original structure, built in 1090, later attached to a hospital founded by the sainted matron, S. Francesca Romana. Others among these towers, noticeable for picturesque character, that may be assigned with something like certainty to periods within successive centuries, are: of the twelfth century — S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Lorenzo in Lucina, (now shorn of its original height), S. Maria in Monticelli, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Eustachio,



the afore-named S. Silvestro, and S. Giovanni à Porta Latina, S. Bartolommeo on the Tiber-island, S. Salvatore, « alle Coppelle », a small, dilapidated, but remarkable example; and another in Trastevere, S. Salvatore in Corte, a church with some good mediæval masonry and terra cotta cornices, though mostly masked, as is its tower also, by modern work of poorest character; — of the thirteenth century — S. Cecilia, S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Giorgio, and S. Michele in Sassia, S. Croce, S. Lorenzo beyond the walls, S. Alessio on the Aventine, and SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the last amongst the most majestic; — of the fourteenth century, S. Maria Maggiore, whose tower shows much modern repair, with alteration of the finer details; — of the fifteenth century, S. Sisto on the Appian Way, S. Spirito, and S. Maria dell'Anima, a light graceful tower, with Ionic pilasters and small tapering spire. In stormy periods, the loftier of these campanili served for purposes of defence or attack; and were used also, it seems, for concealment of treasure.

After the cupola, now so prevalent in Rome, swelling into the bulbous form, had been adopted in lieu of the high quadrate structure, that latter type became neglected. The first cupola here seen was raised above S. Agostino, 1488, by the architect Baccio Pintelli; and how completely modern architects depart not only from the design, but also the position of the belfry, when they undertake to rebuild, is manifest in the latest example, at the S. Paul's basilica, where the new tower, in the worst possible style, stands at the eastern extremity, instead of flanking the façade at the west.

There may be sufficient grounds for all the worst imputations against the social, if not against the intellectual, claims of the tenth century; and in general tenor Roman annals of this period are, indeed, tragic.

For about fifty years of this century was government in Rome *de facto* usurped by a powerful patrician family, first represented by Theophylactus, senator and duke, and his wife Theodora (*senatrix*); afterwards by their daughters, the

notorious Theodora and Marozia, who, with their successive husbands, exercised tyrannic and immoral sway from their sullen stronghold, the Hadrian Mausoleum, or « Castle of Theodoric ». No more civilizing effects or enlightened character can we ascribe to the government of Marozia's son, Alberic, who violently put down the power of his mother, and of his step-father Hugo (her third husband), recently elected King of Italy; himself succeeding to absolute authority, held by him for twenty-two years.

It is not surprising to find all social progress, and almost all humanizing pursuits, suspended in Rome while such despotism maintained itself; and in fact this period proved utterly sterile in the range of public works and artistic activities.

The tragic interest that rests upon this historic page is reflected in an epitaph, lately discovered at the S. Lorenzo basilica, to Landolfus, a young man cut off by assassination in the flower of life, son of Theodora, here called *senatrix*, and Joannes, consul and duke; this inscription being dated by the indiction, in the time of Pope John XII, and the year of the Incarnation (the current style) 963. But another epigraph, dated 983, now at SS. Cosmo e Damiano, tells of the nobler, the devotional spirit, in striking contrast against prevalent corruption — recording a religious association founded by several bishops and priests, who pledge themselves, each on occasion of the death of one among their number, to celebrate forty masses for the repose of that brother's soul. An extant document, in the name of Marozia, is furnished with her *mark*, instead of signature, followed by the conventional abbreviation, *literae nescia*, « ignorant of letters »; a tolerably fair sample, we may conclude, of the then standard of education in Rome, even among the most prominent aristocracy.

It is to be remembered, among causes of decline, that the epoch in question had received a peculiarly sinister shade in the public mind from an idea now dominant, said to have

sprung from the prophecy of some hermit, and striking at the very roots of all hopeful energies, that the end of the world and the final judgment were at hand. All institutions except the Church were inevitably shaken and dislocated by this dream of superstition; and the formula, « seeing that the end of the world is approaching », became a usual commencement of last wills or acts of donation. « The belief », says Baronius, « in such rumours about the end of the world, and the speedy coming of Antichrist, was fostered by the frequent shocks of disaster suffered by the Church at Rome, also by the extreme perversion of morals, especially among ecclesiastics; and therefore was it deemed that this century, called, owing to many ills, the iron age, was to prove the last ». Yet even such gloomy picture has its brighter side. A general renovation of the monastic orders, already in most instances declined, but now re-awaking to nobler life and energies, is one of the luminous features of the time. The cloisters of S. Paul's, long left ruinous and almost deserted, (so that cattle used to take shelter in the church aisles), rose morally and materially restored about the year 936; and S. Alessio on the Aventine became a distinguished centre of studious piety, under an Abbot Sergius, whose epitaph is still seen there. In the year 999 was raised to the papal throne the most learned man of his time, the mathematician and astronomer, Gerbert, known as Sylvester II. Another Pope, less known to history, Marinus, dedicated his efforts not only to the reform of discipline among the secular and regular clergy, but also to the restoration of basilicas; and in the next age we become acquainted with an Abbot of Monte Cassino, styled « Restaurator Ecclesiarum » — Restorer of churches.

In his extant writings Sylvester II tells us that in these days men of learning abounded, not only in the cities, but in the rural districts of Italy; another contemporary calls the Lombardy of this period, *Fons Sapientiae*; which same designation, « Fountain of Wisdom, » is given to Rome, even in

this age, elsewhere so darkly depicted, by Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, whose merits and writings are not forgotten. We are told by the Chronicler of Salerno that thirty-two « philosophers » (a term indeed of suspicious latitude) might now be numbered among the inhabitants of Benevento alone ! Whatever the exaggeration in such statements, we may yet, after due deduction, arrive at proof that neither in this nor any other epoch, at least under Christian influences, was ever verified the total decay (however deep and general the decline) of true civilization or its intellectual produce. The law that has governed the moral world is that of continuity and progressiveness; and in her own self-developing life has Rome, like, yet unlike, other great centres, exemplified amidst unparalleled vicissitudes, and with rare example of energies tempered by Christian principle, the slow-working but certain operation of this great law in human history.

We are not informed as to this City's population in the tenth century; but may infer it to have been relatively insignificant; for when the census was first taken within the mediaeval period, under Innocent III, in 1198, it did not exceed 35,000. At that earlier epoch here in question, we are informed that her collegiate churches numbered sixty (not including others), her monasteries also sixty, forty being for male and twenty for female inmates, all following the Benedictine rule. One fact that claims attention is the progressive ruin, through wilful demolition or hostile assault, of almost all the principal classic remains; and it is notorious that the practice long prevailed, quite unchecked, of taking down antique monuments, breaking up sculptures or marble fragments for the sake of their materials; as well as that of concealing (and thus fortunately preserving) the old ruinous structures under ponderous brick towers, or within premises of castles. The term *Calcarius*, affixed to many names in documents of these times, does not imply « a burner of lime », but simply the fact that such persons possessed, or lived near, great lime-kilns, fed, no doubt, with the marbles

from classic ruins; for, as Gregorovius correctly states, Rome had now become like one vast lime-kiln for burning ancient marbles to supply mediæval residences, built in style probably as barbaric as their owners. If some appropriations of such objects were unjustifiable, others, however, may be excused, and were in harmony with the vocation of Christian Rome. Marangoni (*Cose gentilesche e profane*) makes computation of the number of columns, marble, porphyry, alabaster, etc., taken from classic edifices to adorn the churches in this City, as amounting to 688. During the pontificate of John XII, the principal basilicas, as we are told by Liutprand, were left in such desolate condition that the rain descended upon their altars (1). The restoration of the Lateran was, indeed, a great achievement, the only one of importance effected in such sacred range during the tenth century; and deplorable indeed is the subsequent almost total disappearance of the basilica of that age, through demolition or through tasteless alterations; as well as that of the palace adjacent, chief residence of the Popes for about 1000 years; which was at last taken down by order of Sixtus V, — all its historic art and sacred antiquities being thus swept away at once.

Strange were the vicissitudes that passed over that venerable church, styled in an epigraph still read on its front, *omnium orbis et urbis ecclesiarum caput et mater*, before it became reduced to its actual form by the architects of the XVI and XVII centuries; and it is known that much ancient structure remains immured, as in a tomb, within the ponderous and tasteless architecture of modern date. In the course of various repairs were found, embedded in its masonry, the coins of thirteen emperors, successively the

(1) That disreputable young Pope had not the credit of building or restoring church, or chapel, or anything else, except only a sacristy at the Lateran, which he founded for the convenience of robing himself before processions; and even that mother-church, as well as other basilicas, he is said to have very frequently (*sæpissim*) despoiled — Oldoinus in Ciaconius, « *Vitæ Pontif* ».



restorers and benefactors of this basilica, which was the scene of the coronations, installations, and sepulture of the Popes, and was to mediaeval feeling the very Mount Sion of Rome. Here were accumulated the most precious relics, both Pagan and Christian: the sacred spoils from the Temple of Jerusalem, the bronze wolf with the Twins, the bronze tablet known as the « *Lex Regia* » of Vespasian *ec.* With reference to the local claims, a bull of Boniface VIII sets forth that « if men knew what treasures of indulgence the Lateran Church contains it would no more be deemed necessary to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem or to S. Iago in Galicia ». Seven Cardinal bishops were appointed to officiate here, as representing the Pope. Emperors were sometimes crowned, many pontiffs were elected here; and this was the scene chosen by Cola di Rienzo for the fantastic ceremonial of his successive coronations.

The device of the Lateran chapter, a relief bust of the SAVIOUR between two candelabra, still seen on many houses and other buildings in Rome, reminds us that it was originally not as « San Giovanni », but as the basilica of the SAVIOUR that this primordial cathedral was known.

The church founded by Constantine seems to have been merely a great hall in that vast Lateran palace, whose ruins are still seen near the adjacent gateway, built into the Honorian walls. Of that church we have an authentic and ancient transcript in a small rude relief now in a corridor leading to the sacristy. Unscientifically and hurriedly thrown up, like most of the same emperor's buildings, it fell into total ruin, sinking under the weight of its feeble age, in the year 897; and the coincidence of this ominous event with the short and tragic pontificate of Stephen VII, rendered infamous by his revolting procedure against the dead Formosus, and whose own career closed in popular tumult, in his imprisonment and violent death; events suggesting to Baronius the idea of Divine vengeance, manifest in the fall of this chief among cathedrals, against the profanation of the holy see. John IX,

elected in 898, a virtuous and energetic pontiff, projected, but did not live long enough to effect, the restoration; and we read that the workmen he sent to collect timber among the Apennines near Spoleto were stopped and robbed by brigands. In consequence, the ancient basilica lay for seven years a desolate ruin, only frequented by citizens whose object was to ransack and despoil; priceless treasures, works of art, and precious offerings from popes or princes being thus irretrievably lost; among others, the golden cross presented by Belisarius in thanksgiving for, and with the inscribed record of, all his victories. Between the years 904—928 the rebuilding was completed by Popes Sergius III and John X; and that from the very foundations, as is proved by a mosaic inscription given in a chronicle edited by Pertz from a MS. in the Chigi Library:

« Sergius ipse pius papa hanc recepit ab imis  
Tertius explevit illam quam conspicis aulam ».

« Sergius III, that pious pope, who commenced it from its foundations, completed the sacred temple which thou beholdest ».

Even past magnificence was, so far as possible, revived by costly offerings intended for reproduction of those lost; and John X, who by gallant exertions (more suited perhaps to the warrior than the priest) had liberated Southern Italy from the scourge of Saracenic invasion, is said to have consecrated the richest spoils taken from Moslem foes by dedicating them to this renewed cathedral. An epigraph in quaint rhyming Latin verse, now on a cornice between the arcades of the façade, and probably of the twelfth century, commences:

« Dogmate papali datur ac imperiali  
Quod sim cunctarum mater caput ecclesiarum — »

making this edifice speak as a personality to tell that both by papal and imperial decree she has been appointed mother



and chief of all churches on earth, and desires to become as a glorious throne, « *inclita sedes* », to CHRIST.

The buildings of Sergius and John X may have vindicated the claims of this age to architectural genius; but they had brief existence, eventually becoming the prey of flames, fatal to all that could be so destroyed. In 1084 they were greatly injured, and the adjacent papal palace was partly laid in ashes, by the fire caused by the troops of Robert Guiscard. In 1130 Innocent II carried out various repairs; mosaics were placed on the façade, representing the stories of the conversion of Constantine and S. Sylvester; and between 1288 — 1292, Nicholas IV caused the fore and rear portions to be renewed, other parts in decay to be strengthened by iron bands, and that semicircular apse to be built in which we still see the valuable mosaics hitherto supposed of the same date as the structure it adorns, 1290, though believed by some critics (see Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle) to be in the greater portion an earlier work, restored and amplified under Nicholas IV. In 1308 occurred the first, and in 1360 the second conflagration of the ancient Lateran; after the earlier of which disasters Clement V sent from Avignon large sums for repairs, commenced in 1309; but after [the second fire, in which the colonnades were crushed by the falling in of the roof, this church was again left for about four years a totally neglected ruin, and in such state seen by Petrarch, as alluded to in his eloquent appeal to the pontiff at Avignon, urging the re-establishment of the holy See at Rome. « With what heart », says the patriot poet, addressing Urban V, « with what heart, holy father — forgive the boldness of my zeal — canst thou sleep under the gilded ceilings of thy chambers on the banks of the Rhone, whilst the Lateran, mother of all churches, is lying low, without even a roof, abandoned to wind and weather; whilst the sanctuaries of S. Peter and S. Paul are tottering in decay, and what once were temples of Apostles are left in ruin, formless heaps of stone, which might surely draw tears from those whose hearts are stone? » Nor was

this appeal thrown away. In 1364 commenced, by order of Urban V, the entire renovation of this basilica, at costs mainly supplied by wealthy benefactors from different countries; and in the course of the next few years was erected the magnificent Gothic tabernacle over the high altar, for relics (still enshrined therein) of SS. Peter and Paul — the skulls, namely, of those Apostles, kept in jewelled silver busts. That altar itself contains another much-prized relic — part of the wooden table on which S. Peter celebrated the Eucharist in the house of the Christian Senator, Pudens, who entertained him at Rome. Later restorations and embellishments were ordered by various popes; by Martin V, the adornment of the attics with fresco paintings by the best artists of the day; by Sixtus IV, the rebuilding of the two belfry towers; other works by Eugenius IV and Alexander VI. But unfortunately, in the new direction given to taste and art in the sixteenth century, it was determined completely to transform this ancient basilica; and the ill-counselled undertaking, commenced under Pius IV, carried on by Sixtus V, Innocent X, and Alexander VII, was completed in 1736 by addition of the façade with double porticoes and loggia, a fine example of the modern Italian, but utterly alien to the antique Basilica-style.

In the actual Lateran the sole remnant of tenth-century architecture is the aisle behind the tribune, with groined vaulting in bays, divided by granite and marble columns without basements, their capitals either Ionic or debased Corinthian. This compartment was originally semicircular, but is now reduced, by modern works, to a pentagon; its character reminding of the Gothic, though it cannot be strictly classed among examples of that style. — Among the few other details preserved from the ancient basilica, are the four lofty bronze columns, fluted and gilt, that now flank the altar of the Holy Sacrament; these said to have been brought by Titus from Jerusalem, and to be filled with earth from the Holy Land; having been formerly placed at the angles of the high al-

tar, and destined to support statues of silver and gold, or lamps, in which, on high days, precious balsams used to be burned. These columns are mentioned in an inventory of relics, in mosaic letters on gold (of the thirteenth century), set into a wall of the above-named aisle, where we also read of the deposit at the Lateran of *all* the sacred vessels from the Jerusalem Temple, represented in relief on the triumphal arch of Titus.

According to art-traditions, we may ascribe to the Constantinian period two fine mosaic heads of the SAVIOUR, still in their places at this church; one in a tympanum at the summit of the façade; the other, more sternly expressive and darker-complexioned than the former, (which is indeed beautiful), in the apse, overlooking the choir, above, and distinct from, the large mosaic group that occupies the apsidal vault below. Within the most interesting but now woefully neglected cloisters, of the thirteenth century, we see the ancient white marble throne, rich in mosaic ornamentation; the remnant of a large twisted candelabrum resting on a couchant lion, fragments of marble encrustation, and other noticeable details, saved (we may conclude) from the scattered contents of the earlier basilica; also a porphyry slab, set vertically between columns, and said to be the very stone on which the soldiers cast lots for the garments of the Crucified; a measure, formed by a slab resting on four pillars, said to be that of the stature of our LORD; a puteal (marble well-head) with mouldings that seem of the tenth century, said to be that at which He conversed with the woman of Samaria; two marble columns with chiselled ornaments, split by the earthquake at the time of the Crucifixion! Other sculptured marbles and monumental statues in these cloisters are of later art. Giotto's valuable fresco, the portrait of Boniface VIII, was not originally painted for this church, where we now see it, but for a portico of the adjacent palace, whence used to be given the Papal Benediction with the Plenary Indulgence, represented by the artist as an event in the Jubilee Year,

1300 : the pontiff blessing with uplifted hand , whilst a cleric reads the bull of indulgence. Another papal portrait at the Lateran , no doubt authentic , is a kneeling statue of Nicholas IV , now in the aisle behind the tribune — but a barbaric specimen indeed of thirteenth-century art. The outer walls of that same aisle , an irregular construction of brick , here and there filled up with stone , are all that remains , externally , of the church of Popes Sergius and John X.

Notwithstanding all its modern splendours , a cold neglect , an atmosphere of gloom now strike the mind , and disappoint the expectation at this , Rome's first cathedral. Amidst a thinly-peopled and malaria-infested region , it is served by a Capitular clergy , but left almost without any congregation , any worshippers at the altar , or penitents at the confessional ; and but for the few occasions of grand papal *funzione* , or on Holy Saturday , neither the curious nor the devout ever assemble in large numbers within this solitary church.

Little else do we see in Rome of tenth-century architecture , save in one wing of the S. Croce monastery , that advances , with portico of round arches and low heavy columns , the capitals debased Corinthian , behind later buildings , opening on the pleasant garden bounded at one side by the Honorian walls — a quiet picturesque scene , where religious and political memories are impressively blended. And that olden structure , rude in itself , derives interest from association , for we recognize in it the monastic foundation of Pope Benedict VII , about 975 , where it was desired that austere piety should have its calm retreat , and virtue protest by example against the evils of a corrupt age , and where the zealous monks kept up perpetual lauds (or psalmody) day and night ; observances recorded , as is also the origin of those cloisters , in the epitaph of Benedict VII still extant in S. Croce. The revival of monastic observance in Rome , as well here as at S. Paul's on the Ostian Way , and on the classic Aventine hill , forms one of the redeeming features in the otherwise darkened realities of the tenth century.

One chronicler, Leo Ostiensis, states that the mosaic art had utterly declined, and been forgotten in Italy, for more than five centuries before the Abbot of Monte Cassino, Desiderius, (who became pope as Victor III), invited artists from Constantinople — none, it seems, from Rome — to adorn the monastic church rebuilt by him with great splendour, and brought to completion in 1070. The ignorance of that chronicler as to artistic activities in Rome during the 500 years in question, seems unaccountable; for, if the mosaic art had been, which is undeniable, rapidly declining from the eighth century, as manifest in those not the less interesting examples of its produce in the ninth, that adorn the churches rebuilt by Paschal I (S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, S. Maria in Domnica), it could still achieve things worthy of notice even at a later, and, in respect to all art-characteristics, worse period; witness the sole example in Rome of mosaic of the tenth century — the group, originally placed over the tomb of Otho II, 983, in the paradisus, or outer portico of S. Peter's, and which, now severed from that monument, is still seen in the crypt below the basilica, and may be studied in a very free copy at the Lateran Museum. It represents the SAVIOUR in the act of benediction between SS. Peter and Paul, half-length figures; the former Apostle with the singular symbol of *three*, instead of the usual *two* keys, here implying the combination of the imperial, royal, and sacerdotal prerogatives, or the plenitude of sacred attributes in knowledge, power, and jurisdiction, proper to the supreme apostolic office. According to one critic, Alemanni, this triple symbol alludes to the right, not of participating in, but bestowing imperial power — as exemplified, not long previously to the date of the mosaic work in question, by the act of Pope John XII, in crowning Otho I, and transferring to a German dynasty the empire of the West, so far at least as it rested with the papacy to accomplish such an important revolution. Whatever the technical defects in this mosaic, a certain grandeur and earnestness distinguish the heads; and we might cite the old chronicler who de-



scribes it as « an image of the SAVIOUR suitably treated, and in act of giving benediction » (1). Baronius also speaks of it appreciatingly, telling us that in his time (while the tomb of Otho still stood in the atrium), those who entered used to kneel before it, turning to the east — « not », says the historian, « to adore the rising sun, but in order to receive a blessing from the Redeemer » — Baronius here undertaking to justify what earlier writers had reprobated, namely, the ancient practice of praying towards the East at the summit of the stairs before S. Peter's, which seemed to more rigid theologians a superstitious reminiscence of the worship of the sun-god.

The deep decline of art at this epoch seems less glaringly manifest in painting than in sculpture; and in the prevalent severe and mournful character, peculiar to works of the earlier mediæval periods, we may see a result or index of moral tendencies; of the high regard for examples of extreme asceticism and self-mortification, of the trust in the expiatory virtue of self-inflicted suffering; also of the gradually developing system of canonical penance, regulated by a tariff of penalties to be paid as the debt for sin.

The art-school, introduced into Italy after the Iconoclasts had driven into exile so many Greek monks occupied in painting sacred pictures, continued long dominant, and was marked by all characteristics of its Byzantine origin. To that school, whether of Greek or Italian pencils, must be ascribed most

(1) One must regret and condemn the alterations made by some modern restorer (or rather destroyer) in this historic work. Originally was placed in the hand of S. Peter a long cross, as well as the triple keys, and in that of S. Paul a scroll only; now, the former Apostle wants the *crux hastata*, and the latter bears the sword, an object, as is well known, of comparatively modern introduction as S. Paul's attribute. See the description cited by Dioninisi, *Vatic. Basyll. Crypt. Monumenta*, from Grimaldi, who had seen this mosaic before those innovations ordered subsequently to the building of the new S. Peter's.

of the Madonnas enshrined above altars, and usually covered with veils, which are still surrounded with such veneration in Roman churches, and are in not a few instances ascribed, with utter disregard for art-history, to S. Luke; also those images assumed to be authentic portraits of our Lord, as the « Volto Santo », and the full-length figure, encased in silver, at the « Sancta Sanctorum — » or ancient oratory of the Lateran palace, now entered at the summit of the Scala Sancta; this picture being mentioned in the report of the procession, when it was carried by Pope Stephen II, A. D. 753, at a crisis of danger to Rome from Longobard invasion. It is usually concealed from view, as that chapel itself is generally inaccessible; but on certain anniversaries it is unveiled, with brief but impressive ceremonial, in presence of the whole Lateran Chapter, who pass processionally from that basilica to the adjacent building for devotions before this image. The « Volto Santo » is first mentioned in the account of the consecration of the Pantheon by Boniface IV, about A. D. 608, when it was placed in a shrine, above an altar of the new-dedicated fane, there to remain for centuries before its transfer to S. Peter's (1). The Madonna, enshrined amidst agate, jasper, and lapislazuli, in the superb Borghese chapel at S. Maria Maggiore, is said to be the one carried by S. Gregory the Great in penitential procession during the visitation of pestilence, A. D. 590. But another, over the high altar of the Araceli church, asserts its rival claims in the same tradition. The Madonna at S. Maria Nuova, near the Forum, was brought from the East by one of the Frangipani family after the first Crusade. That painted, within a niche, in a lateral chapel at S. Gregorio, (evidently retouched by modern hands), is said to be the picture before which the same sainted pontiff used

(1) Having once had opportunity of seeing this celebrated image from a near point of view, I may express my persuasion that it neither is, nor can be, anything else than an ancient but disagreeable specimen of the ascetic Byzantine school.



to pray ; that at S. Benedetto in Piscinula , a small Trasteverine church on the site of the house of S. Benedict , is said to have been an object of the devotions of that great founder of monasticism in childhood. A picture in the crypt of S. Prassede, which some refer to the eleventh , others to the twelfth century , is an early example of the Mother without the Child , youthful , lovely and in gorgeous costume , standing between the daughters of the senator Pudens , S. Praxedis and S. Pudentiana. Not many among these old Madonna pictures in Rome can be allowed intrinsic merit , and the greater number are anything but fair to look upon — almost black , and very repulsive. It is remarkable that no work of high art has ever become the object of the sort of fetish worship sanctioned in regard to these. But one of the Madonnas ascribed to the early Greek school , at S. Maria in Cosmedin , possesses other claims — the life-size figures of the Mother and Child being in this instance indeed beautiful ; the former distinguished by a tender dignity and grave sweetness, the latter by child-like loveliness ; and though traditionally supposed to be one of the many pictures imported during the Iconoclast persecution , as a Greek inscription below seems to prove , this work is ascribed by good critics to some Italian pencil of the twelfth century.

The paintings in the now subterranean church of S. Clemente — invaluable as filling up the hiatus, hitherto left in Roman art-history, between the primitive works in catacombs and the incipient renaissance — have been assigned severally to dates extending from the fourth to the twelfth century. It is not impossible that some may be later ; but it seems well ascertained that the tenth and eleventh centuries must be the periods of not a few. Among them one of the most curious , and indeed barbaric , is a Crucifixion , with the Virgin and S. John beside the cross ; no doubt the earliest example in painting , at Rome , of that subject , whose introduction is so important both for the interests of art and the tendencies of ritual. Though this awful death-scene had appeared in art-treat-

ment even from the sixth century, and had begun to take its place in the sanctuary from the eighth, we have no ground for supposing that its permanent and indispensable position in the sacred cycle can have been determined earlier than the tenth or eleventh century. The example at S. Clemente may, I believe, be fairly referred to the former of those centuries; being decidedly inferior to the mosaics in Roman churches of the preceding age, as also to many art-works in this city, pictorial and mosaic, referable to the twelfth century. The figure on the cross appears dead; and we know that neither death nor agony were commonly, though they indeed were occasionally, represented in this act of the Divine Sufferer's story, before the subject had passed into its second phase, that is, from about the beginning of the tenth century, when such modification was popularized in the West by Greek monks.

Another subject, among these paintings, assumed to be the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, might be considered the earliest example, at least in western art, of such introduction in the sacred range, if we could feel assured that the Assumption were really intended here. Though Roman critics be agreed in this notion as to the picture in question, I must venture to differ so far as to maintain that it is the Ascension of our Lord which is here presented to us, in rudest treatment. True, the Mother's figure is central and at higher level than those of the Apostles, who stand around her; but, instead of soaring upwards, she is evidently standing on terra firma, her arms extended in prayer, whilst above her and the lower group, high in air, hovers the form of the SAVIOUR within an elliptical nimbus supported by angels; and His, not hers, is the ascending figure, as indicated also in the action of the angels, who seem to bear upwards that encircling halo in the midst of which stands the Glorified One. Interesting also is the accessorial figure of a pontiff with the square nimbus, (implying a person who still lived), and the incscription, « sanctissimus dominus, Leo Papa Romanus », with the last letters

of a word that might be read either *tertius* or *quartus*; and we may here recognize either Leo III, deceased 816, or Leo IV, 855.

To the century following may be assigned another Madonna at S. Clemente, painted within a niche; in the insipid character and overloaded ornaments of whose head and person we recognize the *fade* Byzantine manner. The « Maries at the Sepulchre », the « Descent into Limbo », and the « Marriage at Cana », in the same subterranean church, all at an angle with the Crucifixion picture, are apparently of about the same period as the latter, being alike rude, and almost grotesque attempts at subjects perhaps new to the art-range in its earlier limitations. The « Funeral of S. Cyril », in which a crowned pontiff, Nicholas I, walks in procession, preceded by clerics with sacred symbols, may perhaps be of not much later date than that pope's reign, 858-67.

The deep decline of the tenth century is apparent in other paintings, not long since discovered, at the extramural S. Lorenzo, and which Signor De Rossi, in his *Bollettino*, refers to that age. These occupy the walls of two dim-lit arched recesses, each series representing the Blessed Virgin amidst several saints, male and female, with their names inscribed, who all carry either crowns or caskets; a large jewelled cross being painted on the vault above the two principal figures. Alike do they display the lowest conditions of fallen art; and, contrasted together, mark the transition in the treatment of a favourite subject. On one hand the Madonna appears, as in primitive art, matronly, veiled, and simply clad; on the other, youthful, crowned, and in gorgeous attire: on one hand, in attitude of prayer and standing alone; on the other, seated, with the Child in her lap. Between these two types lies the ideal of the great Italian masters, who retain the loveliness but reject the finery.

Below the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano we descend into a crypt, little known or visited, but certainly noticeable, and probably one of the most ancient oratories ever used

for Christian worship at Rome. It is said to have been first consecrated, A. D. 338, by Pope Felix II. after he had been deposed by the Arian emperor, Constantius; but to all appearance is of much older origin, and, though connected with a Pagan temple, (that Rotunda identified by German archaeologists as the fane of the Penates, now serving as a vestibule to SS. Cosmo e Damiano), was probably appropriated for Christian uses anterior to the cessation of persecutions. It seems, indeed, unlikely that amid the circumstances under which Felix II was constrained to abandon his see, after occupying it but for an interval during the exile of Liberius, A. D. 355, the retirement to a dark subterranean, for celebrating sacred rites, could have been deemed necessary; and this church, which ultimately absorbed the antique temple, was not built till between A. D. 526-530. At the time of Liberius's exile the Roman population was, in the majority, Christian and Orthodox, whilst the emperor, resident at Milan, proved an obstinate and intolerant heretic. The narrow vaulted chamber, dark as night, into which we descend, below another subterranean story, contains a plain stone altar, sunk deep in the pavement; and in an arched recess above is a much-faded picture of the Madonna and Child, with two other figures, one effaced in all but a single hand extended to present an offering. Critics have referred to the tenth century this painting in which we perceive only the devotional intent without the slightest aim at beauty; Mary's countenance, with sharpened features and large staring eyes, reminding us of an Egyptian idol rather than of the soul-animated creations of Christian art. At this half-Pagan, half Christian edifice in the Forum we find the term to our walk through Rome in search of tenth-century monuments.

Quitting Rome, to search for other monuments of this period, we find few, but, among those few, some remarkable proofs of the genius and energies of the century here considered. One memorable fact, in the history of Architecture, is the introduction of the acute arch, of which we

may be surprised to see the earliest Italian example in the immediate neighbourhood of Rôme, where that so-called Gothic style has met with so little favour, or, we should rather say, with such decided and permanent antagonism. Towards the close of this century the lower-situated of the two monasteries on the mountain above Subiaco, namely, S. Scolastica, was almost entirely rebuilt by its abbot, soon after which it was reconsecrated by Benedict VII, A. D. 984.

The actual church, however, is of the XVIII century, when, unfortunately, the ancient S. Scolastica was almost totally destroyed, except four lateral chapels and its crypt, still preserved entire, and lately restored for the uses of worship by an intelligent abbot, Don Pietro Casaretto. One of the three cloisters presents example of the pointed style in its arcades; and is supposed to be the original building of the X, though some refer it to the XI century, and to the year 1053, date of an inscription here seen. A rude relief of the Virgin seated between lions, and another of a wolf and a lamb drinking out of the same vase, emblematic of concord, are supposed to be both of that earlier date. An extant design of the church, made in 1674, shows that the colonnades supported acute arches, while in the choir and lateral chapels the arches were semicircular.

From this period the cathedral church became, in natural consequence of the mutual interpenetrating and blending of religious and civil interests, (the scene not merely of sacred rites, but also of political transactions, assemblies of civic parliaments, ratifying of alliances, publishing of edicts, declaration of war or peace &c. Such appropriations, of course, reacted on the character of the architecture, necessitating enlarged scale, and perhaps inducing a greater gravity of style. One of the first Italian cathedrals built in conformity with these new requirements, is that of Genoa, an imposing structure, occupying the place of an older church dedicated, as is the present, to S. Laurence; and substi-

tuted for the original cathedral, S. Siro, which, being extramural, was no longer secure against the incursions of Saracens. Additions and embellishments of later date have left, probably, little, at that S. Lorenzo church, so ancient as the X century. The façade is of a century later; but the lateral walls, on the right, belong to the original building, as also do several antique fragments, some with chiselling; others with epigraphs on stone, evidently spoils still more ancient, here set into the walls according to the barbaric practice of the time.

On a wooded mountain above Spoleto stands picturesquely a church of the X century, S. Giuliano, once belonging to a Benedictine Abbey, but now desecrated and abandoned to decay. A square grey tower rises beside the narrow front; the windows are round-arched, and in the greater number mere loop-holes that cannot have been glazed; heavy piers, instead of columns, support the round arches of the nave; and beyond the isolated high altar is a small apse. The Crypt, of better architecture, is vaulted and divided by files of low irregular columns. Nothing could be more desolate and spectral than the aspect of this forlorn church; and I was not surprised to learn from a peasant, at a cottage near, that it is believed to be haunted; that strange noises and mysterious lurid lights had been seen inside by labourers who have ventured to pass the night within its walls — the latter phenomena perhaps to be accounted for by the fact that it was used for sepulture, some years ago, during a visitation of cholera. The earliest example of a crypt in any Italian church, out of Rome, is that at S. Mark's, Venice, sole extant portion of the original basilica founded about A. D. 828; the date of this subterranean being about 977. Here was deposited the most revered of relics that city possesses, the body of S. Mark; but this crypt, owing to influx of water, has remained for ages inaccessible (4).

(4) This crypt, so long unvisited, was reopened and repaired early in the year 1868. It is of the simple and massive style



SANNAZARO, in an epigram on the glories of Venice, imagines Neptune to exult in the superiority of that sea-girt city even over Rome, and thus haughtily apostrophize Jupiter:

« Si Pelago Tyberim praeferes, Urbem aspice utramque:  
Illam homines dices, hanc posuisse Deum ! » —

a frigid conceit truly amidst the memories that shed such a light around that Queen of the Adriatic; and we would rather cite the lines of Wordsworth:

« Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee,  
And was the safeguard of the West; the worth  
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,  
Venice, the eldest child of Liberty ! »

Venice had the vocation of reconciling the Eastern with the Western genius, and introducing into the Latin architecture a character of gorgeous gloom, of poetic mysticism, that preceded the sway of the Northern Gothic, and was utterly foreign to the order of ideas apparent in the Romanesque basilica type.

In ecclesiastical history this state presents a singular union of devotedness and independence, of munificent piety and jealousy against spiritual despotism; lavish in her bounties towards the temple and its ministers, pompous and festal to the highest degree in public worship, yet oftentimes troublesome, if not downright rebellious, in her relations with Rome; whilst guided by a just sense, that could discern the limits where patriotism might meet hierarchic claims, and where reason might repel the attempt to confound things temporal with things spiritual.

observed in the crypts of S. Miniato and S. Croce (Florence), with vaulting and files of low columns; still in excellent preservation: nor were other repairs, except that of the pavement, found necessary. Thanks be to the new authorities who have thus restored to public use and appreciation so interesting a monument !

It would be difficult to determine dates for the first churches founded on the islands of the Lagunes by the fugitives from the continental Venetia, who there sought refuge during the invasion of Alaric, A. D. 409; or by those who fled to the same retreats, in greater number, after Attila had captured and fired Aquileia, Altinum, Padua, and Concordia, A. D. 452. Subsequently to the restoration of those cities the emigrants still remained in their new homes, adopting forms of local government, electing for each island a chief magistrate, under the title of « Tribune », to be renewed annually; and, in 697, agreeing, by the advice of the Patriarch of Grado, to raise up a higher dignitary for life, with the title of « Doge »; the first chosen being one Paul Luke Anafest, appointed by twelve electors. In enumerating the prerogatives originally conferred on the Doge, the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo shows us the germ of that ecclesiastical polity so jealously maintained in after ages by this oligarchic state (1).

Of the first-built churches in these islands, and their ancient bishopric, subject to the patriarchs of Grado, the notices at hand are but scanty. Two oratories, dedicated to S. Geminianus and S. Theodore (the originally elect patron saint) rose near the site of the present S. Mark's; but it is traditional that the primitive Venetian church was that of S. James, built A. D. 421, conformably to a popular vow made when fire had broken out among the yet unfinished cottages on the Rivoalto (or Rialto) isle, after which engagement, urged by the terror of the moment, the flames were immediately checked. (2)

(4) « It was by his (the doge's) order that ecclesiastical assemblies were held. The election of prelates was made with concurrence of the clergy and people, though they had to receive investiture from him, and could not be installed without his mandate ». Later we shall see the appointment to the Patriarchate of Venice proceed directly from Rome.

(2) Sismondi concludes that the Rialto had been inhabited by a population with independent municipal government long before the

The antique *S. Iacopo* was rebuilt in its present form, A. D. 1194, and modernized in more showy style, 1600.

The first to hold spiritual sway over these islands was Obealtus, or Obelaltus, confirmed by Pope Adrian I (773), invested by the Doge, consecrated by the Gradense Patriarch, and installed in his cathedral of S. Peter on the island of Castello, which isle, from its former name, « Olivola, » gave to that bishopric the original designation, « Olivensis ». In 1151 this see was erected by Nicholas V. into a patriarchate, in succession to that of Grado; such new dignity being first held, and luminously illustrated, by a native patrician, Lorenzo Giustiniani, whose meek yet heroic character and apostolic self-devotedness suggest comparison with S. Carlo Borromeo. The reforms carried out by the canonized Lorenzo entitle him to everlasting gratitude from his fellow-citizens; proof whereof we see in a tablet, placed in the cathedral 1632, ascribing to his prayers the deliverance of Venice from plague, and recording the appointment of a day sacred to him with rites to be attended by the senate. Such example sets before us in fairest colours the life-giving virtues, perhaps latent till their action is required, but ever ready at the critical moment, and referable, assuredly, to the Divine Presence in the Church, manifest with power amidst darkest periods

time of Attila. The Longobard dominion in northern Italy tended to augment the importance of the state that had sprung up on these islands. When Arian bishops were placed by those invaders in the ancient Catholic sees, the ejected prelates retired to these safer shores, where new cathedrals and dioceses were founded in consequence. The Patriarch of Aquileja settled at Grado; the bishop of Oderzo at Heraclea, the bishop of Padua at Malamocco, the bishops of Altino and Concordia at Torcella and Caorlo. The link that united the ancient Venetia with Rome was broken by the fall of the western Empire. Subsequently the earliest record of this new Republic occurs in the official letters of Cassiodorus (*Varior.* I. XII, 24).

of disaster and evil in the vicissitudes of Italian Catholicism.

It may be true that Papal confirmation was deemed requisite to the validity of ecclesiastical elections at Venice; but how indispensable were the suffrages of the people, as well as of the entire clergy, is admitted by Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*), who says, in reference to the first occupant of this See: « A clero et populo postulatus, ab Adriano Papa confirmatus » — and who still more emphatically avows that « none could rise to the patriarchal dignity at Venice unless first designated, for sustaining such burden, by the Venetians themselves ».

Rapidly did this local Church expand into power and splendour, though excluded from all interposition in affairs of state. Before the building of S. Mark's, ninety churches had arisen in this city, which, in the XVIII century, contained seventy-two of parochial rank. The clergy were divided into nine congregations, each of about fifty members, severally privileged to elect their archpriests, and to be alike preceded by their crossers, banners, etc., in processions. Each of the six civic regions (*sextaria*), contained a school for the instruction of clerics, under masters appointed by the patriarch. The rectors (*plebani*) were presented to vacant livings by the people, though obliged to obtain diplomas either from the Doge or the Papal Legate. Thirty monasteries and convents for males, and twenty-nine for females, rose on the islands within the lagunes; most conspicuous being the Benedictine cloisters of S. George, founded (982) by a pious citizen, who there became abbot. Among no fewer than one hundred pious confraternities there were six distinguished as « scholae magnae », possessing splendid oratories, (some most rich in art), and large revenues exclusively applied to charitable and religious objects; besides which, there were seventy-two similar associations pledged to promote the worship of the Holy Sacrament; and the annual expenditure of 200,000 gold sequins was the average assigned to public

charities at Venice. The revenues of the patriarchate are stated as 42,000 ducats, burdened with a tax to the Roman « Camera » of 4,280 florins from each incumbent.

It cannot be questioned that the possession of much-revered relics has often proved to Italian cities a fecund source of moral benefits, — an influence that, acting through the imagination, touched the chords of loyalty and patriotism. Great were the abuses that sprang from the idea of the virtues and self-communicating sanctity attached to such sacred remains; but if any powers ascribed by popular belief to the saintly tomb have really acted upon the human mind for good, one cannot see that, on retrospective grounds, the Church should be required to forego a once potent means of exciting pure emotion, and deepening the sense of the *religio loci* in her sanctuaries.

For Venice is claimed, by Ughelli, pre-eminence in this respect above all Italian cities, with the sole exception of Rome 11). Most characteristic of the mental tone of an epoch is the story given with full details by Sabellicus, (Hist. Venet), telling how S. Mark's body was brought, A. D. 831, from Alexandria to Venice. The King of the Saracens, having founded a superb palace at Alexandria, ordered that the most precious marbles should be everywhere sought, and especially those in Christian churches, for its adornment. Two Venetian tribunes, Bonus and Rusticus by name, repaired for their devotions to S. Mark's, one of that city's finest churches.

(4) After the siege and capture of Constantinople in 1204, and after the subsidence of the rage with which the French and Venetian crusaders avenged themselves on, and appropriated the vast treasures of, that capital, a distribution of relics, besides that of other spoils, was carefully arranged by those in command. The doge, the « blind old Dandolo », sent thence to Venice « a portion of the true Cross, an arm of S. George, a part of the head of S. John Baptist, the body of S. Lucia, that of the prophet Simeon, and a phial of the Blood of CHRIST » (Daru, v. i. l. iv).

ches, where they found the Greek priests trembling in fear of this spoliation; they urged the consignment of the Apostle's body to themselves, that it might be moved beyond reach of profanation, and enshrined for perpetual honour in their own city. At first the priests would not listen to a project sacrilegious in their eyes. But soon that sanctuary was invaded by myrmidons who at once began their work of spoliation; and at this emergency the defenceless guardians consented to give up their sacred charge. The Venetians received the body, the precaution being taken of introducing another, that of S. Claudian, into the same envelopments of silk and linen, from which had been removed the more precious relics, without breaking the seals that fastened those draperies; and soon was a delicious perfume diffused through the whole building, so that crowds were attracted to visit the tomb whence all knew it must have emanated, but the spoliation of which none could divine. To secure the transport of their precious freight to a Venetian vessel then at anchor in the harbour, the two tribunes placed it in a basket lined with herbs, and covered it with slices of pork — a flesh the Moslem would not even touch. Thus was it safely brought on board, and suspended, wrapped in a sail, to the mainmast, in order to be withdrawn from the vigilance of those who might visit the ship before she left that port. On the voyage a terrific tempest imperilled the travellers, but they were of course saved, and miraculously, by S. Mark, who appeared to Bonus, directing the mariners what to do, and assuring them of his protection. The vessel, and ten others that had sailed with her, reached Venice safely; the joyful tidings spread that an Apostle had come to bless that city; exultation and devout thanksgiving ensued, while « all predicted that the power of that saint would secure perpetual glory to the republic, as now was confirmed an ancient tradition to the effect that S. Mark, while in life, had sailed on the sea of Aquileia, and having touched at those islands, had there seen a celestial vision, intimating to him that his bones



should one day repose on that yet uninhabited shore ». (Sabellicus, *decad. i. l. 44.*) The relics were deposited in the ducal chapel; and the Doge, Justinian Participazio, who died soon after this event, left a sum for the building of a majestic church; the chapel here mentioned being probably that dedicated to S. Theodore, which eventually gave place to the basilica, completed between 828 ad 831, and rebuilt, after destruction by fire, between 1043 and 1073.

That other primitive oratory, S. Geminianus, whose site is still marked by a slab of red marble, inlaid in the pavement of the piazza S. Marco, has also disappeared. The Republic determined to demolish it in order to the enlargement of that square; but not venturing to do so without due sanction, asked permission, through its ambassador at Rome, to whom the exquisitely subtle answer was made that « neither the Church nor the Holy See could ever give permission to do wrong; but, when wrong was done, could pardon it! » (Daru *vol. i. l. iii.*) In consequence, S. Geminiano was swept away, and the Pope imposed a penance, thenceforth perpetuated in curious ceremonial: on a given day, every year, the Doge, attended by his councillors and foreign ambassadors, repaired to the piazza, where the rector of the parish, with his clergy, advancing to the site of the antique edifice, pronounced the formula: « I demand of your serene Highness when it may please you to cause my church to be rebuilt in its ancient situation? » to which his Highness replied: « Next year! » a promise renewed during six centuries. The history of the Venetian See is much enveloped, at its earlier stage, in the colouring mists of legend. Obealtus, its first prelate, who built in 790 a church to S. John the Evangelist, persisted till death in the ascetic self-denial of a hermit, giving the greater part of his revenues to the poor, yet withal cheerful and benign (*mitissimus, hilaris, jucundus*); and celestially rewarded even in this life by a vision of the Blessed Virgin in glory amidst a choir of angels, whilst he celebrated midnight Mass in his cathedral! Scandalous is the

contrast presented by his immediate successor, Christophorus, a Greek, whom the Doge, John Galbaio, raised to this bishopric when but sixteen years of age. As the Patriarch properly refused to recognize such an intruder, the Doge's son went to Grado to punish the venerable prelate, who was killed by being thrown from a tower of the fortifications (about 801); notwithstanding which crime, the next patriarch, Fortunatus, eventually recognized the boy-bishop; and legend has paid honour even to the latter in the story that he had been proclaimed the elect of heaven by an infant without natural speech; also, that soon after his death, his ghost, terrific in aspect, appeared to the canons at their night-office in the cathedral, upbraiding them for their want of devotion and neglect of discipline — an ingenuous testimony to the evils darkening the horizon of the Italian Church in the ninth century. Fortunatus, who was nephew to his murdered predecessor, long harboured the designs of vengeance, and conspired with certain Venetian nobles for the overthrow of the now hated Doge; but their plot being discovered and thwarted, he fled to the Court of Charlemagne, whom he urged to hostilities against Venice; hence the policy adopted by the Frankish Emperor of expelling all Venetian subjects from Ravenna. Another scandal occurred when a youth of eighteen was raised to the See of Venice in 1065; but the Doge refused investiture; notwithstanding which, the juvenile prelate occupied his sacred post for five years. After the transfer of the Patriarchate (1451), it appears, (see the biographies drawn up by Ughelli, that the Venetian prelates were without exception zealous and exemplary in the discharge of their onerous duties; and it is noticeable that, even to the last page of the chapter on Venice in the « Italia Sacra », we read of the interposition of a laic and political element at the ecclesiastical comitia; for it was, we are told, by the Senate, that Giovanni Baduaz was elected to this Patriarchate in 1688; and in the last of these lives we are reminded of the legend concerning the Ravenna Archbishops by the story, given in

perfect faith, of a dove having flown into the midst of the assembly, and thus determined the choice that raised Pietro Barbarico to the Venetian See, in 1706.

Precedence of the more illustrious S. Marco must be allowed to the ancient cathedral on that Island of Torcello, to which the citizens of Altinum and Aquileia first fled from the barbarian invaders of northern Italy; and which became the parent-isle of the new State, seat of its first bishopric, and long maintained as a separate See under government alike independent; for Torcello had its own Podesta and Senate, thus preserving an autonomic existence till the fall of the Republic. The Torcello cathedral was founded about A. D. 641; first restored, being already ruinous, in 864; and again almost entirely rebuilt by the Bishop Orseolo (son of the sainted Doge, Pietro Orseolo) in 1008, date of the present edifice; though it seems certain that the plan of the seventh-century basilica has been retained; and many curious architectonic details may be referred to one or other of the earlier structures. Essentially Romanesque in character, it has none of those Oriental features peculiar to other Venetian churches; but resembles the cathedral of Parenzo (Istria), built in the sixth century. Most remarkable are its chancel and apse; the former similar to the chancels of Roman basilicas, with enclosure of marble screens, and two ambons, both on the same side; the apse forming a wide semicircle, with six tiers of seats, once marble (now brickwork), like those in antique theatres, and the ponderous episcopal throne in the centre, elevated on a high staircase; the vault above being covered with mosaics; the whole plan strictly conformable to what is prescribed in the Apostolic Constitutions: « In medio autem sit episcopi solium, et utrinque sedeat presbyterium », (l. ii. 57.)

To the tenth century are referred those stern and ghastly mosaics on the walls of this ancient church, which, barbaric in conception as in execution, form a valuable record of the religious feeling, and the propensity to dwell on terrific ideas, in the age that produced them. Here we see the

Last Judgment represented with numerous episodes, suggested by the dreadful visions of mediaeval mysticism; also the Limbus and the Paradise; and, among the figures rising to be judged, kings and emperors in Byzantine costume; this composition being perhaps the earliest example, at least in mosaic art, of the treatment of a theme more commonly attempted in later ages. Not till the eleventh century did either the Last Judgment or the successive scenes of the Passion begin to be generally preferred to those evangelico-historic groups, miracles of mercy, or sacramental types, on which the primitive Church loved rather to dwell, and which were the favourite representations in earlier times. The portrayal of suffering in the next life as absolutely physical, and of the soul in form grossly corporeal, became, no doubt, a means of potent appeal; but it may be questioned whether such conceptions did not prepare the way for an alienation between the reasoning and the believing principle, though so finely embodied in poetry by Dante, and carried to their utmost height of effect by Orcagna, Fra Angelico, Signorelli, and Michael Angelo (4).

S. Fosca, on the same island, is probably coeval with the cathedral; and though the precise date of its origin be unknown, must be referred to the tenth century at the latest, being mentioned in an extant deed, dated 1011, in the name of two ladies who endowed it with lands. Like S. Mark's, it is a monument of that veneration for relics once so ascendant, having been built expressly as a shrine for the remains

(4) It is satisfactory to meet with a protest against the theologic views on which such representations are founded, and that even in so dark an age as the IX century — from Scotus Erigena, a writer of British birth, who maintains that the punishment of the Danned consists of the deprivation of heavenly bliss, that the eternal fire is that which sin itself kindles in the sinner's soul: « In igne aeterno nihil aliud esse poenam quam beatæ felicitatis absentiam » (*De Praedest.* c. 16).

of S. Fosca, a virgin of noble birth, who, together with her nurse, Maura, suffered martyrdom at Ravenna during the Decian persecution. The Greek Cross is here associated with the oriental cupola; and in the architectonic ornaments is a blending of the Byzantine with the Arabic, that illustrates the early influence of Moslem over Christian taste. Along five sides of the exterior are carried double porticoes with high-stilted arches, and columns, unequal in proportions, fitted to barbaric capitals. The interior presents effect harmonious and graceful; and it is fortunate that the several restorations carried out here, the earliest in 1247, have not altered the olden character. Selvatico, a learned writer on Vénétian monuments, points out the accordance between S. Fosca and certain churches at Athens; also, in the former, the substitution of the Greek for the Latin type.

The once cathedral church of S. Donato (formerly S. Maria) on the Murano Island, is said to have been founded A. D. 950, consecrated 957; but is not mentioned in any authentic document earlier than 999. It has many points of resemblance with S. Fosca, particularly in the apse, externally a pentagon with two orders of arcades resting on coupled columns; and also exhibits the union of the Byzantine with the early Arabic. Cicognara observes, in its interior, « points of contact with Arabian architecture, rather than with any other still preserved to us ».

## CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTS.

ROME. Lateran Basilica rebuilt, 904-'28; aisle, beyond apse, of this period; Monastery of S. Croce, 973 — one wing of building of this date alone left; mosaic, from tomb of Otho II, in crypt of S. Peter's, 983; paintings in crypt of SS. Cosmo e Damiano, and in subterranean church of S. Clemente (?) — ivory statuettes in capitular hall, S. Peter's; bronze Crucifixes in Christian Museum of Vatican.

VENICE. Crypt of S. Mark's, 977; in same basilica, *pala d'oro*, or golden altar with reliefs, executed at Constantinople, 976, and completed at Venice.

NAPLES. S. Giovanni de'poveri.

GENOA. Cathedral founded; also S. Stefano, which latter restored, 1250.

PIACENZA. S. Savino, crypt alone, of this period, left.

SPOLETO. S. Giuliano, extramural.

SUBIACO. S. Scolastica, church and cloister.

S. GERMANO. S. Maria dell'Albaneta, monastic church.

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### III.

#### **The Eleventh Century.**

THE panic as to the proximate destruction of the world passed away with the dawn of the age supposed to have been predestined for that catastrophe; but the very last year of the tenth, and also the beginning of the eleventh century, were marked by portents, comets and earthquakes, which popular ignorance was, of course, ready to interpret in sense corroborative of its fears. The conditions of the Italian church were still at about as low a stage in respect to discipline and culture as possible; and the corruption of the Clergy in Rome continued to present scandalous examples, till towards the middle of this century, when the papal throne began to be occupied by a succession of Pontiffs worthy of their high calling, and who alike dedicated themselves to the task of accomplishing not only a reform but a reorganization of the Church. The monastic orders (as we have seen) had sunk into deep decline. At S. Paul's on the Ostian Way the cloisters were left ruinous, while occupied by a few indolent monks; and when an energetic Abbot, that Hildebrand who afterwards became Pope Gregory VII, was placed in authority over the undisciplined Benedictines at this once famous centre, he found them in the habit of being waited on by shameless women! At last, however, during the period here considered, a general improvement was effected in such institutions; the nobler life of their ancient origin seemed to revive; the light of wisdom and virtue shone forth again from their quiet sanctuaries.

An ancient ritual, extant in MS. at the Vatican library, supplies the ecclesiastical statistics of Rome for this period. Among five patriarchal Basilicas the first in rank was the Lateran, where officiated seven Cardinal Bishops, each doing duty by turn for a week at a time. Next in the same classification ranked S. Maria Maggiore, S. Peter's, and S. Lorenzo beyond the walls; each served by seven Cardinal Priests: next, twelve churches called « diaconal », because presided over by Cardinal deacons; besides which body of parochial clergy (for the college of Cardinals in fact was nothing else than a development of the parish system), there were twenty-one subdeacons, seven of whom, forming the *schola cantorum*, had to sing or chant whenever the Pope officiated. The City contained twenty abbeyes, only four of which are still occupied by religious communities; seven having either disappeared or changed their titles. Sixty-one bishoprics, at this period subject to the tiara, some being in the Papal states, others in distant Italian provinces — as the sees of Florence, Siena, Lucca, Gaeta — ranked as suffragans to the Roman See, their prelates being dependent on no other Primate than the Pope, and bound to attend only those synods convoked by him (Baronius, *anno* 1057).

The Papal election was still a public transaction, in which the entire body of the Roman Clergy, even down to acolytes, together with the nobles, magistrates, and citizens in general, had a right to concur; though the direct nomination proceeded from the Clergy alone, and was still dependent on the ratification of the Emperor. A chronicler, named Arnolphus, who had accompanied the Emperor Otho III on his last visit to this City, records more favourable impressions than others seem to have received from the moral aspects of Rome in this century: « She has so progressed » (he says) in religious character and in the system of public worship, that, instead of ruined walls and profane antique temples of idols, are now seen churches and monasteries continually in process of building, and becoming indeed countless; for, among

the incredible number of these churches, there are, as I am informed by an old man who says he was brought up here, twenty belonging to nuns, forty belonging to monks, and sixty served by Canons, without reckoning those beyond the walls, or others, as well churches as chapels, which abound here, so that, when we consider this City, we may well apply to her the words of Scripture, *Omnipotens Roma, gloriosa dicta sunt de te, quia civitas Dei es facta* ( « Omnipotent Rome, glorious things are spoken of thee, for thou art made the City of God ! » ) As to outward aspects, this capital now presented a stern and gloomy picture, corresponding to its social realities, The usage of fortifying classic ruins with lofty brick towers and curtain-walls, that rose above the triumphal arch, surrounded the temple cella, or blocked up the intercolumnations of the peristyle, added striking, however dismal, features to the strangely metamorphosed city of the Caesars. The age of Romulus might have seemed to be brought back in a sort of barbaric imitation; for the seven hills were again parcelled out under separate dominions, again crowned with fortresses of rival chiefs, who long persisted

— their miserable game  
Of puny war to wage —

with what consequences to the humbler and defenceless citizens, may be imagined. After the extinction of the house of Alberic, on the death of John XII, the next dynasty (if we may use the term) to rule over Rome with lawless power, against which the Pontiffs were usually quite helpless, was that of the Crescentii (modernized into Cenci), whose representative suffered a felon's death (as above narrated) after the defence of the S. Angelo castle against Otho III. The first successor to that victim was another Cencius, probably his son, who manifested the most furious hatred against the Papacy, and is said to have himself assumed the title, *Apostolicæ Sedis Destructor* (v. Miley; « History of the Papal

States »). In time appeared the Colonna, Orsini, Savelli, Annibaldeschi, and Frangipani families, who long held the City mapped out under their respective sway; but whose ascendancy did not rise to its utmost height till after later developments of feudal power. Striking indeed are the moral contrasts of this period. The leader at the head of his army would turn aside from the march to consult, or confess to, some ascetic hermit. An Emperor, Otho III, obeyed St. Romuald in performing a pilgrimage, bare-footed, from Rome to Mount Garganus in Apulia, there to worship in the sanctuary of St. Michael. The Marquis Bonifacius of Tuscany used, every year, to visit the monastery of Pomposa, there to be scourged by the Abbot before the altars, and afterwards absolved, for his sin in having made a traffic of churches and benefices. Rainieri, Marquis of Tuscany, described as a veritable Herod in cruelty, and who was at last deposed by the Emperor Conrad for his crimes, used to say of St. Romuald, « When his eyes are on me I know not what to say in defence of my sins, or where to find any excuses ». Ardoino, Count of Ivrea, elected King of Italy, A. D. 1002, was called « Episcopocida », from the many furious outrages he committed against bishops — as in the case of the prelate of Brescia, whom, for some slight contradiction, he seized by the hair and trampled under his feet; and the prelate of Vercelli, whom he murdered, afterwards ordering his mangled corpse to be roasted on the fire. Yet would this same Ardoino suspend a campaign in order to celebrate the festivals of the Church; and on the approach of death he retired to a monastery in the Ivrea diocese, there placed his crown and other insignia on the altar, cut off his hair with his own hand, and assumed the habit of a monk (1015, — « as did many other great lords (observes Muratori), when they felt themselves near the end of their days, desiring to appear before God different from what they had been during life ». The spirit of faction was often stronger than that of devotion; and hence in a profoundly superstitious age ensued

the most flagrant examples of sacrilege or profanity. We read, in the life of the Countess Matilda, of a tumult in the Parma Cathedral, excited by the preaching of a holy Abbot of Vallombrosa, who had been entrusted by the Countess with a religious mission to that city. In his sermon, for a festival, he passed strictures on the conduct of the Emperor Henry IV which roused the indignation of certain adherents; fierce cries and blasphemies were heard; the Abbot was denounced as a rebel who ought to be put to death; the people rushed to the altar, destroyed the glass vessels (such being still used) upon that sacred table, despoiled a chapel enriched with precious gifts by Matilda, dragged away the Abbot, who fearlessly stood out against the onset, and threw him into prison, whence, however, he was soon rescued by his protectress, as Matilda sent troops, for putting down and punishing this disturbance, with her usual promptitude in action.

The first native of France ever raised to the Papacy, Gerbert (Sylvester II), occupied that throne for three years after the opening of this century; and though a mark for calumny to the ignorant, who ascribed his scientific attainments to magic, and his successful inventions to a compact with the Devil, historians have recognized the merits and services of this, for his age, extraordinarily learned man. Distinguished as a mathematician, mechanician, astronomer, and musician (from proficiency in which last art he was called « *musicus* »), and also so far skilled in medicine as to be able to prescribe whenever applied to for relief, he has received the credit of inventing the 'timepiece with pendules' (retained in use till A. D. 1650, when the modern clock acquired its present form), and the hydraulic organ; also of having been the first to introduce into Christian Europe the use of Arabic numbers, and with them the decimal system; though several centuries had yet to elapse before these things passed from the schools of astronomers into the studies or practice of the people. Whilst he filled a professor's chair at

Rheims, Gerbert is said to have proposed, for studies in the cursus of rhetoric, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Terence, Statius, and Persius — a list that shows how much wider than is generally assumed was the circle of classic literature within reach of the studious even in that darkened age. Among this Pope's writings are comprised, besides 159 extant letters, treatises on such themes as Arithmetic, the Sphere. (Sphaera), Rhetoric, Geometry; also lives of St. Adalbert and of Adelaide, wife of Otho I. We have to notice, among things due to him in the religious field, the extended observance of the festival of all Saints, hitherto limited to Roman churches; and in the political, the bestowal of a crown (for thus early did the Papacy succeed in claiming to itself the power of making, if not unmaking, kings!) on the Duke of Hungary; also the sanctioning at least of the kingly title assumed by the Prince of Poland, who had received a diadem from Otho III. The qualites and attainments of this Pope, as will as the absurd imputations against him, are well indicated in an epigram found in M. S. at the library of a Roman palace: « Because I followed the pursuits of Archimedes and was the disciple of Wisdom, the vulgar, in days when it was a glory to be ignorant, supposed me a magician; but my monument tells how pious, upright, and religious I really was (1) ».

Rumour, supported by no admissible proofs, attributed the deaths both of Sylvester II and the young Emperor Otho III to Stephania, widow of the murdered Crescentius, who is said to have found means of poisoning both, in order to avenge the fate of her unfortunate husband; and thus much, indeed, as to the romantic story of that unhappy woman, seems attested (see the details worked up with pathos by

- (1) Archimedis studium quod eram sophiaeque secutus,  
Tum cum magna fuit gloria scire nihil,  
Credebunt magicum esse rudes, sed busta loquuntur  
Quam pius, integer, et religiosus eram.



Sismondi), that she succeeded, perhaps through dissimulation and with vindictive intent, in winning the affections of the devout Emperor, who entered into relations with her, represented by some writers as illicit, but by others as an actual marriage, soon, however, followed by a divorce (Glaber, Hist. l. 4. c. 4). The legends representing the magic exercised, and the compact with Satan entered upon, by Sylvester, are mentioned by different chroniclers: and supplied fully in the able « Life » of this Pontiff by Hock. He is transformed into the Faust of the Papacy; but it is observable that none of these imaginings ascribe to him either mischief or malevolence. We read that, having obtained a conjuring book (*abacus*) from a certain mysterious old man, he could interpret the song and the flight of birds, besides other occult meaning of nature! We read of the most romantic among his adventures as follows — On the Campus Martius stood a bronze statue with the index finger of the right hand pointing to earth, and on the head the words inscribed, « *hic percute* » (strike here). None had yet solved the mystery, till Sylvester had the wit to notice the point where the shadow of the statue's finger was projected on the ground. There having set a rod, to mark the spot, he returned at midnight with a servant and a lantern: began his conjurings, and presently was rewarded for his skill by the opening of the earth at that image's feet. By the light of the lantern the Pope and his companion descended into the yawning chasm, and after long explorings reached the entrance to a castle built all of gold, inside and outside. Passing through resplendent halls, they found silence, darkness, and solitude every where, till at last they entered a chamber lit up by an immense carbuncle, blazing in the midst, that showed an array of knights in complete armour standing guard around, all these being, as they perceived, golden statues; in the midst of which magical images stood another golden figure of a child with bow and arrows, in attitude of an archer ready to shoot. Hitherto the explorers had touched nothing;

but these splendours tempted the avarice of the servant, who, eluding his master's eye, contrived to pocket a small golden knife, too insignificant, he thought, to be missed. Terrible were the consequences! for the archer-boy instantly let fly his arrow at the carbuncle, extinguishing its light; the armed statues became animated, brandishing their weapons as for combat; the culprit threw away from him the object stolen; all was dark, and then ensued the silence that had previously prevailed. The explorers were enabled to escape uninjured, passing, as well as they could in their overwhelming fear, through the same halls and corridors, and thus returning to the entrance whence they had descended.

The diabolic compact is the subject of a poem, on this strange story, written in the XII century, and found in MS. at Heidelberg. Platina, writing in comparatively modern times, gives credit to the report of the contrivance by which the Evil One was eventually beguiled of his prey in this case; and Sylvester's body laid in sacred ground (4); as also to the portents verified at his tomb in the Lateran, where his bones were heard to rattle in their sarcophagus before the death of each Pope; or else (according to other authorities) water was seen issuing from it so copiously as to form a pool, when a Pope was about to die, and but slightly, enough to moisten the pavement, whenever a Cardinal was near death! We may at least rely on the report of an eye-witness as to the opening of Sylvester's tomb, on occasion of repairs at the Lateran,

(4) He ordered that, after his death, his corpse should be cut into pieces, and thus laid on a car, to which horses should be yoked, then left to draw their burden whithersoever they might go: the spot where they should halt to be that of his sepulture. This was done; and the horses, left without driver, stopped at the entrance to the Lateran church — a fact admitted by Platina as proof that Divine mercy had not rejected this Pope's repentance on his death-bed: for the sepulture within sacred walls must have baffled the Evil One's intent, and caused the diabolic compact to be cancelled!

A. D. 1648, when the body was found entire, clad in pontifical vestments, with mitred head, — but, a few moments after air had been admitted, the whole fell into dust, leaving nothing save a cross and a silver ring (« Rasponi », *De Basilica Lateran.*).

After the pontificate, but a few months in duration, of John XVII, a man apparently of blameless character, was elected a Cardinal Priest, said to be the son of a priest, who succeeded as John XVIII. According to some historians this latter, after occupying the throne for six years, (A. D. 1003–1009), abdicated, and retired to spend the rest of his days in the monastery of St. Paul's; though neither Baronius nor Muratori admit this fact, both concluding that the pontificate closed with the life of John XVIII — so vague are the records of this period! Sergius IV (1009–1012) on his election changed his baptismal name, Peter, out of reverence for the Apostle — one of the first examples (though not *the* first) of the usage that eventually became obligatory. This Pope rendered signal service to Italy and to the Church by promoting a league between native princes against the Saracens, and with successful result in checking the progress of Moslem invasion in Southern Italy. Credit has been also given to him for the expulsion of those foes from the Sicilian shores; but much obscurity rests on this episode. Some writers ascribe to Sergius IV the origin of the constitution for electing the German Emperor by the suffrages of seven princes, lay and ecclesiastical — the king of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine, the Archbishops of Cologne, Mayence, and Treves — with the condition that till his coronation by papal hands the elect should assume no other titles than those of « Caesar » and « King of the Romans ». But historians of repute pass over in silence this assumed origin of a famous constitution, the authorship of which by the Papacy would, no doubt, have been turned to account for advancing exalted claims or theories as to rights inherent in its office. The ambitious family of the Mar-

quises of Tusculum now begins to appear upon the scene with fatal results to the dignity and credit of the pontificate. A bishop of Porto, belonging to that house, was raised to the Papacy through undue influences, and took the name of Benedict VIII (1012-24), to enter upon a career attending neither with popularity nor any results that promoted the honours of the Papal throne. A sedition, and the raising up of an Antipope, for a time more powerfully supported than was Benedict, soon obliged the latter to fly for refuge to the court of the Emperor Henry II. Towards the end of the year 1013, that prince crossed the Alps, bringing the fugitive Pontiff with him, to be finally reinstated under foreign protection. In the February of 1014, the « King of the Romans » was crowned as Emperor at S. Peter's; being, Ditmar tells us, surrounded on this occasion by twelve Roman Senators, six of whom had long beards, the other having shaven faces; all with wands in their hands. Before entering the basilica the Emperor elect was asked (according to usage) whether he intended to be the advocate and defender of the Roman church, and faithful to the Pope and his successors, as other Emperors had been? to which he replied in the affirmative. At this coronation was for the first time used a golden ball surmounted by a cross of gold, enriched by gems and filled with ashes — a symbol the invention of which is ascribed to Benedict VIII. Henry II pledged himself, on the same occasion, to pay annual tribute to the Papacy, consisting of a white palfrey and 100 silver mares. He is said to have also renewed the famous act of territorial donation to the Holy See, so often either accomplished by, or attributed to, the successors of Charlemagne; but the authenticity of the document containing this proof of devotedness to the Papacy on the part of Henry II, is questioned (v. Muratori). Only eight days afterwards arose one of those bloody contests between German soldiers and Roman citizens, which eventually became the almost inevitable sequel to such ill-omened coronation solemnities.

Combatants on both sides were slain in this conflict, and corpses lay strewn on the bridge so lately crossed by the pompous procession, priestly and military, on its way from St. Peter's to the Lateran; but after three Germans, accused as the chief offenders, had been sent away in chains, peace was restored for the present. A gallant and patriotic effort, signally successful, reflects honour upon the otherwise rather unfortunate reign of Benedict VIII. The Saracens had attacked and captured the Tuscan city of Luni, near which they had disembarked from numerous ships; and from which they forthwith commenced their usual predatory excursions over the neighbouring coast.

The Pope lost no time in collecting forces both by sea and land; presently his improvised fleet appeared in the port of Luni; and a combat ensued, which was kept up during three days, entailing severe losses to the Christians, but finally resulting in their victory, after the flight of the Saracen chief in an open boat, leaving behind him his wife, who fell into the hands of the victors and was beheaded. That Saracen prince, having landed in Sardinia, avenged himself by ordering several Christians in the island to be crucified; and sent to the Pope a sack full of chestnuts, with the message that he would return the next year bringing as many soldiers as there were fruit comprised in his insulting present. Benedict replied by sending him a sack full of grain, to signify that at least as numerous should be the force awaiting the arrival of the invader. But during Benedict's life-time no more Saracens appeared on the Italian coasts; those foes being completely dislodged from Sardinia by the Genoese and Pisans, between whom a league for this object had been wisely desired and accomplished by the same Pontiff. Benedict was succeeded (an example of rare occurrence in the Papacy) by his brother, elected through the same aristocratic influences, and perhaps bribery, as had been the case with the former election; and Romanus, who had held rank as Consul, Senator, and Duke of Rome, now became

Pope as John XIX (1024-33), presenting the reprehensible example of a layman raised to that supreme ecclesiastical throne, without having passed through any stage of preparatory studies or sacred offices — « on the same day (says Romuald of Salerno) a laic and a Pontiff! » This anomalously-raised up Pope won neither love nor loyalty from his subjects. According to some accounts, he was constrained, as had been his predecessor, to fly to the German court; and, like the latter in this particular also, owed his restoration to an imperial, of course armed, intervention. On the Easter-day of 1027 he crowned at S. Peter's Conrad II and his queen Gisela; among the spectators present being Canute, King of England, and Rodolf of Burgundy. At this coronation occurred a dispute for precedence between the Archbishops of Ravenna and Milan; with what violence on the part of those prelates themselves may be inferred from the imitation of *their* conduct in that of their retainers, who fought out the quarrel in the streets. Another combat between Romans and Germans marked the fatal day; and the imperial troops are accused of having massacred many citizens in cold blood.

Up to this period the Popes had consistently opposed and condemned the attempts of Byzantine Patriarchs to assume the title of « Universal Bishop »; but John XIX had the baseness to accept a bribe in money, from the Emperor Basil II, as the price of his acquiescence. The rival prelate was on the point of openly assuming his coveted honours when this transaction, hitherto kept secret, became known to the clergy in the West, and provoked such opposition both in Italy and France, most of all from the monks of Cluny, that the Pope was obliged to yield, finally withdrawing the assent by which he had so compromised himself.

Arriving at the pontificate next to be considered, one might ask with Macbeth:

— Who is he

That wears upon his baby brow the round  
And top of sovereignty?



— and of *such* sovereignty, above all others, was this degradation now to be witnessed ! One Theophylactus, son of Alberic, Count of Tusculum, and nephew to the two preceding Popes, was placed in S. Peter's chair through the intrigues and bribes of his father, at the age (according to the contemporary historian, Glaber) of about twelve years, to be known henceforth as Benedict IX (4033-48); and though some writers have endeavoured to modify the scandal by questioning the proofs of his juvenility, and maintaining that he *may* have reached the discreet age of eighteen before his election, we might ask whether the evidence of Glaber, accepted by the eminently Catholic historian Cantù (see his *Storia degli Italiani*), and by the impartial Gregorovius, be not more trustworthy than the inferences of modern ecclesiastical writers who aim at the defence of a cause, the justification of a hierarchy? (4) The same chronicle of Glaber states that it would be horrible to relate the turpitude of life and conduct in this boy-pope ! One of his follies, which, probably, those who surrounded him were least disposed to excuse or to forgive, was the intention to take a wife, by announcement of which his ecclesiastical courtiers were one day astonished. After the lapse of about five years, his undisguised vices and manifest incapacities provoked a movement which resulted in his expulsion; but again, not many months afterwards, was imperial intervention, that of Conrad II, effectual

(4) Some exaggeration, in inverse ratio, may have crept into the reports as to the age of this Pope, at a period when no parish-registers were to be consulted. Ughelli (« Italia Sacra ») admits the enormous scandal of his election: « Benedictus IX.... adhuc puer, paterna potentia violentiaque in S. Apostolicam sedem intrusus est ». It may be observed that the flagrant vices imputed to this youth, and the nature of which is inferable from the language of chroniclers, cannot be supposed those of a child but twelve years old; and it appears that such vices had disgraced his career from the first. It is surprising to see the portrait (imaginary) of such a person admitted in the series of mosaic heads of Popes in the restored St. Paul's basilica !

in forcing back upon the throne this contemptible usurper. About five years later he was, for the second time, driven from his palace and capital, and constrained to yield his place to a bishop of Sabina, who occupied it as Sylvester III; but the latter was only able to maintain his precarious authority, by armed force, during three months, after which interval Benedict was again installed — this time through the violent efforts of his kindred. Persevering in courses which drew upon him the hatred and contempt alike of the Clergy and people, he was at last induced to lay aside the burden he could not sustain, and actually sold the Papacy for money to one Gratian, archpriest of *S. Giovanni a Porta Latina*. The ex-pope now retired to a castle of his relatives, and there abandoned himself without restraint to his licentious pleasures, enjoying the revenue secured to him as price of the tiara, and which is said to have amounted to 1500 or 2000 lbs of silver per annum, the fruit of the Peter-pence tribute advanced from England alone to the Holy See. But the obscurity of private life did not long satisfy this spoilt child of fortune. He again forced his way back into power, and for the third time; not, however, without opposition from rivals; for now was witnessed the scandal described by Otho of Friesingen: « A disgraceful anarchy was now prevailing in Rome, three usurpers occupying that See at the same time, and dividing among themselves its revenues, to the extreme misery of the citizens; while one resided at S. Peter's, another at S. Maria Maggiore, and the third (Benedict) at the Lateran; all alike abandoned to a disgraceful and corrupt life, as I myself have heard from the lips of Romans in that City ». One of those pretenders was the bishop of Brixen, who had been raised up by the Emperor, and installed as Damasus II; but who lived to enjoy such honours only for twenty-three days, being removed by sudden death, not without suspicions of poison, at Palestrina. After this rivalry, first between three and then between two pretenders, had lasted from November 1047 to

July 1048, the persuasions of a holy Abbot, Bartholomew, of the Grottaferrata monastery, effected in the mind of Benedict what disgraces and adversities had hitherto failed to effect — stirring the springs of repentance, and leading him to abdicate, in order to spend the rest of his life in that Basilian cloister where Bartholomew presided. The ex-Pope is said to have given an example of edifying penance during the rest of his days: and when we look on that picturesque castellated monastery, founded in the XI century among the Alban Hills, the thought of those stormy times, that produced and endured such a Pope as Benedict IX, contrasts with the touching expression of sacred repose that seems the spirit of the scene.

Popular rumour and local tradition inflicted punishment such as might have been expected on the memory of this usurper. His ghost, in the form of a nondescript beast with the body of a bear, the head and ears of an ass, was seen by a terrified peasant, who, asking why he who had been Pope now appeared in such horrible guise? — was answered: « Because I lived without law and reason, the Lord God, and Peter whose See I contaminated by my vices, decree that I should bear the image of a brute instead of that of a man » — this legend failing to inform us how his individuality was recognised by the inquirer. Another vision was reported, more consolatory in meaning, but not less illustrative of the religious temper of the age, soon after the death of this Pope's uncle and predecessor on the throne, Benedict VIII; whose spectre appeared in the chapter-house of the Cluny monastery, and informed one of the monks, who had courage to question the phantom, that he had been released from Purgatory and admitted into the heavenly Jerusalem through the prayers and merits of S. Odillon, abbot of that cloister, who was still living at the date of this story. Nothing could serve better to bring into relief the now prevailing acquiescence of Western Europe in the hierarchie claims of Rome than the deference paid to her See, even from remote countries, while

such a man as Benedict IX sat thereon. We read of three successive archbishops of Hamburg requesting and obtaining the pallium from him; of an embassy sent to him from Poland, to beg he would absolve from monastic vows the first king of that country, Casimir, who had quitted the throne to become a monk at Cluny, and whose return to power was earnestly desired by his former subjects. The same embassy had first applied to the Abbot, S. Odillon, who referred them to the Pope, as alone authorized to decide in such a case, he alone having all power to bind and to loose. Benedict released the royal monk from his vows; and in this affair proving as sagacious as indulgent, took the opportunity to stipulate for the annual payment of Peter's pence by the Polish nation; adding the injunction that, instead of wearing the long hair considered a barbaric fashion, that people should shave their heads in the fashion followed by tonsured monks also that on certain great festivals, they should wear on the head a linen hood in form of a star — the nobles, however, being exempted from a requirement in which we cannot but see the levity, rather than the dignity, of this pontiff.

Gregory VI (1044-46), the same who had purchased the Papacy from Benedict, evinced character and merits, notwithstanding the simoniacal transaction for which he had to answer. He found the treasury so exhausted as scarcely to afford means of subsistence to himself and his immediate dependents. All the approaches to Rome were infested by brigands and assassins. Within the walls, rapine, homicide, every species of outrage prevailed; the offerings laid on the altar of St. Peter's used to be snatched away by armed robbers on watch for their opportunity. The pontiff first tried spiritual weapons, and excommunicated all who should persist in such crimes: which proving of no effect, he raised troops for the public protection, and to a degree succeeded in obtaining security for the city and its environs — this being the first example, probably, of an armed police organized by the Papacy, and under its immediate control. There could be

no greater proof of the lawless dissoluteness of manners in Rome than the indignation and fierce opposition against measures so justifiable: a conspiracy was formed against the life of the Pope; and outcries arose against his cruelty in using arms to enforce order! Such complaints reached the ear of the Emperor Henry III, who seems to have eagerly seized the opportunity for an interference that aimed at the subjection of the Papacy to the German crown. At the head of an army he crossed the Alps; and, in the December of A. D. 1046, presided in a council at Sutri (in the Roman province), where Gregory was deposed on the charge, from which indeed he could not be exculpated, of having obtained the See by simoniac means. He submitted willingly, desiring rather the peace of the Church than any honours for himself; and there is evidence that supports another view of this transaction — for which see Muratori — representing the act of this pontiff as a voluntary abdication in no manner extorted, but urged by the worthiest motives on his part. On the ensuing Christmas-day was elected, by the united suffrages of the Germans and the Romans, a bishop of Bamberg, who became Pope as Clement II; and on the same day Henry and his queen, Agnes, were crowned at St. Peter's. Clement survived only ten months, and died, 1041, at an abbey near Pesaro, on his journey back to Rome after having accompanied the Emperor beyond the Alps.

We now arrive at a period when the vivifying and sanctifying power of the Christian principle asserts itself in the long-degraded Church; when a new impulse is given to the Papacy for the fulfilment of its high vocation, after the last degree of dishonour had been violently imposed and endured on its throne. The civilization fostered under the shadow of the Cross can never be totally checked; and the influences emanating from that standard cannot fail to call forth, sooner or later, the strength and virtue requisite for leading Humanity onward in the path of right, the way of progress. About the middle of this century princes and prelates alike

felt what the moral sentiment of Europe demanded, that a term should be set to the succession of profligate youths and worthless scions of Roman aristocracy on the most revered of thrones; that men of at least blameless life, respectable for learning, and for something like dignity of conduct, should be promoted to that high place. In a synod held by the Emperor at Worms the choice fell with unanimous consent on an estimable German prelate, Bruno, bishop of Toul, first cousin to the late Emperor Conrad; but the acceptance of the proffered honour, on his part, was declared to depend on the conditions of a canonical election, regularly effected by the free votes of the clergy and people of Rome. The influences that led Bruno to this decision are manifest in an historic episode so interesting and picturesque, that we may dwell upon it, with the more reason indeed seeing that it introduces on the historic page an individual destined to play a most conspicuous part, and to exercise highest ascendancy in the Church, and over the world, during the period before us. The report by a contemporary writer may be preferred to any other narrative of this event: « While he », the Pope elect, « was on his journey (namely from Worms to Rome) he chanced to be met by the Abbot of Cluny and the monk Hildebrand, who, when they saw him on his progress wearing the mitre and the red chlamys, detained him for private colloquies with them; and showed him as well from the institutions of the holy fathers as on grounds manifestly just, that he who had received the pontific power from a layman could not be deemed a bishop, but an apostate. The virtuous man humbly acquiesced in their suggestions, becoming aware that he had been deceived by diabolical fraud. He did not, however, desist from his journey; but, taking his scrip like a pilgrim or religious ambassador (*orator*), proceeded devoutly on his way to the threshold of the Apostles ». (Nicholaus Aragonensis, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*) The unknown pilgrim was accompanied by other ecclesiastics, by the abbot of Cluny as well as that fervid-souled



monk, Hildebrand. Arriving on foot at the Flaminian gate, these travellers soon became known to the citizens, who shewed all possible honour to Bruno; and after a few days took place the regular procedure of election with clerical and lay suffrages, resulting in favour of the German nominee, who now became Pope as Leo IX (1048-'54). He gave proofs, during a stormy pontificate, of great courage, and of not always well-directed, but ever courageous, zeal both for the temporal and spiritual interests of the Roman church. It was this very pontiff, of blameless life and austere piety, who afforded deplorable example of the effects of temporal power upon character and aims in an ecclesiastical principedom.

Henry III had been advised to appoint him Vicar of the Empire, or, more properly speaking, feudal lord, over Beneventum, hitherto a Longobard duchy.

The history of that town and province, recently lost by the Papacy, is full of vicissitudes. The Duchy of Beneventum was created by Narses during the Gothic war in the VI century. In 571 it passed under the Longobard rule, and was bestowed by Alboin on Zoto, one of his captains. After the fall of the Longobard kingdom, the then reigning Duke, Arigisius, A. D. 744, assumed the title of Prince, and for a time maintained his independance of the new Empire; but at last submitted to Charlemagne, becoming his vassal, bound to an annual tribute of 7000 gold *soldi*. In the time of the Prince Radalgisus (who succeeded A. D. 840), Salerno and Capua were severed, in consequence of revolt, from the Beneventan State, to which both had hitherto pertained; and in 851 the Emperor Louis II obliged the same Prince to divide his remaining dominions with Siconulf, brother to a Prince of Beneventum who had been murdered in 839. In 891 the entire province passed under the government of the Greek Empire. From 961 to 967 the states of Beneventum and Capua were ruled by two brothers, Pandulf I and Landulf III, the former of whom was made Duke of Spoleto by Otho I. In 1053 two co-reigning Princes of Beneventum, Pandulf III and his son,

were deposed by the Emperor Henry III, with arbitrary interference, in order to give place to the vicarious government conferred by Henry on the Pope. Leo IX appointed a German Count, Rodolf, to govern as his representative in the city; but, after the victory of the Normans and the capture of that Pope in 1053, the restoration of the two Beneventan Princes was among the conditions of the treaty between Leo and his conquerors; and Pandulf III returned with his son, to occupy their lost throne. After the death of Landulf VI, in 1077, the succession of independent Princes ceased; and thenceforth Beneventum (or, as we may now call it, Benevento) became a disputed territory, now annexed to the Duchy of Apulia, now to the Roman State, till the Papal government was finally and firmly established here: undisturbed, except during the interval of French occupation, till the Autumn of 1860, when Benevento, like so many other provinces, was severed from the States under the tiara; and a decree of the Pro-dictator, Pallavicini, (Naples, 25th October) declared this ancient Duchy to be « part of the Italian Kingdom, and its city the capital of a new province, which, from the 1st January 1861, is to be governed by the laws, decrees, and ordinances of the southern states of Italy » (4).

To return to the events of the XI century, and the acts of Leo IX. That Pontiff, during a sojourn in the Neapolitan provinces, had listened to complaints, and conceived fears, of

(4) The church of Bamberg, founded by Henry II, A. D. 1006, had been consecrated as a cathedral by Benedict VIII in 1016. In return for the erection of this See, the Emperor pledged himself to an annual tribute, a generous white horse fully caparisoned, and 400 silver marcs, to the Pope. Henry III, in 1051, compounded with Leo IX for the suppression of this, in exchange for the city of Beneventum, which he bestowed on the Holy See, but where the Popes did not actually exercise sovereign power till A. D. 1077 (Giannone, « *Storia del Regno di Napoli* »).

the encroaching power of the Normans in Southern Italy; and was the more alarmed because those conquerors had not scrupled to make incursions into the Roman territories. The indefatigable pontiff travelled into Germany for the express object of consulting with Henry III, and requesting from him an auxiliary force in aid of the Italian troops he could himself bring into the field, against the Normans. Henry had the imprudence to place a large army at the disposal, and even under the personal command, of Leo IX. In the summer of A. D. 1053 was beheld the yet unexampled spectacle of a « Vicar of Christ » leading an aggressive invasion against Christian neighbours who had offered no direct injury to him, and were extremely averse to fighting against him. True there had been others, on the Papal throne, as John VIII, and John X, who had also been seen at the head of armies; but their case was essentially different, because it was against Saracens, or those in league with infidel invaders alone that they had drawn the sword. The scandal was increased, in the proceeding of Leo IX, by the appearance of numerous clerics enrolled among his troops (1). This heterogeneous army encountered the Normans on a plain near Civitate in the Capitanata province, where the defeat the former suffered was rather a massacre than any thing else — a total extermination of the pontifical troops — *omnibus truci datis*, says Leo Ostiensis. The terrified Pope, who had witnessed the scene from a neighbouring height, fled for refuge within the walls of Civitate; but that town was immediately invested, and Leo had no course left save unconditional surrender. Falling a prisoner into the hands of the Normans, he was treated from first to last with profound respect, that strikingly proved their appreciation of the historic momentum now pertaining to his office. The conquerors acted like men who felt that they had in their keeping a potentate who could far more efficiently

(1) « Item alios quamplures tam Clericos tam Laicos in re militari probatissimos ». — Lambert, *ap. Baronius*.

benefit them, than they could injure him. « Not only » (says Baronius) « did they abstain from offering him any outrage or insult, but shewed themselves penitent and afflicted for having conquered the Pontiff, as Leo himself testifies ». It was during this captivity that relations were established between the Pope and those Norman princes of very important and abiding consequences. After absolving them from all censures and from the officially-assumed wrongs against his dignity, Leo conceded to the Count Humphry and his heirs for ever the investiture for Apulia and Calabria, together with all the Sicilian territories which he, or they, might hereafter conquer; in return for which the Norman paid homage to the pontiff for those possessions, as a fief dependent on the Holy See.

Such was the original investiture for the Neapolitan States, — source of the long-disputed claims mutually advanced by the Papacy and the crown of the two Sicilies; and thus was accomplished, thanks to coincidence of interests, but in virtue of no principle avowed by the Church, or inherent in her doctrine, the significant step which assigned to the Papacy the right of bestowing kingdoms; naturally to lead to that farther claim of taking away what could thus be given, of deposing, as well as of creating, sovereigns. Leo continued the captive of the Normans, and as such was escorted with honour to Beneventum, for nearly nine months; after which period, being seized by illness, he was accompanied by count Humphry (who had commanded, with Robert Guiscard, in the battle before Civitade) as far as Capua, whence he proceeded to Rome. A few days after his arrival, feeling the approach of death, he caused himself to be laid before the shrine of St. Peter; summoned all the Clergy to receive his last injunctions, and solemnly charged Hildebrand, whom he had appointed chancellor, to provide for the interests of the Church after his decease. Reputation for sanctity and miracles soon exalted the memory of Leo IX. Whilst a prisoner at Beneventum, he used to recite the whole psalter, and celebrate Mass, every day; to sleep on the bare floor

with a stone for his pillow etc. One night whilst, during these vigils, he was passing through the silent palace with a youth carrying a torch before him, he found a miserable leper crouched on the pavement in a dark corner; astonished at there seeing such a sufferer, he immediately carried him to his own room, and laid him on the bed on which, it seems, the ascetic pontiff never allowed himself to repose. Having awakened from his short sleep the next morning, he perceived that the leper had vanished; none could give any account of the mysterious stranger; and the belief arose that the Saviour of the World had Himself appeared, thus to put to the test the self-devoting charity of his highest servant on earth!

During this pontificate did the schism of the Greek Church, first excited by the patriarch Photius, result in final separation from Rome; but Leo had the triumph of publicly excommunicating through his Legates, the Byzantine patriarch, — and in his own cathedral, St. Sophia, at Constantinople. That patriarch, Michael Cellarius, had drawn up, in an epistle to the Bishop of Trani, a series of accusations against the practice of Latin Catholicism; and, about the same time, had ordered all the churches where its rites were held at Constantinople to be shut, and all the Italian monks, unless they apostatized, to be expelled from their cloisters in that city. Leo wrote to Michael in vindication of the western church, retaliating with other accusations against the eastern; especially against the patriarch himself for affecting the title of « Universal », and for endeavouring to subject to his jurisdiction the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch. The Greek clergy were condemned by the Pope in respect to various usages—as delaying the baptism of infants till the eighth day after birth, and even leaving many to die unbaptized rather than infringe such discipline; rebaptizing Converts from the Latin communion; permitting married men to serve the altar; burying the unconsumed remains of the consecrated elements; and (an observable note of distinction in the aesthetic views

of the two churches), representing in the crucifix a *dying man*, which was considered highly objectionable, and to be condemned as nothing else than « a species of Antichrist, presented to be adored as God » — (see the answer to the Greek Clergy by the Legate of Leo IX at Constantinople). On the 17 July, 1054, occurred in the superb cathedral of S. Sophia a memorable scene, whose result was the final severance of eastern from western Christendom.

The Legates, Cardinal Humbert and two others, entered just before the celebration of Mass, and in presence of many priests and people laid upon the high altar the document containing the excommunication of the Patriarch and of all sectaries who agreed with him. After this, the Legates proceeded to pronounce the anathema, aloud and publicly, before the Emperor and all his court; declaring that those who differed from the Roman Church were heretics, not to be deemed even Christians. A faint attempt at reconciliation was made by the Emperor, Constantine Monomachus; but that sovereign died in the same year, nor did his successors desire to follow his example. Pope Stephen IX took steps towards the restoring of concord, and sent Legates to negotiate on the subject; but without effect, for those envoys, hearing of the Pope's death while on their journey, returned at once to Rome.

The Holy See remained vacant for twelve months after the death of Leo IX. A successor was at last named by the Emperor, on the request, in this instance proffered by no less influential a personage than the Chancellor Hildebrand, who avowed that the Church had nothing to fear from the designation by such authority of her spiritual chief. A Bavarian, bishop of Eichstadt, became Pope as Victor II (1055-57), and aimed vigorously at the completion of the work of reform initiated by his predecessor, or rather by the ascendant genius of Hildebrand. He sought to suppress the traffic in benefices; to rescue the priesthood from the vassallage into which it had fallen throughout Europe, and to secure



to the Church the free administration of her property. He cited Berengarius to give account of his already twice-condemned doctrine concerning the Eucharist.

That controversy in which Berengarius of Tours acted a part so conspicuous, demands attention. The earliest writer cited in support of the definition of the Eucharistic Real Presence, in the sense of Transubstantiation, is a monk of Sinai, Anastasius, who wrote on that subject, probably near the end of the VI century. But the earliest among more noted theologians whose language is distinct in this sense, is John of Damascus (born near the close of the VII, or early in the VIII century). « This bread and this wine and water (he says) are changed into the Body and the Blood of Christ » (1). In the IX century, Paschasius Radbertus, Abbot of Corbie (ob. 865), maintained, in still more emphatic terms than had yet been advanced, that the Body and Blood received in the holy Sacrament were *identical* with the Body born of Mary, and which suffered on the cross. In support of this doctrine he adduced the testimony of miraculous visions in which the Host had been seen changed into the form of a Child, and immolated with a knife by an Angel, descending upon the altar during Mass !

Ratramnus, another monk of Corbie, afterwards Abbot of Orbais (ob. 870), contested this theory; maintaining that that Body and Blood were mystically received, in a sacramental, but not in any other manner (2). No more serious consequences ensued from this contest, in the IX century, than from the discussion of any other hitherto undefined dogma. Berengarius, after he had been appointed archdeacon of Augers, about 1047, renewed the controversy, citing, in favour of the doctrine of a purely Spiritual Presence, a work he attributed to Joannes Scotus (called Erigenus, ob. 874), but which was no other than that by Ratramnus on the Eu-

(1) ὁ ἅγιος οἶνος τε καὶ ὕδωρ — μεταποιῶνται εἰς τὸ σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸ χεῖμα.

charist. He was at first supported by Bruno, Bishop of Augers, who seems to have agreed with him. Lanfranco of Pavia (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) was the first to protest against such doctrine. A letter to him, in which Berengarius sought to justify his views, and cited several Fathers in their defence, was laid before the Council held at Rome, A. D. 1059; its tenor was reprobated; the writer excommunicated. Berengarius was cited to appear before a Synod, held soon afterwards at Vercelli; and in his absence — for he had disregarded the summons, but sent two clerics to speak in his name — was again condemned by that assembly. Hildebrand, when Legate in France, cited him before a Council at Tours (1054), at which he was allowed to speak freely; and having done so, he pledged himself by oath to maintain thenceforth the doctrine of the Church. He tells us himself (« de S. Coena »), that he had actually convinced Hildebrand of the justness of the views he so soon afterwards renounced. A Council at Paris went to such length as to demand that Berengarius, and his disciples (for he had, it is evident, many) should be constrained to renounce their heresy *under pain of death*.

The Council held by Nicholas II (1059) listened to his vindication, and afterwards received his retraction; for at this assembly he signed, with an oath of adhesion, a profession of orthodoxy drawn up by a Cardinal Bishop. Hildebrand, when Pope, cited him before another Council at Rome, A. D. 1078, and allowed him time to reflect before his appearance, as required, at a similar assembly in the next year. On that last occasion he again recanted, and was, consequently, furnished with recommendatory letters to bishops by the Pope. The last years of his life were spent in retreat on an island near Tours, where he is said to have died (1088) repentant, and with changed convictions; though other reports lead to conclude that he never abandoned in heart what he had forsworn with his lips. Perhaps even a virtuous and well-intentioned man may have fluctuated in his views on an

apparently indefinable mystery of faith; and all agree that Berengarius was blameless in moral conduct. The Canons of Tours long continued to hold an annual commemorative service in his honour. Two remarkable features are observable in this episode of controversy — that, up to this period, the Eucharistic doctrine was so near to the state of being an open question that distinguished (at least, learned) ecclesiastics could hold and venture to defend different opinions; but so deeply rooted and enthusiastically embraced was the belief conforming to later defined dogma, that the more rationalistic idea could not declare itself boldly and emphatically without provoking reprobation, offending the dominant feeling, and hastening the Church into a situation in which it became impossible to adhere to her without unconditional acceptance of a theology ever self-developing.

The struggle for disciplinary reform on which the energies of the Papacy were now concentrated, becomes a great fact. Lay investiture, simoniac procurement of sacred offices, the dependence of prelates upon secular authorities, but above all, the incontinence of the Clergy, were evils it was determined to uproot. The very heart of Latin Catholicism palpitated in the effort; the whole future constitution of the Hierarchy was at stake. It had been the purpose of Leo IX to depose all the prelates convicted of simony; but the extent of the abuse rendered such remedy impossible, at least unadvisable; and the pontiff was contented to impose merely a penance of forty days on such mitred offenders. As to the marriage of priests, now reprobated as unpardonable sin, it does not appear, though condemned by repeated decrees of councils, to have been an offence in the eyes of the state; and the very terms used by writers who reprobate the conduct of ecclesiastics in this respect — *uxor, uxores ducere*, — imply that their unions were not regarded, nor could be treated, as absolutely illicit, however far from being sacred in the eyes of the Church. Leo Ostiensis, describing the corrupt manners of the clergy at this time, considers these unions

as the greatest of all scandals, whilst admitting that such examples were particularly common at Rome. All the offices of the Church (he tells us) were now bought and sold; ecclesiastics lived like laymen; had wives, and made wills in favour of their children; there were even bishops who lived openly with their wives; and « this execrable custom (he adds) prevailed especially in the city whence had emanated the norma of Religion, derived from the Apostle Peter and his successors ». Victor II attended the deathbed of the Emperor, Henry III, who had sent for him to receive his last bequests, and consign solemnly to his guardianship the infant son, left under the care of the Empress Agnes, who succeeded to his father, and became the sworn foe, the fiercest assailant, of the Papacy. The Pontiff did not long survive his sovereign; and after his death (at Florence), was elected in Rome by universal suffrage the cardinal Abbot of Monte Cassino, Frederick, son of the duke of Lorraine, and brother of that Duke Godfrey, who, by marriage with the widow of the Marquis of Tuscany, became stepfather to the Countess Matilda. Stephen IX (1057) survived scarcely eight months; but had time to show the spirit of a vigorous disciplinarian and castigator of abuses. By summoning from an eremite solitude the energetic St. Peter Damian, whom he made Cardinal bishop of Ostia, he gave the signal for renewed attacks against simony and the incontinence of priests. He had retained to himself his Benedictine Abbey; and, desiring to secure funds for the war he was eager to carry on against the Normans (now under anathema for encroachment in Papal territories), this Pontiff did not scruple to claim for his use all the treasure accumulated through offerings of the faithful at Monte Cassino, that wealthiest among Italian monasteries. The monks were dismayed; but the commands of him who united the offices of Pope and Abbot could not be disputed; and this appropriation of consecrated wealth for profane uses was on the point of being made, when, happily, the better nature prevailed in Stephen IX, and the sight of those treasures laid

at his feet, still more the grief of the monks who had mournfully obeyed his orders, induced him to abandon his purpose, and restore all to the shrine of St. Benedict (Leo Ostiens. l. II, c. 99 (4). After the death of this Pope, who had repaired to Florence with the object of persuading Duke Godfrey to wage war against the Normans, a faction of Roman priests and nobles, headed by the turbulent family of the Counts of Tusculum, raised up an unworthy successor, who maintained himself for nearly ten months in the See, as Benedict X — but is set aside by the general consent of historians as an Antipope. The indispensable Hildebrand, for whose return from a mission to the Empress, the late Pope had, on his death-bed, enjoined the clergy to wait, before proceeding to elect his successor, arrived at this emergency in the Tuscan States, and hastened to assemble a synod at Siena, where all the Cardinals and nobles, driven by the ascendant

(4) The Chronicle of Monte Cassino introduces the preternatural, and with picturesque effect, in this story. On the night after the monks had received the order to transfer their entire treasure to Rome, a novice, who knew nothing of the affair, saw a vision of a majestic old man and a nun-like female passing from the crypt, where lay the relics of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica, to the centre of the church; the woman wailing for the loss of all the offerings made by piety at the Benedictine shrine; the venerable man consoling her with the assurance that those treasures, though to be now taken away, would certainly be restored. Starting from his sleep, the novice went to the secretarium, where this consecrated wealth was deposited, and there was amazed at finding certain monks in act of removing it amidst the silence of the night. He related what he had seen; his companions, alike impressed, took note of all his statements; and when they arrived at Rome reported this vision to the Pope, while consigning to him the precious burden they had been charged with. The conscientious feelings, or fears, of Stephen IX were touched; his eyes opened to the culpable aspect of his conduct; and he dismissed the monks with all their treasure, retaining for himself nothing save a statue, one of his own donations to the Benedictine church.



faction from Rome, were ready to exercise their votes. Rather perhaps by the influence of one master-mind than by the free choice of a majority, a Burgundian, who had for twelve years filled the See of Florence, was now elected Pope as Nicholas II (1059-61), and was crowned in the Siena Cathedral by the hand of Hildebrand himself. The latter (says a contemporary writer) placed on the Pontiff's head a royal crown, on the lower rim of which was inscribed, « *Corona de Manu Dei* », and on the upper, « *Diadema Imperii de Manu Petri!* » (Benzo, « *De reb. Henr. III* », l. VII, c. 2). One of the memorable acts of Nicholas II was the decree, passed in a council at Rome, aimed at the eliminating from the Papal election of that popular element hitherto deemed necessary to its strict validity, and in accord with the apostolic system which ever required the consent of the flock to the appointment of their pastors (4). An edict was now passed against

(4) The decree, « *de Electione Pontificis* », is as follows: « On the decease of the Pope, the Cardinal Bishops shall first form themselves into a council; then the other Cardinals shall unite with them; they shall have regard to the wishes of the rest of the Clergy and of the Roman people. If the Roman Clergy should not comprise any suitable individual, then only will it be necessary to elect a stranger. But this shall in no manner interfere with that respect and honour due to the future Emperor, or exclude the demand, from whomsoever shall have obtained such right from the Apostolic See, for confirmation of the pontifical election. If the election cannot take place in freedom at Rome, it may be accomplished elsewhere ». In another synod, held two years subsequently (1064), were added the following clauses: « Whosoever shall be placed in the Apostolic See by intrigues, by bribery, by human favour, through popular or military tumult, without the unanimous and canonical choice, and without the benediction, of the Cardinals, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, shall be deemed not as a Pope but as an apostate; and it shall be permitted to the Cardinals and Bishops to expel such intruder from the Holy See, with concurrence of the Clergy and pious laics, with anathemas, and through use of all human means; and to replace him by one whom they shall deem most worthy.



married clerics, containing a clause so severe as to forbid even attendance at the Mass of the priest offending in such particular. In the next year the Pope travelled into Apulia, on the request of the Norman princes, in order to absolve the latter from the excommunication pronounced against them by Stephen IX; and after the usual formalities of penitence and restitution to favour, he bestowed on Robert Guiscard the investiture of the duchies of Apulia and Calabria, and on his brother Richard the principality of Capua (4); Sicily also, in prospective right, being added to the Dominions of the former. The Pope stipulated a tribute to the Holy See of 12 denarii for every yoke of oxen in that Island, the conquest of which Guiscard was meditating. In this transaction Fleury sees the historic origin of the Kingdom of the two Sicilies; and certainly the oath now taken by Robert Guiscard (v. Baronius, *anno* 1059) binds that prince and his successors to the most devoted loyalty, as defenders and allies of the Pontificate, which thus promoted both its own and the Norman interests. The successor to Nicholas was elected mainly through the influence of Hildebrand, who decided in favour of Anselm, bishop of Lucca — Pope under the name of Alexander II (1061–73). But soon afterwards the Empress Agnes, irritated because the Pontiff had been enthroned without reference to herself or her son, raised up a rival in the person of Cadolaus, bishop of Parma, a man of evil repute, who was appointed to the Papacy, with irregular procedure, in a diet

If they cannot make the election in the interior of the City, they shall assemble beyond its circuit, and elect the individual they deem most worthy; from which time the elect shall enjoy the apostolic authority, shall act and govern for the interests of the holy Roman Church according as he shall deem fit, and according to circumstances ».

(4) The city and province of Capua had passed from the Lombardic to the Norman dominion in 1062. After a vigorous resistance during ten years, Landulf, the last Lombardic Prince, had resigned, his capital having been taken by siege in 1058.

presided over by the Empress at Basle; and who took the name of Honorius II. This pretender had been recommended by the Lombardic bishops, who were mostly married men; but in the next year almost all the prelates both of Italy and Germany agreed in refusing to recognise him. Dauntless as ambitious, Cadolaus contrived to obtain support at Rome by bribery, and to win over many among the Clergy by sanctioning their marriages. Having mustered a considerable force, he marched against Rome, A. D. 1062, and obtained a victory in the fields now called « prato di Nerone » outside the Flaminian gate; but reverses soon followed. Godfrey, Marquis of Tuscany, arrived with an army; Cadolaus, defeated in the first encounter, retired in humiliating disgrace to his see of Parma. In 1064 that pretender again appeared with troops before the Papal Capital; commenced a siege; and soon forced an entrance by night into the « Leonine City ». The account of what ensued, and of the Antipope's second discomfiture, is so curious that I prefer giving it in the words translated from a contemporary chronicler: « When morning dawned, and the rumour of these events began to spread through the city, the Roman people rushed all together to the church of St. Peter; the soldiers of Cadolaus were suddenly seized with such fear and trembling that, abandoning him, they all took to flight, and hid themselves in grottoes or other secret places (1). Then did the most wicked Cencius, son of the Prefect, give his support to the malignant Cadolaus, receiving him into the castle of S. Angelo, where he took an oath to him, and gave him protection. And there was the Antipope detained for the space of two years, beleaguered by assailants who were among those faithful to Alexander; and after he had suffered great hardships, he was only able to escape by paying a ransom to the said Cencius of 300 lbs of silver, after which, joining a company of envoys, with

(1) Probably the Catacombs, which were still at times frequented for devotion.

one of his followers, he secretly fled » (Nichol. Aragonen. *Rer. Ital. Script.*). Alexander II showed courage and humanity amidst the trying circumstances in which he was placed. He opposed his rival by moral means ; by councils, anathemas, and protests. He reprobated the massacre of Jews, which had lately taken place in different cities during a sudden outburst of popular bigotry ; and admonished the Spanish bishops that Christians should not rise in arms against that unfortunate people, though they might make lawful war against Saracens. Shortly before the invasion of England, this Pope sent a consecrated banner to William of Normandy, urging him to undertake the conquest of that island ; and in return for which gift, after the battle of Hastings, the embroidered and jewelled standard of Harold was sent by the Conqueror to Rome. To the Duke of Bohemia, Wratisslaus, was permitted by Alexander, at his special request, the use of the mitre as a symbol of sovereignty, — first instance of the assuming of such ecclesiastical ornament by a layman. Among public works, for which credit must be given to this Pope, was the rebuilding of the cathedral of Lucca, which renewed church was consecrated by him in 1070; the Lucchese bishopric being still reserved to himself. Another consecration, in the ensuing year, is still more noticeable as connected with the story of art and of monastic institutions. A celebrated Abbot of Monte Cassino, Desiderius, had rebuilt from its foundations, and with surpassing magnificence, the church of that monastery ; and within the short period of five years was completed what appears to have been the most splendid sacred edifice yet raised in Italy, with exception, perhaps, of the chief Roman basilicas and S. Mark's. Mosaicists and other artists were invited from Constantinople ; the most skilful practioners in the working of gold, from all parts of Italy ; and several of the youths who were completing their studies in the monastery, became pupils of the artists resident there whilst the new works were in progress. The Pope, invited by Desiderius, repaired with all his cardinals and court to offi-

ciate in the great ceremonies. Among the immense numbers of all classes and both sexes entertained for six days, were fifty-four Prelates, and several sovereign Princes. Inexhaustible, says the chronicler, was the provision of flesh and fish, bread and wine, daily spread before those guests, whose numbers, the same writer assures as, could not be more easily counted than the stars of heaven! After a few years from that time, the restored Monte Cassino cloister contained two hundred monks, and had again become famous as the sanctuary of learning and sciences in every walk then cultivated.

The main object with Alexander II was to define the due limits and proper relations between the Empire and the Church. In a Council held by him at the Lateran, decrees were passed that evince the purposes of reform: they condemn simony, the vagrant life of certain monks, and especially reprobate the incontinence of priests, such offenders being now sentenced to suspension *a divinis*, and the laity forbidden even to attend Masses celebrated by them. It is believed that, on this occasion, was first prohibited the celebration by the same priest of more than one Mass daily, except for the dead, and at Christmas (1).

During the funeral of Pope Alexander at the Lateran, an extraordinary and tumultuous scene took place — still more memorable for its historic consequences. The general cry rose suddenly from a multitude of all classes: « It is Hildebrand whom S. Peter elects for his successor! » That already celebrated Archdeacon at first resisted, but finally yielded to the torrent of popular will; the suffrages of all, clergy, nobles, magistrates, and chief citizens, uniting in his favour.

- (1) On Christmas-night the bells were rung;  
On Christmas-night the Mass was sung;  
That only night through all the year  
Saw the stoled priest the chalice rear.

Thus was raised to the throne Pope Gregory VII (1073-85); and the circumstances, grossly misrepresented by his enemies, which led to that elevation, are made known to us by contemporaries and witnesses; also, what is more interesting, in his own words. « Having taken counsel (says Hildebrand himself) the Cardinals determined that, after three days given to litanies and prayers, with the offering of alms, we should proceed, in reliance upon the Divine aid, to take such steps as are necessary for the election of the Roman Pontiff.

« But, after the remains of our lord the Pope had been consigned to the tomb in the church of the Saviour, great tumult and excitement became suddenly manifest among the people, who, as if all frantic, rushed upon me, allowing no time for deliberation, and with violent hands forced me into the post of Apostolic government, for which I am utterly unequal » (*Ep. III, l. 1.<sup>o</sup>*) Pandolph of Pisa says: « We, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church — Clerics, Acolytes, Subdeacons, Presbyters, the venerable Bishops, Abbots, and monks being present — assembled in the church of S. Peter ad Vincula (4), and there elected as Pastor and Supreme Pontiff — a great multitude of different classes and sexes consenting and acclaiming — a religious man of manifold science, endowed with prudence, a most excellent lover of justice, strong in adversity, temperate in prosperity, chaste, modest, sober, hospitable, from his boyhood sufficiently well educated and learned — namely, Hildebrand, whom we desire to be henceforth and for ever styled the Apostolic Pope Gregory ».

This truly great man, who left the impress of his mind, at least in the sphere of religious and ecclesiastical interests, upon all subsequent ages, was the son, as is generally believed, of a poor carpenter at Soana, a small town with a

(4) The second and formal procedure, that is — after the election, so strictly popular, had taken place at the Lateran church.



bishopric in the Siena province (4). In his boyhood he was conducted to Rome to be placed under the care of his uncle, the Abbot of a monastery on the Aventine, now represented by the silent church and almost deserted residence called *S. Maria del Priorato*, belonging to the knights of Malta. In admiring the view of the City and the winding Tiber from the terrace-garden, amidst which those buildings stand, we might conjecture how that scene, so beautiful and so full of memories, may have impressed the young student destined for so high a place in the Church and in the drama of History.

Whilst still very young he travelled into France, in order to complete his studies at Cluny, where he took vows as a Benedictine. At that cloister he remained till the occasion of the visit (above mentioned) of the German bishop who became Pope as Leo IX, and with whom Hildebrand returned to Rome. The stranger monk from Cluny, of slight frame and low stature (as he is described), probably passed unnoticed through the Flaminian gate on this, his second arrival in the apal metropolis. Soon afterwards Leo IX appointed him Chancellor, and Abbot of S. Paul's; and he became eventually, thanks to intellectual and moral qualities, the chief counsellor to five successive pontiffs. His austere sanctity, as well as the conspicuous part sustained by him in his several capacities, gave rise to legends that embellish his story, whilst indicating the popular reverence for his high and pure character: in his infancy lambent flames had been seen hovering, innocuous, around his head; and, whilst playing in his father's shop, he unconsciously formed with the carpenter's chips letters that spelt the words: « *dominabitur a mare*

(4) Pecci, « *Storia del Vescovado di Siena* », says, on the contrary, that he came of a « *nobilissima famiglia* », and that his father was Aldobrandeschi, Count of S. Fiore and Sovana. In the case of one « a Prince and more than Prince in mind », the question does not seem of much importance.



usque ad mare » (he shall reign from sea to sea). An anecdote is given by the chronicler Paul Bernried, of two peasants who, attracted by the fame of the Pope's sanctity, came into Rome to see him amidst the pomps of his installation at the Lateran. Whilst he was celebrating Mass they watched his movements and features with intense curiosity; and, after the consecration, one of them was convinced he saw a dove descend from heaven, rest with outspread wings on the right shoulder of the Pontiff, dip its beak into the chalice, and then fly upwards! The impression made by him personally is attested in the language of contemporaries, who seem to have felt in his presence not only the power of a commanding intellect, but the charm of majestic manners, and a certain severe fascination. S. Peter Damian used to address letters to him and the Pope conjointly, as if the two were deemed inseparable: « To the most beloved, the elect of the Apostolic See, and to the Rod of Ashur, Hildebrand ». Sometimes, because the Archdeacon had inexorably opposed Damian's desire to renounce his bishopric and return to the hermitage he still sighed for, the saint would reproachfully call him his « sanctus Satanas ». Among the epigrammatic verses with which Damian winds up some of his letters, and gives vent to a pleasant humour, we find the following, expressive of his sentiments towards the two leading personages at Rome:

The Pope I must revere; but thee I must adore:

Thou makest him to rule; he maketh thee a god! (4)

And a more gifted poet of the time, Alphanus, Archbishop of Salerno, extolls Hildebrand as the greatest of all Rome's heroes; through whom more lustre was reflected on the eternal City than she had received from Marius, Ju-

(4) Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:  
Tu facis hunc dominum; te facit ipse deum.

lius Caesar, or the Scipios; by his anathemas effecting mightier victories than the ancient Quirites had ever won through the slaughter of hostile armies! In his youth Hildebrand attached himself to the cause of the deposed Gregory VI; by adopting the same name with whom, he may have intended to protest in favour of the legitimacy of that Pope's claims.

The first proceeding of Gregory VII was to write to the young King Henry IV, requesting him not to sanction his election (a remarkable avowal of the prerogative, in the German crown, thus to interpose!); and warning Henry that, should he be recognised as Pope, he would severely call him to account for the scandals of his conduct. That Prince had the courage to accept what was in store for him; and sent a prelate to confirm the election in his name, and attend the consecration of the new Pope, who had not yet received even priest's orders.

Soon began the vigorous onset against prevalent abuses. Gregory adopted the system, characteristic of the policy of an energetic ruler who desires to know, and avail himself of, all capable advisers, of summoning councils every year. In the first over which he presided, the principal object was to reprobate the incontinence of priests, and to withdraw prelates from secular control by severely prohibiting the investiture with crozier and ring. The decrees were sent to Henry IV, who promised to comply with respect to the investitures; but, as was soon apparent, only feigned acquiescence with intent to resist after the conclusion of a war, now engrossing his means and attention, against the revolted Saxons. It is, however, evident that the first communications between the Pope and the King were friendly; and Henry seems, at this time, to have sincerely desired reforms. Fierce hostilities against the uncompromising Pontiff soon broke out even in his own capital. He was celebrating Mass at S. Maria Maggiore on the night of Christmas, 1075, when a sudden tumult disturbed the rites; whilst the Pope was standing amidst the incense and tapers, with the conse-

crated Host in his hands, an armed band led by Cencius, son of the Prefect Alberic, burst into the basilica, and rushed with drawn swords against Gregory, who was wounded in the forehead, probably by Cencius himself. The ruffians dragged him from the high altar, bound him with cords, and set him upon a horse, in this plight to be conducted, amidst their troop, to a tower near the bridge of S. Angelo, where he was thrown into a dungeon. Report of this outrage soon spread through the City. There was arming in the streets, ringing of church-bells, mustering of throngs with weapons and torches; guards were stationed at the gates; and by daybreak the tower of Cencius was attacked with violence that soon forced the inmates to capitulate. Meantime a strange scene was passing within that fortress: the jailer, subdued and terrified, knelt for his life before the venerable captive, who alone could save him; and it was through Gregory's intercession, after his release, that Cencius was rescued from the instant death which the people would otherwise have inflicted when they had him in their hands. Amidst the exultations of the crowd, the Pope was led back to S. Maria Maggiore, where he finished the interrupted Christmas rites. As for Cencius, though he fled from the City unhurt, all his property, in houses and land, both within and without the walls, was devastated; and the tower near the bridge was razed to the ground. Not content with such punishment, the people drove away all his relations, after having barbarously mutilated them — as Leo Ostiensis, a contemporary, tells us: « The people rose, liberated the Pope, razed to the ground the tower and all the houses of Cencius, cut off the noses of all his relations, and drove them out of Rome ». It is conjectured that the criminal outrage against the Pope had been instigated by an ambitious Archbishop of Ravenna, who had intrigued to obtain the tiara for himself; but some conclude that Cencius sought this vengeance because Gregory had required him to give up certain estates of the Holy See, which he had seized, and

long retained. Early in the year 1076, the Pope wrote to the German King, urging him to fulfil his promises by renouncing the reprobated claim of investitures; soon after which he sent legates into Germany, charged to carry out the decrees of the Council, and order such ecclesiastical reforms as were needed. The King, deeply offended, convoked a synod of bishops, his submissive creatures, who not only protested against the disciplinary measures of Gregory, but went to the length of condemning his person, declaring him an intruder in the Holy See, and pretending (two voices alone being dissentient) to depose him. A few weeks afterwards, a cleric, sent by Henry IV, appeared before a Council at the Lateran, where a hundred and ten bishops were present, Gregory presiding; before which august assembly did this envoy denounce the Supreme Pontiff in violent terms, calling him « a wolf instead of a true pastor », enjoining upon him to yield his place to a worthier successor, the pontiff to be legitimately appointed by his sovereign! The silence of indignation ensued; till interrupted by a single word, from the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, « *capiatur* » — (let him be seized); then burst forth on all sides the indignation felt by all. Swords were drawn by soldiers and civilians present. The Prefect, several nobles, and magistrates rushed upon the envoy; and that spokesman of tyranny would have been cut to pieces had not the Pope interposed, generously throwing his own person in the way to protect him — « *toto corpore se super eum projecisset* », says Pandulph. After order had been with difficulty restored, Gregory addressed the assembly in terms of calm and dignified self-justification, appealing to this Council as well as to the whole Church against the German King. It is not surprising to learn that, in the issue of that day's momentous proceedings at the Lateran, Henry IV was not only excommunicated, but deposed, and his subjects were absolved from their allegiance — the first example of such stretch of papal power in the sphere of political interests. These spiritual

thunders produced their natural effect in the course of the next few months.

The magnates of the Empire, headed by Rodolph, duke of Suabia, and Guelph, duke of Bavaria, met to debate on the deposition of Henry and the election of a successor. They invited Gregory to attend a diet at Augsburg for the final determining of these important questions. In the hope of averting the tempest, the King promised all that was required of him, and accepted the condition of humbling himself to obtain absolution in person from the Pope. Early in the Winter he set out with his ill-used Queen, Bertha (whom he had intended to divorce); crossed Mont Cénis, exposing himself and those with him to the utmost hardships; and arrived at Susa, the first place of rest, where the weary travellers were entertained by the Marchioness Adelaide (4), and by her son Amadeus, who both reigned conjointly over that province. During this sojourn, Adelaide (who was Henry's mother-in-law) obtained from him the cession of five Italian bishoprics, now transferred from the German to her own dominions. She accompanied her guests, whose progress thence was regal, on their onward way through Lombardy, in which parts the Clergy received the king with marks of attachment to his cause; perhaps a proof of their unwillingness to admit the reforms decreed by Gregory; as it is well known that the law of celibacy was not at this time accepted by the Lombardic clergy, whose position was one of almost absolute independence towards Rome. On the 25th of January, 1077, the travellers reached Canossa, a strong fortress of the Countess Matilda in the Reggio province, where the Pope, who had advanced as far as Vercelli on his way to Augsburg, but had desisted from that journey on hearing of the King's approach, was now the guest of that countess, his

(4) Daughter of the last Marquis of Susa, and now a widow after three successive marriages, who had become, through several inheritances from her father and husbands, one of the most powerful sovereigns of her time in Italy.



devoted friend. This celebrated woman, who now begins to act so conspicuous a part in the history of her time and of the Papacy, ruled over the most extensive states in Italy, comprising all Tuscany proper, Lucca, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Ferrara, the city and province of Viterbo; inherited partly from her father, Boniface (1), count of Modena and Marquess of Tuscany, partly from her deceased husband, Godfrey, son of the Marquess of Lorraine. Left a widow, and childless, from the age of thirty, she concentrated all the energies of her nature, and the entire political means at her disposal on the defence and aggrandisement of the Papacy, which she constituted, by testament twice drawn up, sole heir to her dominions. Matilda's accomplishment were wonderful for this age of prevailing ignorance. She spoke the languages of all the soldiers who served under her banner, and corresponded in those several idioms with distant countries. She collected a valuable library, and commissioned two well-known *savans* to draw up compilations of canon and civil Law. She led and commanded her troops in several battles; for in her masculine courage was blent with feminine enthusiasm. She is described by her biographer as habitually cheerful and serene, also as beautiful, though his latter quality has been disputed to her. (2) It does not appear that the domestic affections had much ascendancy in her mind; for she separated herself from both her husbands, and consented to a divorce from the second, her marriage with whom was dictated by merely political motives. In her declining life she dedicated herself to the practices of austere devotion. Whatever her defects, it is evident that the character of this extraordinary woman was most elevated, her courage heroic, her piety pure and without superstition, her friend-

(1) Assassinated at Mantua. A. D. 1052.

(2) « *Semper facie hilaris, mente quieta, corporeque decora —* », always of cheerful countenance, tranquil in mind, prepossessing in person (Muratori, *Rer. It. Script.*),



ship self-sacrificing, the tenor of her life nobly consistent with her principles.

What ensued after the king's arrival at Canossa has been often described. It is well known how the greatest sovereign in Europe humbled himself before the politically feeble priest; had to wait three days, standing in the snow, bare-footed and bare-headed, between the inner and outer cincture of walls, while his retinue remained beyond the outer gate, before Gregory would consent to admit him into his presence.

« He had laid aside his royal robes, retaining nothing to distinguish him as a prince; his feet were naked; and he continued fasting from morn till evening, vainly expecting the sentence of the Pontiff. In the same manner had he to wait during the second and third day ». (Lambert of Aschaffenburg, « *De Rebus gestis Germanis* »). The conditions first required by the Pope were: that he should resign the crown and royal insignia into his hands: avowing himself to be unworthy of the regal rank and title. As this appeared too severe, even from the point of view of those on the Papal side, who now undertook to intercede — Matilda, the Marchioness d'Este, Adelaide of Susa, and the Abbot of Cluny — the Pontiff at last consented that the King « should appear before him (I translate the words of a contemporary), and atone by his penitence for the insult offered to the Holy See through disobedience to her decrees. » After this, Henry (as the same writer states) « was admitted into the presence of the Pope and of those around him; and after long debate was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, but under condition that he should hold himself ready to appear before a diet of German princes in the place, and at the time, appointed by the Pope — there and then to answer in person to all the charges brought against him. — Till judgment had been passed upon him, he was not to bear any mark of royal dignity, or take any part in public affairs ». These stipulations having been agreed to, the Pope celebrated mass, and communicated with the king from the same consecrated ele-

ments; after which solemnities, the two embraced, and (for the first and last time) sat down together to a banquet enlivened by friendly converse (4).

Not more than fifteen days, however, had elapsed after the reconciliation, before Henry IV so far disregarded all his engagements made at Canossa as to adopt a line of conduct in which it was apparent that he had no sincere intention of complying with the Pontiff's demands, or maintaining amicable relations with the sacerdotal power, thenceforth treated as his foe. In the chronicle of Monte Cassino, written by a contemporary, we are told that he formed a plot for securing the persons of Gregory and Matilda, which the latter discovered in time to frustrate; and that it was on account of this that the Pope hastened to return to Rome. There, in a synod attended by deputies from two other claimants of the crown, now raised up against Henry, was renewed the excommunication; so that exactly the same situation as prior to the meeting at Canossa, became again established. In the year 1080 Gregory, by formal act in Council, recognised the new King of Germany, Rodolph, who had been elected by the leading princes, in revolt against the deposed (because anathematized) Henry, and had been crowned in 1077. In order to retaliate against the Pope, the latter now had recourse to the expedient of raising up an Antipope in the person of that same Archbishop of Ravenna, whose ambitious intrigues have been mentioned, and who was elected in an assembly of German magnates, at Brixen. Soon after this, in the February of 1082, Henry crossed the Alps at the head of an army, leading with him this creature of his power, who took the name of Cle-

(4) It has been stated that, on this occasion, the Pope offered the communion as a species of judgment of God, or ordeal, between himself and the King, and that Henry, conscience-stricken, refused it. All the earliest chroniclers either assert, or imply, that Henry did receive the Sacrament after his abolution (« Muratori », *Rer. It. Script.* t. III, p. I).

ment III. The invaders marched upon Rome, and commenced a siege, which continued during the whole of the Lenten season. On the approach of Summer, the City being yet defended with success against the assailants, and malaria fever now beginning its ravages in their camp, Henry retreated with a part of his forces, but left a detachment at Tivoli, under command of the Antipope. From that mountain-seated town the Germans continued to harass and assault the Roman citizens, putting to death many who fell into their hands. In the Spring of the next year Henry returned, again took the command, and prosecuted the siege with final success. The Leonine City was entered after repeated attacks, in the course of which some of the buildings near S. Peter's, and the porticoes of that church were burnt down; as also is said to have been destroyed (v. Platina) the noble colonnade that extended from the Ostian gate to the S. Paul's basilica—almost a mile in length. Legend adds that Gregory checked the flames, as they raged around S. Peter's, by the sign of the cross — renewing the miracle ascribed to Leo IV on a similar occasion. It is said that Henry had bribed many Roman nobles and prelates to co-operate in his interest, and facilitate the capture of the City; and that for this object he had employed 144,000 gold ducats, besides one hundred pieces of scarlet cloth, — the bribe which the German King had himself accepted from the Greek Emperor, as price of his support against the Normans in an apprehended invasion of the eastern Autocrat's states. Rome was now occupied by the German conquerors; but the S. Angelo castle, and, it seems, a part of the transtiberine quarter also, were still defended by pontific troops; Gregory himself taking refuge in that fortress. The Antipope was installed at the Lateran; and in the adjacent basilica Henry received the imperial crown from his hands; after which ceremony, that prince (whom we may now call Emperor) retired to a fortress, prepared for his residence, on the Aventine hill. Meantime the S. Angelo castle was continually exposed to attack; the citi-

zens, « following their evil courses », (as Pandolph says), having surrounded it with an outer girdle of walls, apparently with the object of preventing the escape of the Pope. The Septizonium, that portion of the imperial buildings on the Palatine which then rose opposite the S. Gregorio church, was defended by Rusticus, a nephew of the Pope, who here held out for some time against the assailants — nor do we read, indeed, that those fortified ruins were eventually taken by the Germans from the valiant Rusticus. .

But when intelligence came of the march of the Normans, led by Robert Guiscard, upon Rome, Henry, fearing the encounter with such a foe, hastily withdrew from this City, with all his forces, to Civitacastellana. The Normans now entered Rome, by night, through the Flaminian gate; and we read that it was on that same fatal night, as those troops passed through the streets to the SS. Quattro church on the Coelian hill, where Guiscard took up his quarters, that the City was fired, with results so tremendous as entirely to change, thenceforth, the aspects of localities most distinguished by classic monuments, less ruinous before this catastrophe than it left them.

The accounts by contemporary writers are full of discrepancies; some, no doubt, very incorrect; but in such a case even exaggeration bears testimony to the extent of disaster, whilst reflecting the impression made by it on the general mind. We must remember that Rome, however now depressed and depopulated, was still, to the imagination of Catholic Europe, the imperial City, the chosen of Heaven for supreme and sacred eminence, the « Head of the world » — *Roma caput mundi*, as a mediaeval proverb expresses it. Some state that the incendiarism was provoked by a quarrel between the soldiers and citizens; others, that it was deliberately ordered by Guiscard, on the advice of the Urban Prefect, Cencius, with the object of distracting the people whilst the Pope was being rescued, and escorted to a distance. All authorities agree that the entire region between the Colosseum and the

Lateran was devastated by the flames, in which case the very buildings of the SS. Quattro, chosen by Guiscard for his own quarters, must have suffered. It is stated by some that the fire raged throughout the region from the Flaminian gate to the Arch of Titus, as well as from the Capitol to the Lateran; probably an exaggeration; but there are recognisable marks of fire on the column of Marcus Aurelius, which seem to confirm the more credible account by Pandulph of Pisa (in Muratori, t. III, p. 4) that the entire neighbourhood of the S. Silvestro and S. Lorenzo in Lucina churches was thus devastated. Nor was the city spared other such horrors as usually attended conquest. The same chronicler tells us that, after the Pope had been liberated, the foreign soldiers, among whom were many Saracens, gave loose to all evil passions: women were outraged, houses sacked, proprietors despoiled; defenceless citizens were slain, mutilated, or captured to be sold into slavery. In the chronicle of Monte Cassino the terrible scenes of this night, and the rescue of the pontiff, are thus briefly described: « Whilst the Romans, terrified by the sudden event, were hastening to extinguish the flames, the leader (Guiscard) marched with his army to the castle of S. Angelo, led the pontiff from thence, and, quitting Rome without delay, escorted Pope Gregory to this monastery » (l. III, c. 53) (4).

Other writers (as Baronius), conclude that), Gregory remained long enough not only to be reinstated at the Lateran

(4) Gulielmus of Apulia, in his *De Rebus Normanorum*, about the best of the ponderous metrical chronicles produced in these ages, narrates the event in a manner more decidedly apologetic; but we must remember that Guiscard is his hero:

Robertus. Romam properans, vi perforat Urbis  
Egregiae muros, tamen auxiliantibus ipsi  
Paucis Gregorii fautoribus, inde *quibusdam*  
*Aedibus exustis*, violenter ab obsidione  
Liberat obsessum jam tanto tempore Papam;  
Hunc secum magno deducit honore Salernum.



palace, but also to reform certain flagrant abuses, and order the expulsion of pseudo-cardinals nominated by the Antipope. One might scarce believe, were it not attested by unquestionable witnesses, the enormities perpetrated by those evil men, and within the precincts of Rome's chief sanctuary. « These persons (says Cencius Bibliothecarius) were Roman citizens, married, and living in concubinage (!), who wore mitres, and had their beards shaved (1), pretending to be Cardinal Priests. They took the oblations (at the altar); impudently granted indulgences and remission of sins to all. Under pretext of guarding the church (S Peter's), they used to rise at night, and violently commit acts of rapine, homicide, robberies, outrage against women, in the neighbourhood. They were now removed from the church by the blessed Pontiff, who consigned it to the care of priests and clerics of virtuous life ». Perhaps one of the rare intervals of perfect repose and sunny calm ever enjoyed by Gregory VII, was that sojourn of a few days at Monte Cassino, where he was received by the Abbot Desiderius and his community of two hundred monks with all due honours. The monastic chronicler records with poetic colouring the impression made by the venerable fugitive, whilst here a guest. Whilst the Pope was saying Mass, a white dove, with a golden ring round its neck, was seen hovering near his head, and bending its beak towards the Host at the consecration! And the same pious monk who had beheld this, himself being then in extasy, was visited on the ensuing night by two mysterious personages, one 'with countenance' more radiant than the day-star, who desired him to tell the Pontiff that he should, in the strength of the Holy Spirit, persevere in the work he had so valiantly commenced! During this sojourn Gregory became possessed by a presentiment of approaching death.

(1) The distinction of ecclesiastics — as apparent from one of Gregory's letters, where he reproves a bishop for neglect in this particular.



and summoned the Cardinals, who had followed him, as well as the whole monastic community, to address them in terms of solemn farewell, and to enjoin upon the former the election, after his release, of one among three ecclesiastics whom he named as worthy to succeed to him : the Abbot Desiderius ; Odon, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia ; and Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons. From Monte Cassino the enfeebled Pontiff travelled to Salerno, desiring to remain under the protection of Guiscard. In that city he held a synod, to renew the excommunication against the Emperor and the Antipope. He also consecrated the recently finished Cathedral, of Guiscard's foundation ; and on that same occasion preached. This was his last appearance in public ; for he was, soon afterwards, attacked by the illness of which he died at Salerno, aged seventy-two, 24th of May, 1085 — after pronouncing those memorable last words, his own most just eulogium : « I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity ; therefore I die in exile ». He passed away, apparently defeated, but in fact victorious. And there is nothing that strikes us so much, at the close of this illustrious career, as the ultimate attainment of all which this heroic priest had striven for, after he himself had met with such long series of afflictions, hostilities, discomfitures ; and had descended into the grave, the victim in a contest eventually won for those interests he had so bravely devoted himself to support !

His posthumous honours were long delayed. Within sixty years after his death, his figure, with the title and halo of sanctity, was introduced among the paintings in a chapel at the Lateran, ordered by Anastasius IV. In 1584 his name and acts were inserted in the Breviary by Gregory XIII. But it was not till 1609 that he was beatified — namely, by Paul V ; nor till 1725 that he was canonized, by Benedict XIII. When his « legend » was first allowed a place in the breviary, certain zealous partisans of monarchic prerogative, as well priests as laics, made objection. The Jansenists raised an outcry. The German Emperor, and France, through decree

of her parliament, alike forbade the introduction of his anniversary festival in their respective territories. Even before his beatification, his tomb in the Salerno cathedral was opened (1575) in order to the transfer of his remains to more honoured sepulture in the same church; and it is said that the body was then found untouched by decay, still wearing the pontifical vestments and mitre — as is attested in the epitaph we read on the monument, in the chapel of the Procida family, beneath which those remains now lie. A statue of the sainted Pontiff, not unsuitable, but with no claim to be considered as a portrait, stands above this more modern tomb. In the Salerno cathedral there are many objects to be noticed — but none so full of historic importance as that memorial to the great representative of Spiritual Power in its struggle against secular Despotism. The aims and theories of S. Gregory VII are best set forth in a document known as « *dictatus Papae Gregorii*, » supposed to epitomize the decrees of a Council held by him in 1076; and which, though some writers question its authenticity, is considered by all as a just exponent of his principles. Among the clauses in this memorable document, the following are of peculiar significance:

« The Roman Pontiff alone can be legitimately styled Universal.

« He alone has power to depose and reconcile bishops, even independently of Synods.

« The title Pope (*Papa*) should be applied to him alone.

« It is lawful for him to depose Emperors; and he can absolve subjects from their allegiance to iniquitous sovereigns.

« He can ordain ecclesiastics for the service of whatever church, according to his pleasure.

« No Synod can be received as a General Council except by his command.

« His sentences cannot be rescinded by any one: and he alone can rescind all other sentences.

« The more important causes of all other churches should be referred to him.

« The Roman Church has never erred, nor will err in all time to come.

« The Roman Pontiff, canonically consecrated, becomes holy through the merits of S. Peter

« No one can be deemed Catholic who does not agree with the Roman Church.

(Baronius, *an.* 4076).

Such ecclesiastical policy cannot be appreciated unless we bear in mind the conditions of the whole Western Church at the time of Gregory's election. On one hand, lawlessly tyrannic princes; on the other, a corrupt, ignorant, and worldly-minded priesthood. The bestowal of temporal power and wealth on prelates, by Charlemagne and his successors, had not led to the true exaltation but rather to the degradation of their sacred office. Great indeed were their privileges at the time their moral qualities were the lowest.

Bishops and abbots had the right of coinage, of receiving tribute, tolls, dues; they had their prisons, and tribunals, and could exercise the power of life and death over their vassals. By appealing to Rome they could exempt themselves from all other than papal jurisdiction; and, if accused before secular tribunals, could only be condemned by sentence of ten other prelates, on the testimony of 72 witnesses. As the great benefices of the Church had become mere fiefs of the crown, it was inevitable that their possession should be limited by like conditions as other fiefs under the feudal system. Hence the *Investiture with crozier and ring* at the hands of the sovereign; and the practice of considerable payment as a tax to the crown by each nominee. Prelates became the obsequious courtiers of the princes who had appointed them, so often without any regard to moral or intellectual qualifications. Mitres were, in not few instances, given to children who scarcely knew one article of belief; and it might happen that the father had to carry in his arms to the episcopal throne the boy-bishop in whose name he bargained for benefices,

tithes, parishes! The most luxurious self-indulgence, worldliness, and utter contradiction between the life and the office on the part of those in the high places of the church, were among natural consequences. An archbishop of Milan held, at the same, time, three other sees, one beyond the Alps. Another prelate of the same archdiocese, is described, on his journey to Constantinople, accompanied by vassals and an immense retinue, laic and clerical; three Dukes and a host of knights, among others, riding in his train, and all on horses shod with gold or silver (1). The letters of S. Peter Damian supply curious details of such ecclesiastical vanities; and sternly does that Saint denounce the prelates who were clad in ermine or other exotic furs; who, when they travelled, had beds prepared for them, at the hostelries, more splendid than the altars in their cathedrals, more costly than the sacred vessels used on those altars; who, in their palaces, had furniture covered with rich stuffs embroidered all over with fantastic figures of animals &c. And the parish priests naturally imitated their superiors, so far as they had means for indulgence, opportunity for amusement. It was the general complaint that they were to be found everywhere except at their churches — at the tavern, at the chase with hawk and hounds, in the society of boon companions or loose women.

Any attempt to restore the diseased body to its original life or primitive integrity would, in all probability, have proved thankless and profitless. Another organisation, informed by new principles, was introduced — not, certainly.

- (1)       Woe to you, Prelates, rioting in ease,  
          And cumbrous wealth — the shame of your estate;  
          Ye, on whose progress dazzling trains await  
          Of pompous horses; whom vain titles please;  
          Who will be served by others on their knees,  
          But will yourselves to God no service pay.

with selfish or basely ambitious, but with exalted aims, though foreign to the system and life of earlier Christianity. Above the decayed fabric of the ancient Church rose the now fully developed Papal Supremacy, that may be said to have saved Christian interests, at this crisis, from imminent ruin. The chief (though not sole) author of this potent — and long eminently beneficent — system, was Gregory VII, who proved not only a vigorous ruler, but, in another aspect of his extraordinary character, an enlightened reformer. He modified the effects of the then all-crushing excommunication by allowing that services and human charities might be rendered to those under ban of the Church (as they could not be hitherto) by the wife, the children, the domestic, and such humbler vassals as could not be counselors to their anathematized master.

He required all bishops to have the « liberal arts » taught gratuitously in their cathedrals. He admonished a King of Denmark to put a stop to the cruel persecution, in his states, against poor and aged women accused of witchcraft. One of the most telling measures, for that exaltation of the Holy See so steadfastly promoted by him, was the exacting of the oath of fealty from all those bishops who received appointment direct from Rome. The Patriarch of Aquileia was the last among Italian prelates who objected; but he also, in the year 1077, finally yielded, and took the required oath on receiving his pallium from the Pope. By this engagement the bishops pledged themselves to defend by every effort the rights of the Holy See and S. Peter; to communicate with none under the ban of Rome: to alienate no property of their sees without the Pope's permission; to attend all his Synods, and receive with due deference all his legates; to visit thrice every year the « limina Apostolorum », or else send deputies, at those intervals, to report on the state of their respective dioceses. Significant also, among the acts of Gregory, was the assuming of the exclusive right to the title « Papa » for the successors of S. Peter.



That title (from the Greek  $\pi\alpha\pi\alpha\varsigma$ ) had been anciently given to all bishops, and sometimes even to simple presbyters. Its application to a Roman bishop is first exemplified in an epigraph found in a Catacomb, and placed by a certain deacon, recording the bestowal by « Papa Marcellinus » (time of Diocletian) (1) of a chapel on that same deacon, for the sepulture of his family, in one of those hypogees. Certainly, in thus arrogating for One alone the title which ancient Christianity had allowed to all her chief Pastors, Gregory VII proved how well he understood the magic of a name!

Nothing could more strikingly indicate the desolation in which Rome was now left, and the dangers surrounding her pontifical throne, than the extreme reluctance, in the first successors of Gregory, to ascend so perilous an eminence. Soon after that Pope's death, the Cardinals, assembled at Rome, invited the Abbot Desiderius to aid them in their difficult task.

He arrived from Monte Cassino, apparently unsuspecting of what was in store for him. In spite of his sincere and persistent opposition, he was almost forced to accept the dreaded tiara, after the strange expedient had been adopted of investing him with power to elect, by his single vote, another pontiff, which he actually did; but this exceptional proceeding being objected to as uncanonical, his choice was eventually set aside. Desiderius at last reluctantly yielded, and became Pope as Victor III (1086-7); but, only four days afterwards, fled from Rome, first to the solitary little town of Ardea, near the sea-coast, thence to Terracina, where he laid down the Papal insignia, mitre and scarlet cope, with the resolve to abdicate. After this, he took refuge in his beloved cloister; there persisting for nearly a whole year in declining the office and honours, all the while attributed to him by

(1) *Jussu, Papae sui Marcellini* (De Rossi, *Inscript. t. I, Prolegom.* p. 445). One of the earliest examples is in the hymn on S. Hippolytus by Prudentius, who addresses as « Optime papa! » a bishop Valerius, certainly not among S. Peter's successors, and whose see is not even known.



the consentient voices of the Clergy. The energy and capacities he had evinced as Abbot, seem to have failed him at this emergency. But, being persuaded to attend a Council at Capua, he was there prevailed on to resume the Papal insignia and responsibilities; and, consequently, returned to Rome to be crowned (8th of May, 1087). But eight days afterwards, he again retired to Monte Cassino, which he did not quit before being reassured by the Countess Matilda, who now intervened to support his cause, and took up her abode, with a garrison, in a castle on the Tiber-island of S. Bartholomew. Victor III also resided, at that castle under the Countess's protection, whilst all the rest of Rome, except the Leonine City and the S. Angelo castle, was held by the faction of the Antipope. Many of the baronial families, however, now gave their support to the legitimate pontiff. On the ensuing S. Peter's day no Mass was celebrated in the Apostle's basilica, now held by the Antipope, and fortified; that usurper officiated at the Pantheon, near which he resided; but S. Peter's was, soon afterwards, recovered by the friends of Victor III. That Pope's last public act was to preside over a Council at Benevento; whence he was conducted, an invalid, to Monte Cassino; and he closed his life in peace at the cloister he had been so unwilling to quit for the sake of a thorny crown. The antecedents of this Pontiff, in his youth, had been romantic. He was the son of the Prince of Benevento, and had been betrothed to a maiden of suitable station; but, like another S. Alexius, had avoided the marriage by secret flight from his aristocratic home, taking refuge in some solitary retreat, and, soon afterwards, was received by a holy abbat, to become a monk in a cloister near his native city. He is commended for his skill in music and in medicine. After his death the see remained vacant for nearly six months.

Odone, of French birth, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, (one of the three recommended by Gregory VII as worthy of the pontificate) was elected by unanimous votes at Terracina,

and became Pope as Urban II (1088-99). He dedicated himself to the same objects and principles as those of Hildebrand. In the first council at which he presided, namely at Melfi, he passed edicts against lay investiture, simony, and other abuses; also prescribed the ages requisite for holy orders: thirty for the priesthood; twenty-four for the diaconate; fourteen for the subdiaconate. On the same occasion he invested Count Roger with the Dukedom of Apulia, bestowing the symbolic standard; and, in return, received from that Norman Prince an oath of fidelity, binding himself and his successors for ever to the Holy See. Henry IV was still waging war in Italy, and devastating the states of Matilda with fire and sword. His creature the Antipope, who had fled, had been brought back to Rome, and installed in the S. Angelo castle, which had been taken from the pontifical troops by stratagem. Unable to reside in his capital amidst such circumstances, Urban II travelled to France in the Summer of 1095; and held at Clermont a council ever memorable for a momentous proceeding — the publication of the First Crusade. On his journey northward the Pontiff had staid at Piacenza, there to hold another Council, attended by two hundred bishops of different countries, about four thousand clerics, and more than 3000 laics, before whom were heard the appeals of envoys sent by the Greek Emperor Alexis, to implore succour against the incroaching force of the Moslems, whose incursions had almost reached the gates of Constantinople. Considering the danger now threatening to all Christendom, Urban exhorted the European States to an enterprise, which many swore to devote themselves to, for the repulse of Saracenic invasion.

The large mind of Gregory VII had already conceived the project of a Crusade, to which he refers in three of his letters, intimating the possibility of his himself becoming leader of the faithful, to guide them to the Holy Sepulchre; and more than 50,000, he assures us, were prepared to follow him.

It is remarkable that that Pope, from the higher point of view he characteristically took, aimed at once at the repelling of the Moslem power, and extending of the kingdom of Christ over regions now lost to it, rather than the mere recovery of certain consecrated places. Victor III had given the standard of the Cross, with his blessing, to an Italian army, consisting mostly of Pisans and Genoese, recruited under his auspices for an enterprise against the Saracens in Africa.

But it was at Clermont that the project of a European war for the deliverance of Jerusalem, and especially of the Holy Sepulchre, was first proclaimed and adopted. In the Council at that city, Urban addressed an immense multitude of all classes, in pathetic terms depicting the sufferings of the faithful in Palestine. He dwelt on the glorious reward in store for all who should worthily devote themselves to the sacred cause. « Full of confidence in the Divine mercy (he added), and in virtue of the authority of SS. Peter and Paul, I grant plenary indulgence to all Christians, who, animated by sincere devotion, shall take arms against the Infidels; and whosoever dies in this holy pilgrimage, with feelings of true repentance at the last, shall obtain remission of his sins ».

His eloquence had wondrous effect. An enthusiastic shout burst forth at once from the whole multitude: « *Deus vult!* — God willeth it! » And the decision of the Council was believed to be instantly, therefore preternaturally, made known in distant countries. A new idea, the imperative Christian duty of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from Infidels, became the source of spiritual enthusiasm and martial daring, the guiding star and inspiring impulse of the age. The preacher resumed the argument from the appeal of the Pontiff: « He who does not take up his cross and follow Me, is not worthy of Me! » A celebrated enthusiast, Peter the Hermit (a pilgrim to the East from Amiens), who had been present at both the Piacenza and Clermont councils, himself led the first expedition, undertaken by an undisciplined and utterly

incapable crowd, who all perished by famine or the sword; having followed the worst route they could have chosen for their goal, through Hungary and Bulgaria. The first regularly organized Crusade was that whose forces were led partly by the French and Flemish barons through Germany; partly by Hugh (brother to the French King), by Robert of Flanders, Eustace of Boulogne, and Robert of Normandy, through the Italian States; which latter troops, marching by way of Lucca, there received the blessing of the Pope. Boemond, Prince of Taranto, and his cousin Tancred, nephew of Robert Guiscard, with their Italo-Norman forces, joined them in the south of this peninsula. One chronicler states (perhaps exaggerating) that 20,000 Italians were enrolled under the banner of the cross in this first Crusade. A metrical chronicle, (v. Duchesne, *Rerum. Franc.* t. IV) enumerates, among the warriors:

Ligures, Itali, Tusci, pariterque Sabini,  
 Umbri, Lucani, Calabri simul atque Sabelli,  
 Aurunci, Volsci, vel qui memorantur Etrusci.

But historians own that, taken in the aggregate, the Italians did not devote themselves to the great cause with such unhesitating ardour as did other nations (Cantù, « Storia d'Italiani », c. LXXX). Nicæa, and Antioch — the « pearl of the Orient » — were besieged and taken, 1097–8; and soon was achieved the greatest victory ever won in these wars, the conquest of Jerusalem (15th of July, 1099), and the founding of a Christian kingdom named after that city; its first sovereign being the heroic and pious Godfrey de Bouillon, who refused to wear a crown of gold where the Redeemer had worn one of thorns! All who took the cross were placed under the immediate protection of the Church. All penances were remitted to them; and they were assured of salvation should they fall in battle, provided their sins were repented of. The Pope became the general guardian of their families

and properties; the bishops, the administrators and curators for widows, orphans, minors left defenceless by the absence or death of Crusaders. A century later, Eugenius III decreed that fiefs might be alienated for the support of the holy war, and might pass into the possession of the Church in case the feudal lords did not desire to receive them back from the vassals, their tenants. The Crusades, whilst contributing greatly to the elevation of the Papal sway, had an adverse effect on the principle and practice of ancient religious discipline. The indulgence, the pilgrimage, the combat in whatever cause had been declared sacred, now took the place of the austere observances required as test of true repentance; and never assuredly was any great enterprise undertaken, with great means, that led to results so different from those originally aimed at! So contrary are the ways of Providence on earth from that which man vainly supposes and confidently anticipates! Yet all historic evidence confirms the justification, on other grounds than were at first asserted, of this resolute antagonism against the encroachments of Moslem power.

Whilst at Tours, during his sojourn in France, Urban held another council, 1096, at which was introduced, for the first time, a graceful object of symbolic import, which henceforth takes its place among precious things consecrated at the Papal chapel: the Golden Rose, which was now blessed by the Pope, and presented by him to Fulk, Count of Anjou. Hence arose the custom of annually preparing such an object, to be blessed by the Pontiff on the fourth Sunday in Lent, in the sacristy of the Sixtine chapel before High Mass, during which rite it remains on the altar; to be presented, in the course of the year, to some exalted personage deserving well of the Holy See, usually to a female sovereign, or, as sometimes the case, to a celebrated sanctuary or cathedral. But the Golden Rose, harmonising with the ideas attached to it, has developed both in scale and costliness. Instead of a single flower, it has grown into a tree bearing many roses full blown; that at



the summit being perfumed with musk and anointed with chrism: the Rose itself understood as emblematic of heavenly-mindedness; the gold as aymbol of the Divinity of Christ; the balsam, in the chrism, of His soul; the musk, of His body — or, in other acceptation, the gold as the power of the Father; the musk, the wisdom of the Son; the balsam, the charity of the Holy Spirit (4).

Urban II returned to Rome escorted by a crusading company. The Antipope fled to Ravenna; but when those armed friends of Urban had withdrawn, that pretender again appeared in Rome, and recovered all the strong places he had lost, the castles and towers in and near this City. Again had the legitimate Pope to take refuge on the Tiber island, in the castle formerly held by Matilda; and, after a time, to quit the City, proceeding thence to Bari, where he held a Synod with the main object of farther promoting the Crusade. Soon after a favourable change in the situation of parties at Rome had enabled him to return thither, Urban II died at

(4) See a sermon on this theme by Honorius III: « *Forma Rosae est inferius angusta, et superius ampla: ita quilibet Cristianus debet terrena vilipendere et superna desiderare, unde Apostolus: Quae sursum sunt quaerite, quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram. Rosa Summi Pontificis est aurea; habens balsamum et muscum. Aurum significat Christi divinitatem, balsamum animam Christi, muscus carnem Christi. In auro significatur divinitas, quia sicut aurum est pretiosius et splendidius caeteris metallis, ita divinitas Christi est super omnia, et est splendidissima et aeterna. In balsamo significatur anima, quia sicut balsamum est carius et pretiosius caeteris liquoribus, ita anima Christi fuit melior omnibus aliis. In musco significatur caro Christi, quia sicut muscus est de carne animalis, et diffundit suavem odorem, ita caro Christi fuit nata de virgine Maria, et dedit mundo salutem, et sicut muscus non jungitur auro nisi mediante balsamo, ita caro Christi non potuit jungi divinitati, nisi anima mediante. Aliter: Aurum significat potentiam Patris, muscus sapientiam Filii, balsamum charitatem Spiritus Sancti ».*



the castle of the Pierleone family, a huge pile absorbing the ruins of the Marcellus theatre, and now represented by the modern Orsini palace. This Pontiff, who had moved the mightiest lever of the moral world in impelling Europe to battle for an idealized cause on the shores of Palestine, had not a home in his own capital; for the Lateran palace still lay in the ruin to which it had been reduced by the Norman conflagration; and he could only reside either in the baronial castle on the island, or as the guest of the above-named family in one of their fortified abodes. At one period he was left so destitute as to depend for daily sustenance on the charities of the Roman matrons. But a devoted French bishop brought him the offering of 400 gold marcs, the profit from the sale of his own horses, and other objects of value, which he had gladly sacrificed. A singular episode in the history of the First Crusade occurred at Rome during this pontificate, though not whilst the Pope was there resident. In 1096 a company of knights bound for Palestine, led by Robert, Duke of Normandy, and Stephen, Count de Blois, visited this City for devotional purposes. When they came to pray at S. Peter's, they found that church defended, like a fortress, by the faction of the Antipope, though one of its two towers was held by the friends of Urban II. Whilst the Crusaders were kneeling at the Apostle's shrine, huge stones were thrown at them from the galleries above the nave; and the oblations they had laid on the high altar were snatched away by those profane partisans. The warriors of the Cross fought for, and reinstated, the authority of Pope Urban, who soon afterwards returned to his capital. In the following year, the Italian provinces were liberated from the horrors of long-continued invasion, by the withdrawal of the army commanded by the German Emperor.

At S. Clemente (a church probably much damaged, but certainly not destroyed by the fire in 1084) was elected to the Papacy, as Paschal II (1099-1118), a Cardinal who had been titular of that church, and abbot of S. Lorenzo.

In this instance the formality of applying for the imperial confirmation of the new Pontiff, was dispensed with; never, indeed, to be renewed after its observance in what proved the last case, the election of Gregory VII. The closing historic scene of the XI century reminds us of a cloudy sunset after a tempestuous Winter's day: a mixture of splendour and gloom; a battle of elements, slowly and solemnly subsiding into grand repose, not without the promise of a glorious morrow. The few remaining mouths of this troubled epoch seem to have passed in peace over the hills of Rome.

In the details of ritual, religious observances, discipline, the history of the last two centuries presents some indication of development. For the X century our best authority is the above-named Attone, Bishop of Vercelli in 924, whose extant works comprise Comments on the Epistles of S. Paul; letters, sermons, the « *de Pressuris Ecclesiasticis* », and a collection of Canons. In that series, the Canons namely, we find the prohibition of the Agapae, or banquets in churches (a usage of primitive antiquity); also of sepulture in churches; and, what is more important, of private, or solitary, Masses — implied proof that the idea of the Communion still predominated over that of the sacrifice; also the injunction, to the laity, to use, during divine service, no other books than the Old and New Testament, the Canon of the Mass, or, on Martyrs' festivals, the « *Acts* » of such witnesses to the Faith. All are required to communicate at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. Public amusements (*spectacula theatrorum*), on festivals, are forbidden. Important also is the testimony, in those writings, to the apostolic freedom and popular element still prevailing in the mode of election to bishoprics: « The Elect is to be most diligently examined by the Metropolitan as well as by the other bishops of the same province; if he be found worthy, then let him be solemnly and devoutly consecrated with the consent and cognisance of the sovereign to whose government the diocese seems to pertain ».

Great splendour and material costliness now distinguished the rite and the sanctuary. We read of statues of gold or

silver, of hangings embroidered with gold or studded with gems (see the description of the Monte Cassino church, built by the Abbot Desiderius, in the chronicle of that cloister); but we have little reason to suppose that the Beautiful in Art had yet asserted its fascination above the mere costly in sacred display. Illuminations in the sanctuary were brilliant; but no tapers were placed upon the altar; nor was the cross seen on that sacred table, though certainly cross, or crucifix, had now a conspicuous place in the temple. All were required to present oblations at Mass, if their means allowed them (1). Communion was invariably received in both kinds; and Baptism administered with triple immersion of the body in fonts made like wells. Tithes, in their origin voluntary, were now prescribed by law. The usage of bestowing the pallium, sent from Rome, on Archbishops, as symbol of their office, became confirmed, and its reception rendered necessary, through the influence of Gregory VII, who obliged an Archbishop of Ravenna to wait for such gift of the pallium before exercising the full powers of his jurisdiction.

The interdict, whether launched against cities or whole countries, was attended by an awful retinue of lugubrious signs and symbols. In the last hour before the church-doors were

(1) *Mozzoni*, « *Tavole Cronologiche di Storia Ecclesiastica* » (Rome), edits, among monuments of the XI century, a relief found at Vimercati in the Milanese archdiocese, representing the Mass: a priest, in a tunic and ample chasuble, gathered up at the shoulders, seen in act of elevating the Host at a small altar, the sole objects upon which are the chalice and a curiously twisted taper; laterally, six figures worshipping, three being children, who are naked down to the waist, — apparently neophytes about to make their first communion immediately after Baptism, according to the usage of the Milanese church. If we could determine the date of this sculpture, it would be an evidence as to the period when the practice of elevating the Holy Sacrament was introduced, or, at least, when it first obtained; and thus would be set aside the theory referring it to no earlier time than about the end of the XII century. The engraving gives the idea of a work less barbaric than other sculptures of the same assumed date.

shut, no more to be opened till the dread sentence had been revoked, stones were thrown from the pulpit; and after this hour, the Clergy only appeared, vested in black, within the porch or atrium, exhorting their flocks to repent. No religious administrations were allowed, except Baptism, and the Communion of the dying, to whom the Viaticum was brought without lights or incense; and even Christian burial was only granted to priests, pilgrims, foreigners, and generally to the poor. Notaries had to omit, in legal documents, the name of the ruler struck by the Church's anathemas.

In the domain of religious sentiment most remarkable is the ever-increasing veneration for the Blessed Virgin, in whose honour was introduced a new office with its proper « preface » for the mass, sanctioned by Urban II; and a special devotion, with psalmody, on Saturdays. The Angelic Salutation (though not with what now forms the second part in the « Ave Maria ») became a popular form of prayer. St. Peter Damian, a truly representative man of his time, styles Mary, in a sermon on her assumption: « Sovereign Lady of the world, Queen of Heaven, seated at the right hand of God; all beautiful, because all deified, and placed on the throne of the Trinity! » (*Domina mundi, Coeli Regina, sedentem a dextris Domini, tota pulchra quia tota Deificata — in ipsius Trinitatis sede reposita*). The same saint confirmed, though he was not the first to introduce, the practice of dedicating Saturdays to Mary; Fridays to the commemorating of the Cross and Passion; Mondays to intercession for the souls in Purgatory; the last observance founded on the belief that on Sunday was allowed a suspense, and on the morrow was endured a renewal of the sufferings in the purgatorial state.

With the increasing veneration for Relics, obtained more and more the practice of dividing and transferring them. Immense sums were sometimes given for their 'purchase; as when Duke William of Aquitaine paid 100 talents for a supposed arm of S. Augustine.

The rod of Moses was exhibited in a church of some French city, whither multitudes flocked from Italy as well as from the neighbouring provinces to see it.

In penance, the discipline (or scourging), adopted first by monks and hermits, acquired immense credit and popularity, mainly through the influence of S. Peter Damian; though there were some — Benedictines at Monte Cassino, and secular priests at Florence — who urged rational objections against this new mode of mortification. The trust, or persuasion, however, prevailed, that all sin might be expiated through means of regulated flagellations, usually accompanied by recital of psalms. Strange are the variations due to man's enthusiasm, or fanatical excitement, in the ideal standard of Christian virtue! The masters of ascetic life now determined that 3000 strokes of the lash were equivalent to a whole year of penance; that continued scourging during the recital of the whole Psalter twenty times over, availed for a century of penance; and at least the merits of a whole penitential day might be won by twenty strokes on the hand! Not unnatural was the transition from such a system to that of buying off, through payment to the clergy regulated by tariff, the debt incurred by sin; and 20 soldi from the rich, 3 soldi from the poor, penitent sufficed for the obligations of a whole year. Damian himself, at last, deemed it necessary to check the excesses of self-mortifying zeal; but his eloquence and example had sown a seed whose fruit long survived him (4).

A grim and ghastly figure, with which we become acquainted in Damian's writings, is the very personification of this ascetic system: S. Dominic Loricatus, so named from the penitential shirt of mail, which he wore, together with great iron rings round his bare limbs, for more than fifteen years. Flogging himself indefatigably with leathern thongs,

(4) See his « Life and Times », an able work by Padre Capelatro.



his face and body all livid from blows, this eremite could get through the equivalent of a hundred years' penance in six days ! and once, when challenged to a greater feat, undertook to discharge the debts due for sin, as extending theoretically over a thousand years, in the course of a Lenten season !

It is refreshing to turn to the nobler and brighter realities. The edicts of Councils bear striking testimony alike to the widely spread control and thoughtfully systematized beneficence that characterized the action of the Church. At Clermont, (on the occasion when Urban II presided), the assembled fathers enjoined the observance of the « Truce of God », or suspense of all warfare, private and public, from the Thursday till the evening of Sunday in every week ; and from the beginning of Advent till the octave of the Epiphany ; from Septuagesima Sunday till the octave of Pentecost, every year. The same Council extended the privileges of sanctuary from churches and their purlieus to all crosses erected on waysides — truly a beneficent regulation in days when travel was so perilous in all lands !

The new Religious Societies that arose within this period, in different countries, are announcements of that spirit of austere protesting reaction against patent abuses ; or, as we might say, of the Divine agency in the Church, that saved her from the overwhelming flood of corruption.

In the year 1018 was drawn up the rule of the Camaldulense Eremite Order, by S. Romuald, the son of Sergius of the Onesti line, Duke of Ravenna ; that saint having been induced to enter the religious life in consequence of the impression received, in his youth, from witnessing a duel in which his father killed a relative. In the strict seclusion and contemplative character of this Order was anticipated that of the Carthusians, founded by S. Bruno, at the Grande Chartreuse, in 1084. And from their chief establishment, amidst scenes grandly beautiful, high up among the Tu-



scan Apennines, the followers of S. Romuald recieved their name (1).

Another Order, a branch of the Benedictine, was founded, about 1023, by S. John Gualberto; and also took its name from its principal, and first-chosen, sanctuary among primaeval forests of the same Apennine — Vallombrosa. The story of Giovanni Gualberto is impressive. He belonged to a noble Florentine house: and, when young, lost a brother by death either in a duel or through act of vengeance. On a Good Friday he chanced to meet the man by whom his house had been made to mourn, and whose life he had sworn to sacrifice, on the way ascending from Florence to S. Miniato. Giovanni was on the point of avenging his brother by taking the life now in his power, as the homicide was (it seems) unarmed; but the latter knelt before him, imploring mercy in the name of Him whose sacrifice on the Cross all Christians commemorated on that day. Giovanni spared that enemy's life; raised, embraced, and forgave his brother's murderer. He then went on his way to S. Miniato, and knelt long before an altar over which hung a painted crucifix (2). We know not what passed in that hour of mental crisis; but we know that Giovanni believed he saw the figure on the cross bow its head in token of the acceptance of his prayers; and that he, then and there, resolved on the dedication of his future life. Rising from the altar, he immediate-

(1) From « Campus Malduli » — field of Maldoli, a proprietor who had bestowed the ground and forest where they first established themselves.

(2) An image painted on cloth, and stretched upon a wooden cross, which was removed with great pomp to the Vallombrosan church of S. Trinita, Florence, in 1674; and is annually exposed, with a brilliant illumination and music, on the evening of Good Friday. A marble chapel was built, in 1448, round the altar at S. Miniato, by the architect Michelozzi.

ly applied for admission into the Benedictine community at S. Miniato; there became a novice, and a monk; but left when it was desired to elect him as abbot of that cloister; seeking elsewhere more profound solitude and stricter monastic observance.

No history, however sketchy, of an eventful epoch would be complete without notice or hint respecting the literature of that epoch.

Here we must again cite S. Peter Damian, in whose pages we see a genuine reflex of the spirit of his age; the evil and the good, the corruption, and the fervent endeavours, mainly personified in that saint, to « wage contention 'gainst the time's decay ». Lanfranco of Pavia, and Anselmo of Aosta, successively Archbishops of Canterbury (1070 and 1093), left names to endure. Monastic chronicles, earliest being those of Farfa and Novalesa, now begin to appear in literature; and in the XI century Italian laics first take their place among historians.

We cannot expect to find poetic flowers generally cultivated, or sought, in these stormy times. Such compositions in Latin verse, of the XI and XII centuries, as those edited by Muratori, are mere metrical chronicles without any light from feeling, any colours from imagination. To this class of fossiles belongs the « *de Gestibus Normannorum* » by Guilielmus of Apulia; a work which has, however, historic value, as a contemporary report of the deeds of those conquerors in southern Italy, and the intervention of Robert Guiscard at Rome on behalf of Gregory VII. Curious, but still more heavy, and far less polished in style, is the poem by Donizo, the chaplain of the Countess Matilda (4), on the story of that celebrated woman; his admiration for whom does not rescue his Muse from frigidity. Several writers, poets among

(4) Tiraboschi describes him as a monk of a cloister near Cannossa. He was probably a witness of the celebrated scene of the

them flourished at Monte Cassino in the XI century; and Padre Tosti mentions a poem in the vulgar tongue (date 1090) extant in ms. in that monastic library.

One of those Cassinese monks, named Amatus, wrote poems worthy of notice — as, « de laudibus SS. Petri et Pauli », dedicated to Gregory VII. Another, Guaifer, of the same period, wrote more variously, prose and verse, hymns, homilies, panegyrics; and one longer poem of true power and imaginative conception, « de Miraculo illius qui se ipsum occidit », on the story of a simple young pilgrim, bound for Compostella, who is persuaded by the Demon to kill himself, with the idea of thus more speedily arriving in Paradise; awakes from the truce of death to find himself among lost spirits; but is at last saved even from Hell. and restored to earthly life, by the intercession of S. James, the Apostle to whom he had been so devout. Among poets of this age, however, the palm must be given to another Benedictine, who was also a zealous prelate, and a patron of the Arts — Alfano, Archbishop of Salerno from 1058 to 1085; the same who transferred the relics of S. Matthew to his cathedral. Among his extant writings, in prose and verse, are hymns (in various metres, and all of superior merit), and poetic epistles, addressed to high-placed personages—as Hildebrand, of whom he was the friend and enthusiastic admirer. A meditation on Monte Cassino displays more than common descriptive power and sense of the beautiful in nature. His « Confessio » is an affecting utterance of individual religious life: a poem informed by the Piety that throws itself at the foot of the cross, seeking there alone the cure for all sor-

imperial penance and absolution at that castle; yet thus does he dismiss the subject in his dry verses:

Nam benedixit eum, pacem tribuit sibi, demum  
Missam cantavit, Corpus dedit et Deitatis;  
Secum convivum super arcem que Canosina vocatur,  
Ipsam dimisit, postquam juravit.

rows, and that « peace in ourselves and union with our God » which is the highest requirement of the immortal within us. (4)

- (4) Finely condensed is the line, in prayer to the Redeemer:  
Nam nego, quae bona sunt, te nisi dante dari.

*Nota to p. 96.*

(2) « Haec autem caro quae nunc similitudinem illius in mysterio continet, non est specie caro sed sacramento, siquidem in specie panis est, in sacramento vero Christi Corpus — multa differentia separari mysterium sanguinis et corporis Christi, quod nunc a fidelibus sumitur in ecclesia, et illud quod natum est de Maria virgine, quod passum, quod sepultum » (Ratramnus — see Baur, « Vorlesungen, ueber die Christiche Dogmengeschichte »).

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## IV.

### **Monuments of the Eleventh Century.**

THE eleventh century, though shaken by tremendous convulsions, and long agitated by that war of Investitures arising from the great struggle for ecclesiastical independence against imperial despotism, proved, in a certain sense, the dawning of a brighter day for many human interests, as appears rather in its literature than in its art or monuments. Throughout Europe, but especially in France and Italy, now burst forth an enthusiastic zeal for the renovating or founding of churches and monasteries; with which object many offered their gratuitous labours for building, or for repairs perhaps not wanted. And wherefore this? Contemporary writers answer, in the same sense as does Baronius, that it was from the fresh impulse given to hope and energies after the removal of the moral weight imposed by that idea of the proximate destruction of the world, prevalent in the more ignorant age. The fatal period had passed, and with it the delusion!

Yet in Rome the social picture is still gloomy; and the religious temper distinguished by a sombre fanaticism. The spirit of an age speaks in its legends; and one, the offspring of Roman ideas at this period, is as follows: A young patrician, named Canopario, became a monk at SS. Alessio e Bonifacio on the Aventine, and induced several of his friends to enter that monastery with him; but all did not persevere, and among those who went back into the profane world was

another young noble, named Francone Marengo. Shortly afterwards, the latter was seized with a pestilence, then raging in the City, at the moment he was passing by the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano. He caused himself, as soon as possible, to be carried to S. Alessio, and there entreated to be received again into the monastic community; his friend interceded for him; the abbot consented; and Francone embraced the cross, exclaiming with tears; « S. Boniface, S. Alexius! I am your servant, even the servant of your servants! » Soon after this, was seen on the Via Sacra a spectacle unlike indeed to anything ever beheld or imagined there by classic Antiquity—a troop of Demons, mounted on horses and armed like soldiers! These terrific riders galloped up the Aventine; loud knocking was heard at the gates of S. Alessio; and they demanded that one belonging to them, then an inmate of that cloister, should be given into their power. The Abbot and monks dauntlessly resisted; and the Demons rode away wailing and blaspheming, cursing all the saints, and complaining that Boniface and Alexius had taken from them the servant whom they had a right to possess; but that, in spite of this, they would hold their own. Such words were repeated to the abbot, and naturally disquieted him; for what claim could the Demons have upon a pious novice just received into the religious life? On inquiry, the Abbot discovered that Francone, though with the best intentions, had not made the monastic profession in due form; that deficiency was at once remedied by another ceremonial, a genuine profession by the novice; soon after which Francone peacefully expired (Baronius, an 1004).

The only church built in Rome during this century is S. Bartolommeo on the Tiber-island, on the site of the AEsculapian temple, and founded by the Emperor Otho III, A D. 1000, after his return from his pilgrimage to Monte Gargano; originally dedicated to S. Adalbert, the Martyr bishop of Prague, who had spent some years in Rome, with the



monks at S. Alessio, and had left this City not long before his violent death in 997.

Otho desired to enshrine in this church the body of the Apottle Bartholomew, which he endeavoured to obtain from the citizens of Benevento; but, according to one account (for which see Leo Ostiensis), he was finally defrauded by the substitution of the body of S. Paulinus instead of the more precious relics he had demanded. Giannone, however, names four chroniclers who agree in the other version of the story—that Otho did obtain S. Bartholomew's body; and it seems certain that he actually besieged Benevento, in order to avenge himself for the attempted fraud. The church in question did not till after many years had passed, take its name from the Apostle whose body is believed to be under its high altar. It was rebuilt in 1113; and probably nothing remains at this day of the earlier edifice, except the beautiful colonnades, which are indeed classic, and must have been taken from the AEsculapian temple, or other antique ruins, for the adorning of Otho's church.

Over the entrance, on the outer lintel of the doorway, is a Gothic inscription that reconciles the conflicting accounts of the Relic-transfer by claiming for this church the possession of both the holy bodies: « Quae domus ista geret, si pignora nosci quaeris, corpora Paulini sint credas Bartholomei ». In 1157 occurred a terrible inundation, which laid all the buildings on this island more or less under water; and the sarcophagus under this church's altar being then forced upon by the flood, there was found within it, besides bones, a bronze tablet on which the transfer of S. Bartholomew's body was recorded. Another inundation, in 1557, caused much damage to this church, and swept away, as we are told, « many beautiful paintings » from its walls; whence we may infer that the polychrome decoration, certainly admitted in all principal churches throughout mediaeval periods, was not wanting here. Similar decoration, on columns hid—

den by modern pilasters, was discovered, 1744, in the church opposite to S. Bartholomew's, — that of the hospital of S. Giovanni Calabita.

We must take a long walk, or drive, from the Appian gate into the Campagna, in order to observe an interesting and complex series of wall-paintings — the date (1011) fortunately preserved — in the antique edifice above the valley of the Almo, popularly called the « Temple of Bacchus », which was converted into a church, dedicated to S. Urban, by Pope Pascal I. about A. D. 820 — modernized, as we now see it, in 1634, by Urban VIII. This picturesque building was in fact, as German archaeologists prove, no Pagan temple, but one of the class of patrician mausolea called *heroum*; that might be described as chapel-tombs, where an altar stood, and occasional religious rites added sanctity to the home of the dead. Around the higher part of its interior walls are frescoes, representing the Evangelic history from the Annunciation to the Descent into Limbo (or Hades); an ideal group of the SAVIOUR enthroned, with SS. Peter and Paul; the story of Pope S. Urban (martyred A. D. 233), and that of S. Cecilia, with her affianced husband, Valerian, — the last scene in which series is the interment of that saint by the hands of the same S. Urban in the Callixtan catacombs. Another scene is from a different story, the martyrdom of S. Laurence; the introduction of which last may be explained. Inscribed beneath the Crucifixion are the words, « Bonizzo fecit anno Christi Mxi », referring to an abbot of the S. Lorenzo monastery, in which an epitaph with that name, and the date of death, 1022, has been found; and we may conclude the church of S. Urban to have passed under the jurisdiction of that abbot, who desired to honour the Patron Saint of his cloister by having his death-scene represented among others on these walls.

Before observing these frescoes in detail, we might examine two sets of coloured drawings from them in the Barberini Library, executed one *before*, and one *after*, the ori-

ginals had been retouched in the seventeenth century. We cannot certainly commend for correctness that artist who did not scruple to alter, in several instances, attitude, costume, symbolism, and sometimes even countenance. In the Crucifixion scene he has added to the principal heads the nimbus, given to none, not even that of the SAVIOUR, in the original; and the two angels adoring above the Cross are utterly different in type from the single Angel, whose figure appears in the copy from the partly-effaced original. In the group of our LORD with the two Apostles, he has added the keys, not in the hand of S. Peter; also the sword, not in that of S. Paul, as both were originally painted; and we observe in the earlier copy from the SAVIOUR's figure a more benign expression, a fairer complexion, than in the picture now before us.

Among the scenes from the New Testament, happily less altered, are some of quaint conception and naïve treatment; but there is a certain earnestness of purpose and movement in most. In the Crucifixion the figure is fastened to the Cross with four nails, the feet resting on the suppedaneum, or horizontal board, which there is reason to believe was actually in use for this mode of inflicting death. The thieves are bound, not nailed, to their crosses; and two figures of soldiers, one piercing the sacred Side with a spear, the other offering vinegar with a sponge, have names written above — Calpurnius and Longinus — the latter well known in legend as the Roman soldier who was converted, and died a martyr, now honoured with a colossal statue, by Bernini, at S. Peter's.

Among the legendary subjects here represented, most striking is that in which S. Urban causes the overthrow of a Pagan temple by the sole virtue of his prayers — a deeply-significant miracle, alike narrated of him and of other primitive martyrs. Below this church we descend into a narrow dark crypt, said to have been used by S. Urban for celebrating mass and baptizing, in which is seen, over a rude altar, a

faded picture of the Madonna and Child, the latter blessing in the Greek action; and, beside these, the same sainted Pope and S. John the Evangelist, with names written vertically; a work indicating nothing else than the zero in the decline of art, and indeed far inferior to those frescoes above noticed.

Returning to the City, we may inspect one extant specimen of the civic architecture of this age in Rome, barbaric as the period to which it pertains, and serving to attest how depraved the taste, how confused the ideas of decoration and symmetry, that now prevailed — the remnant, namely, of a fortified mansion, popularly called the « Palace of Pontius Pilate », or (as now more common) « Palace of Rienzo »; but which, in fact, must be referred to the earlier years of the eleventh century; and is known to have been built by Nicholas Crescentius for his son David, of that powerful family first known on the historic page in the person of the unfortunate demagogue put to death by Otho III, and subsequently in that of Joannes Crescentius, Prefect of Rome from 1002 to 1012 (1). The strange jumble of classic ornament and barbaric fantasies, of marble and terra cotta, mouldings that are graceful, and cornices that are ugly and ponderous, the want of all unity in plan and purpose, render this building a sort of nightmare in brick and marble,

(1) It is conjectured that an epitaph of the tenth century in the S. Alessio cloisters, beginning, « Corpore hic recubat Crescentius inclitus ecce », may be that of the grandson of the famous leader who fought against Otho, and son of Joannes, who was raised to the rank of patrician. There is pathos in that quaint memorial to one whose family had passed through such vicissitudes, and who abandoned the world to bestow his wealth on the Aventine monastery, where he died a monk; and to whose epitaph Baronius adds the lines now wanting:

« Hic omnis quicumque legis rogitare memento,  
Ut tandem scelorum veniam mereatur habere ».

and suggest the idea of caricature in its contrast to all the creations of intelligent antiquity at Rome. But what we now see is merely a fragment, consisting of a square brick tower upon a wide basement story, the principal part having been demolished in 1313 by the Stefaneschi family, in order to check, or mortify, their rivals the Orsini, its then owners; and, subsequently, still more reduced by the natural process of decay, considerable masses of this building having fallen in 1789. On its eastern side, within a narrow lane, is a long inscription in Latin verse, and partly in Leonine rhyme, where the names of the said Nicholas, styled « first among the first », and of his son, may be read together with edifying utterances of devout meditation, characteristic of the age: *In domibus pulcris memores estote sepulcris* — « in fine mansions be ever mindful of the grave, remembering that our sojourn here is brief, our race a vain one, whilst death approaches on swift wings » — such the warning voice that speaks to us from these time-worn walls at a distance of more than eight centuries!

The decline of art is still more apparent in sculpture than in painting; and at Rome the fact may be, to some extent, attributable to the discouragement of sculptured imagery in the East, whence so many influences, acting from the Greek upon the Italian school, had emanated. In the eighth century the Iconoclast schism was put down, and the triumph of the opposite principle dogmatically proclaimed, at Constantinople; but the Iconoclast *feeling* still lingered, insinuating itself into the whole life and practice of the Byzantine Church, as manifest in Greek worship at this day. The mediæval Italian painters had not only the works of this Eastern school for their study, but an almost unbroken chain of religious art, bequeathed by successive generations, in the mosaics or frescoes on church-walls, in the bright-tinted illuminations and miniatures on MS. Codes, on the treasured Missal of the choir, or « Horæ ». Not so the sculptor; for it seems that, among all antique statues in Rome, the sole

examples left erect throughout the middle ages were the Castor and Pollux, whose noble forms rose amidst the ruins of Constantine's *Thermae* on the Quirinal, till their removal, 1589, to their present place opposite the Papal palace upon the same hill; and also the equestrian Marcus Aurelius, long standing before the Lateran church, whither it had been transported from the Forum, because believed to be a portrait of the first Christian Emperor. It seems probable that, in the greater number, those Christian sarcophagi, so interesting for their mystic reliefs, now mostly withdrawn from crypts or other hypogees, to serve as altars or enrich museums, were forgotten or concealed during these ages; though we are certain that one, distinguished by remarkable sculptures, was used for the tomb of Gregory V, whose remains still occupy it. The bronze of S. Peter enthroned under a canopy, in the Apostle's basilica, is said to have been erected by S. Leo I (452) in thanksgiving for the deliverance of Rome from Attila (a not unquestionable tradition); and this sternly expressive statue may be considered the last worthy creation of the primitive Christian school at Rome, prior to that total decline, whose extreme term, we might say, is marked by the grotesque statuettes in porphyry of two emperors embracing, a group on brackets that project from columns, also of porphyry, in the Vatican library: the historic meaning here intended being, as is supposed, that accordance professed, but little indeed maintained, between the Eastern and Western Empires.

We must pass to the later years of the twelfth century before we can hail the announcement of anything like a revival of Christian sculpture at Rome.

The sole extant Roman example of this art, debased as it was, of date in the eleventh century, is in the afore-named church of S. Bartolommeo, namely, a hexagonal puteal, (or well-head), of marble, considered sacred because the bodies of certain saints had been thrown into its waters, of which worshippers used to drink on certain festivals — a usage



still kept up at other wells in Italian churches. On the sides of this puteal are small figures in low relief, of stunted proportions and barbaric design, each under a pointed arch with colonnettes, their subjects being — the SAVIOUR in act of blessing, with an open book in one hand; S. Bartholomew with a knife; a bishop (probably S. Adalbert) with a crozier in his right hand; and the Emperor Otho III, holding in one hand a sceptre, in the other the incised plan of this church on a disc. Above these reliefs we read, in irregular characters, words that form the verse, « Os putei sancti circumdant orbe rotanti ». Unfortunately, when the ancient choir, which advanced, with its marble screens, towards the centre of the nave, was swept away for some tasteless modern alteration, this sculptured hexagon became for the greater part hidden by the staircase that leads to the high altar; and as thus sacrificed, without regard to its antiquarian value, the figures are but partially seen — only one entirely so, and the upper parts of two others, namely, the figure of the SAVIOUR, and the half-figures of the Apostle and Bishop. Engravings of these reliefs are given in the valuable work, « Churches and Convents of Minor Observantines in the Roman Province », by Padre Casimiro; and in the plate from the head of Otho we observe a melancholy air, that accords with the historic account of his ascetic piety and long penances.

At the conflagration of the Ostian Basilica (1823) a work of Byzantine art, also of this period, was destroyed: a curiosity now only known to us through engravings (see Agincourt) — namely, the bronze portals wrought at Constantinople, 1070, under superintendence of the Legate, Hildebrand, (afterwards Gregory VII), and ordered for S. Paul's by Pantaleone Castelli, Consul, whose figure, no doubt, a portrait, with the title « Roman Consul » beneath, was seen among the fifty-four compositions inlaid in outlines of silver thread on flat panel-surfaces. The principal subjects thus represented were from the life of our Lord, and that of the Blessed Virgin; besides other scenes from the Old and New Testament. Judge-

ing of these compositions by engravings, we might say that they exhibit the last stage of decline; an art enslaved and enfeebled by conventional restraints to the lowest possible degree (1).

More distinguished by truthfulness and movement, is another specimen of Greek art at Rome (somewhat earlier, indeed, about A. D. 967), the Monologium of the Emperor Basil, at the Vatican Library, with numerous miniatures by eight artists, whose names are read beneath; the finest representing a penitential procession at the Eastern capital to commemorate her deliverance from earthquake under Thediosius II: the Emperor here represented crowned, but bare-foot, walking beside the Patriarch, who carries a jewelled cross, and is preceded by clerics with incense, tapers, etc.

When we consider the moral greatness, and enduring influences of Gregory VII, we feel surprise at the absence of every species of monument in his own metropolis to that extraordinary man. His sculptured tomb is at Salerno, where he died. That of the Countessa Matilda, his devoted and powerful ally, is at S. Peter's, — an imposing work by Bernini, with a statue of much dignity, and a bas-relief of the celebrated scene of the imperial penance and absolution at Canossa. About sixty years after Gregory's death his portrait was painted, with the title and aureole of sanctity, among the frescoes ordered in a chapel of the Lateran Palace; but not one memorial remains of him in Rome, except in the epigraphic range.

Another species of record, bringing to mind the war of Investitures and the pontificate of Hildebrand, came to light on occasion of the demolishing of the campanile spared by the fire, but which it was deemed necessary to take down

(1) In the « Tavole Chronologiche della Storia della Chiesa », now in course of publication at Rome, it is stated that several panels of this door were saved from the fire, and are extant; but we are not told not where these are to be seen.

in 1443, at the basilica of S. Paul. Within that old structure, and most carefully concealed, was discovered a large deposit of coins, all silver, from not fewer than sixty-two different countries and mints, none being Roman, though many were Italian; others, German, French, Hungarian, and English, the latter of the reign of Edward the Confessor; the highest date A. D. 888; the lowest, of the latter years in the eleventh century. One antiquarian, Cordero, who published a memoir of this interesting discovery, came into possession of more than one thousand pieces from that silver store, the whole being now unfortunately dispersed, nor (that I am aware) represented by a single specimen still to be seen in Rome. When and wherefore such treasure was thus entrusted to the old bell-fry-tower is a question easily answered, as we may assume it to have been no other than the quota assigned by Pontific bounty — exercised on system — for the support of the basilica and its monastic clergy; this sum, appropriated to S. Paul's, having been deducted from what flowed into the Papal treasury in offerings contributed by almost all European states. That token of reverence for the Holy See, which, before the time of Gregory VII, had developed into a permanent and prescribed tribute of « Peterpence », was originated in our own country, and by act of the Saxon king, Ina of Wessex, about A. D. 726. It was, no doubt, as a measure of precaution before the repeated sieges of Rome by Henry IV (1084-82), that this expedient was adopted by the Benedictines at S. Paul's for securing their ample share in the fund, by hiding it within that recess, where it remained, forgotten and untouched, for more than seven hundred and sixty years.

At the close of a Spring day in 1084 the sun set on one of the most fearful scenes ever witnessed even in this city of historic tragedies, after the long unchecked raging of the fire kindled by the Norman troops, under Robert Guiscard, who had intervened to rescue the Pope from the invading Emperor, Henry. Contemporary accounts of that conflagration are full of discrepancies alike as to its cause, provocation,

and extent; but even the exaggerations serve, at least, to prove how appalling was the impression made; and such moral result evinces the tragic character of the reality. One writer states that the flames extended from the Lateran to the Castle of S. Angelo; another, that they were first kindled at the Flaminian Gate, thence sweeping over the now fashionable quarter, the Corso and its purlieus, as far as the churches of S. Silvestro and S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Bursting forth anew at the Colosseum, and finding, no doubt, much combustible material to prey on, around or within the vast amphitheatre, they lit up its arcades with an illumination far surpassing all the modern shows prepared in theatrical style within those imperial ruins; and though the stupendous structure could not have been much damaged by any flames, it is possible the arcades along the western and southern sides may have been demolished, to the extent we now see, by Norman strategy, directed to provide against their being used for hostile purposes in opposition to the troops of Guiscard — or, possibly, by the Germans invader, Henry IV, in the previous occupation of the City. From the Colosseum that fire certainly extended as far as the Lateran, scathing the churches of S. Clemente and the SS. Quattro Coronati, and leaving a great part of the Papal palace so ruinous as to be long uninhabitable.

This event forms indeed a fatal epoch in the story of monuments; and some learned archaeologists assume that this catastrophe brought final, irreparable ruin to the Rome of classic antiquity: after which gradually arose, from smouldering ashes, the city that passed through many other phases before it became the new Rome, which now rises before us, scarce in any part, save ruins and churches, older than the XVI century. Like a type of the great struggle between the Church and the Empire, the event of 4084 marked the close of one and the opening of another act in the world's drama.

Twenty years after that conflagration, its theatre was visited by Hildebert, Bishop of Tours, who wrote an ele-

gy on the vicissitudes of the Eternal City, one couplet in which —

« Par tibi Roma , nihil , cum sis tota ruina ;  
Quam magna fueris integra , fracta doces » —

may be translated —

« No equal hast thou , Rome , e'en in thy ruin ;  
How great thy perfect glories, e'en in wreck thou showest ! »

With which mournful eulogium I turn from Rome to other cities , more rich in creations of this period.

Before quitting the Roman Campagna , however , we have to notice a few other relics of the XI century. The picturesque monastery of Basilians (Italian monks, though of a Greek order), Grottaferrata, among the Alban Hills , was founded by the Calabrian Saint , Nilus , (one of the greatest characters of the X century), about A. D. 1002 ; and its finished church was consecrated by John XIX in 1025, twenty years after the death of S. Nilus , who breathed his last , aged ninety-five , laid before the altar in the yet incomplete building. That church was rebuilt in the poorest modern style , A. D, 1754 ; and of the ancient architecture and contents remains nothing , except the campanile ; the sculptured mouldings round the outer and inner portals — those of the external , probably from some building of the third century — and the mosaics above the inner doorway, opening from the narthex ; also those along an attic above the chancel-arch ; art-works in which we see the influence of the declining Greek school. The mosaics over the portal represent the Saviour enthroned , and blessing in the Greek form — the countenance benignant, the hair dark ; beside Him, standing, Mary in long blue mantle with veil , and S. Basil ; and kneeling , on smaller scale , a monk , probably meant for the Abbot Bartholomew , first successor to S. Nilus , and by whom this church was completed. A Greek inscription , below this group,

signifies: « Ye about to enter the gate of this fane, 'cast away intemperance of thoughts, that ye may find the judge, who is within, benignant ». The mosaics above the high altar represent the Lamb seated *beneath*, not upon, the apocalyptic throne, and the twelve Apostles, also on thrones, each holding a scroll; a flame of fire above the head of each, and the names inscribed, vertically, in Greek. A catalogue of the names of the first twelve Abbots, round a mosaic *ornato* set into a wall, date 1132, is the sole other detail from the mediaeval Basilian church — except, indeed, the Madonna-picture over the high altar the identical one, brought hither by S. Nilus from Neapolitan regions. The stately, though unfinished, abbatial residence, and the fortifications, of imposing aspect, are due to the Cardinal della Rovere (afterwards Pope as Julius II), who held this abbacy *in commendam*. Since the days when 200 monks inhabited here, and their Abbot ranked as an Archimandrite, exercising jurisdiction over twenty-two churches, Grottaferrata has indeed fallen from its olden pride of place!

The primitive Benedictine sanctuary, in the wildly romantic mountain-gorge above the Anio, is interesting on account both of association with the history of monastic institutions, and the example of earliest Italian Gothic here presented. Not the actual S. Benedetto, but S. Scolastica, lower down on the same mountain above Subiaco, was the original Abbey; but the Saint's retreat in a cavern, higher on that mountain-side, naturally attracted the devout. About two hundred years after S. Benedict's death, that cave was enclosed within an oratory; in 1051 an Abbot built a church, to which that oratory forms a lateral chapel, and which is, in fact, a double church in two stories, resting on nine lofty arches; and in 1066 another Abbot built a church above that earlier edifice, namely, the one first entered in this singular cluster of sacred buildings. In the pointed architecture here before us, it is supposed that some details are of the X century. The walls are covered with painting; yet



the prevailing character is austere and sombre, as harmonises with the memories of this monastic sanctuary, but has little analogy with the splendid developments eventually attained by the Gothic style in Italy. In the fresco-paintings on these walls, we see the gradual emancipation of Italian Art from the slavish imitation of the Byzantine. In date they range over periods from the later years of the XI (1066) to the end of the XV century; some being more modern. The frescoes in the upper church — scenes from Evangelical History, and from the life of S. Benedict, are among the earlier; and in the two lower churches, both embellished, one founded, by an Abbot, John VI, shortly before A. D. 1217, most of the paintings are of that Abbot's time — among these being noticeable the portrait figures of Innocent III, and S. Francis; the latter (retouched) valuable as, in all probability, done from the life when S. Francis was at this monastery in 1217; representing him as youthful, without either the stigmata or the nimbus. To the XI century must be ascribed several colossal figures, on a vault, of SS. Benedict, Gregory, Maurus, Placidus etc.; and the Saviour with an open book, attended by four Apostles and four Angels — style Byzantine. The consecration of the third church, by Gregory IX, 1228, is the subject of a wall-painting perhaps executed soon after the event. The cave to which S. Benedict retired, A. D. 494, at the tender age of fourteen, and where he spent three years in austere solitude, is still seen with its walls of living rock, opening from the vaulted church; and a beautifully finished statue by Raggi (a pupil of Bernini), displayed by the soft light of ever-burning lamps, represents the young enthusiast in prayer before a cross.

Some curious specimens of the sculpture of this age are preserved on the façade of S. Pietro, Spoleto, a church founded in the IX century, and which, till the XI century, ranked as the cathedral of that city, now so much less visited by tourists than it deserves to be. Those reliefs on the Spoletan S. Pietro are referred to the age here considered; and

curiously indicate the preference for scenes of horror, for appeals to the conscience through fear. They represent the death and judgment of a female sinner: we see her on her death-bed, beside which are S. Peter with his keys, and S. Michael with scales; also another saint reading from a book supported by a Demon; we see the soul (in form of a naked body) laid on a bed, and tortured by Demons, whilst the deeds done in life are being weighed in scales, and the Guardian-angel is departing sorrowful. In another part are two scenes from the life of S. Peter; and other reliefs on this façade, larger and coarser than the rest, represent scenes of martyrdom, victims torn by wild beasts in the arena—these, no doubt, of a different period from the other more highly-finished sculptures. At the angles of a panel, in the midst of which is a wheel window, are the sculptured emblems of the Evangelists—a detail, namely, the Four Emblems round the wheel window in a squared panel over a portal, characteristic of the Spoletan churches; as on the fronts of the cathedral and of S. Ponziano, the exterior of which latter belongs also to the XI century.

Of the same period is the cathedral of Ancona, a fine example of the earlier Italian Gothic; but whose Lombardic façade and beautiful porch are ascribed to the architect Margaritone of Arezzo (XIII century); and many embellishments were added to this church, by bishops, in 1148 and 1186. Its cupola, on a dodecagonal drum, is the earliest specimen of such construction in Italy. In the interior, the quasi acute and rounded arch are seen together; and many marble shafts are relics, probably from a temple of Venus which stood on the same site. In the crypt, where is the splendid shrine of S. Cyriacus (first Bishop, martyr, and Patron Saint of Ancona), we see the genuine architecture of the XI century, with modern decoration. Nothing could be finer than the situation of this church on the summit of the sea-girt hill, above every object in the city it seems to guard and dominate

over; and though, without the « spire whose silent finger points to Heaven », the moral of that line is carried out in a sanctuary so placed.

ONE of earliest Florentine churches — *the* earliest that still stands with leading features unaltered — is that basilica so finely conspicuous on the height above the Arno, dedicated to S. Miniato, a martyr who suffered, with others, on that very spot, in the Decian persecution, about A. D. 250. The restoration of S. Miniato, begun under the last Grand Duke in 1857, and carried on for some years by the present Government, has been completed under the guidance of intelligent taste, and with scrupulous regard for all that contributes to the character of the original building (1).

An oratory raised in primitive times over the spot of the martyrdom, amidst a forest then clothing the mountain, gave place, so early (it is supposed) as the fifth century, to a more ample church, said to have been endowed by Charlemagne in 774; but destined in turn to give place, in 1013, to the present basilica built by Hildebrand, Bishop of Florence. Beside this edifice soon rose a Benedictine monastery; and in 1294 another Florentine prelate either restored, or rebuilt for his residence, the wing that still extends its broad heavy front, with turrets and acute-arched windows (now built up), beside the church.

At some period in the fourteenth century, the façade, erected about 1093, was partly restored by the guild of cloth merchants, whose device, an eagle standing on a woolpack, now surmounts its gable-summit; and in 1387 was added the vaulted sacristy, adorned with frescoes illustrating the life of S. Benedict, by Spinello Aretino.

(1) Fergusson, (« Handbook ») observes that the coupling of the piers is the sole « Gothicism » in this church, and one of the earliest examples of such detail; that the arches spanning the nave are a first timid attempt at vaulting, though the method was tried, with little success, at Rome in the IX century — namely, at *S. Prassede*.

The character of this architecture is rather Roman than Byzantine, and more analogous with the type originated at Lucca than with any other in Tuscan regions. The style of the eleventh century is perceived in the old sculptures: an eagle, and a little stunted figure in monastic costume, on the marble pulpit above the screen before the presbyterium. Other figures in relief, alike quaint and ill-proportioned, with arms extended in prayer, on an upper story of the façade, seem ascribable to the same date. The peculiarly Tuscan ornamentation in inlaid marbles, dark green and white, covers that façade, which has neither portico nor columns, but only a blind arcade with half-pillars on the lowest story. Above the pediment of the central window is a mosaic of the SAVIOUR enthroned between the Blessed Virgin and S. Miniatus, who offers a crown; a restored group, Byzantine in character; the expression of the principal figure severe even to repulsiveness, that of the saint quite feminine, as also is his costume. Another mosaic, more complicated, on the apsidal vault, represents the SAVIOUR between the Mother and the martyr, giving benediction; and below, the four emblems of the Evangelists, the pelican and dove, palms, fruit-bearing trees, and small figures of monks. We read the date 1297 in an inscription beneath; but critics have inferred earlier origin for that mosaic, perhaps restored in the year mentioned. The ideal here before us of the Divine Personage is utterly without benign beauty, though indeed majestic. Impressive, grave, and yet rich is this church-architecture as viewed from the entrance; and nothing has been allowed to interfere with its olden solemnity. The nave and aisles are spanned by arches that correspond to the arch of the chancel. A peculiarity of plan is the communication between the nave and crypt by arcades that leave that lower church (as we might call it, considering its size) visible to its full length; and above opens the presbyterium with isolated high altar and apse, lit by five windows (oblong quadrate), in which, instead of glass, is inserted phengite alabaster,

admitting a warm-tinted light of solemn effect. (1) The chancel, thus elevated, is reached by steps from the aisles, and fenced by marble screens of beautifully chiselled and inlaid work, dark green and white, in panels of different pattern; the single ambon (or pulpit) of similar marble-work, rising at one extremity. Nave and aisles are divided by columns of veined marbles, with Corinthian capitals, some classic, others betraying decadence in their chiselled foliage. Above the semicircular arches rise lofty attics pierced by narrow round-headed windows; this whole flat surface inlaid, with dark green and white marble in geometric patterns—the same species of decoration that distinguishes interior and exterior alike. The wooden roof is left, as from the first, with rafters exposed, and the whole woodwork is painted in diaper to imitate the ancient ornamentation—but (as I learn from those who remember what it once was) less rich in tone than the original.

The most gracefully-designed portion of this church is the crypt, still preserved almost unaltered, and one of the oldest examples of similar building in Italy: once more dimly lighted than it now is, by small arched windows; and divided into five aisles by light columns, with marble shafts and capitals different as well in dimensions as in orders, supporting stilted arches; a single altar standing within an apse under a painted vault. Such an architectural monument of this early age announces genius, and promises progress. S. Miniato is now appropriated exclusively to funeral rites; its floor covered with tombstones; and all the terraces around are occupied by the public cemetery.

The Benedictine church known as *la Badia*, in Florence, was founded in the latter years of the X century, probably by the Marchioness Willa, wife of Albert, Marquis of Spoleto. That

(1) To all appearance, the windows of this church were not intended for glass, but either for similar filling up with diaphanous marble, or some kind of tracery.

lady's son, Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany, was, one day, at the chase in a forest about twelve miles from Florence, and chanced, being separated from his companions, to lose his way. After wandering about for a time, he came to a large building, which seemed to be a forge: there he saw several black-visaged and hideously deformed beings, who were inflicting torments, with fire and hammers, instead of working at the anvil, as he had first supposed their labour to be. Asking who they were, he was told that they were Demons, tormenting the Damned; and that thus was he also to be tortured, unless he hastened to repent of his sins. Hugo, overwhelmed by fear, recommended himself to the Blessed Virgin; and the vision vanished. Returning to the city, « a sadder and a wiser man », the penitent Marquis sold all his possessions, and founded, with the proceeds, seven Benedictine monasteries, one being that called Buonsollazzo, on the spot where he had seen the vision; one in Florence, others at Pisa, Arezzo &c., all which he amply endowed; and from that time forth he, as also his pious lady, led a life the most edifying (Villani l. IV, c. 2). Such the legendary origin of the Florentine Badia; though it is assumed that Hugo's mother was the real foundress—contrary, however, to the evidence of the epitaph on the monument, a beautiful work by Mino da Fiesole, raised to the same Marquis, A. D. 1181, in that abbey-church. The monastery was in part demolished to give place to the fortified palace of the Podesta, built opposite to it in 1250.

Some curious examples are to be seen in Tuscan churches of the sculpture transitional between the utter degradation of all schools in the tenth, and the revival in the XIII century. Besides those rude reliefs at S. Miniato, we find a more elaborate series on a pulpit at S. Leonardo, a rural church near the walls of Florence. These reliefs were originally on the ambones of the Fiesole cathedral, whence they were removed, in 1040, to S. Piero Scheradio, a church that stood on the site of the Uffizj; after the demolition of which, they were again removed, 1782, to S. Leonardo. They re-



present, in dark grey stone, the Nativity, the Deposition, the Presentation (or the Circumcision), the Baptism, the Adoration of the Magi; also a Tree of Jesse, with stem rising out of the prostrate body of David; the Virgin and Child being seated amidst the branches — and the four Evangelists at the angles; the names inscribed beneath several figures; and below the two reliefs at the pulpit's front, the puzzling lines: « Tres tria donat erunt trinum subsidere querunt — Nobis admixtum cernunt animalia Christum ».

Costumes are here, in some instances, mediaeval. In the relief of the Presentation, a black cross, in the background, is introduced as symbol of the destiny of the Infant. Rumohr refers these sculptures to the XII century. That story of their removal from Fiesole is indeed questionable; as is the assumed fact of the destruction of that town by the Florentines in 1012; admitted by Ughelli, but by other writers deemed apocryphal. The district of Fiesole had before that date been incorporated with that of Florence; and its actual cathedral was built in 1028, after which the older cathedral, situated lower down on the hill-side, was converted into an Abbey; this same church being still known as the « Badia di Fiesole », rebuilt in 1466 from the design of Brunellesco, with the curiously ornate facade of the XI century still preserved.

Having passed in review the historic churches of Venice that precede S. Mark's in chronological order, I may now consider that most celebrated cathedral: the basilica originally built, between 828 and 831, as a ducal chapel contiguous to the palace, and which was not raised to the rank of cathedral till 1807. The Doge Justinian Participazio did not live to behold the completion of the splendid temple he had founded, which was finished under his immediate successor; and perhaps from the first was a mere amplification of the chapel built by Narses in honour of S. Theodore. But that primitive S. Mark's become a prey to the flames, as did also the palace, in the revolt that led to the deposition and violent death of Pietro Candiano, a Doge who seems to have

deserved his evil fate. The successor to the latter, Pietro Orseolo, commenced the new church, which rose almost in its actual form, between 1043 and 1094; though much of its ancient structure is supposed to have been of woodwork; and a chronicler tells us that the Doge Domenico Selvo (1071), under whom it was brought to completion, ordered stone, instead of wood, to be used for the columns. The inscription once within the atrium, thus gives the chronology of the building:

« Anno milleno transacta bisque trigeno  
Desuper undecimo fuit facta primo ».

And another epigraph, above the arcades of the nave, sets forth the magnificence distinguishing the renewed monument:

Istoriis, auro, forma, specie tabularum,  
Hoc templum Marci fore dic decus ecclesiarum.

Not one name of an architect being preserved, some have assumed S. Mark's to be a work of Greek genius; but others (Cicognara and Selvatico) assume that Italians were invited, perhaps from many different provinces, to compete and co-operate. We know that when, in 1172, the two granite columns on the adjacent piazza, with statues of S. Theodore and the emblematic lion, were to be raised in their places, the Republic issued a proclamation, inviting those competent to offer their services for the task, finally achieved by a Lombardic engineer; and it seems probable that, for her greatest church, Venice would rather have adopted a similar method than given her exclusive patronage to foreigners.

« Viva S. Marco » soon became the war-cry of Venice. All her vessels trading in the East were required by the Republic to import columns, marble, or other valuable stone, for the new basilica. In 1080 the Greek emperor, Alexis, desiring to ingratiate a government already more powerful than his own, subjected all merchants of Amalfi,

whose ships visited his ports, to an annual tribute of three *perperi* for this building; and in 1130 the city of Fano, in order to secure Venetian support in a war against Ravenna, voluntarily pledged itself to annual payment of a certain sum to the Adriatic city, and to the offering, also annual, of one thousand pounds of oil for lights in this sacred edifice.

In the actual basilica, pertaining, at least as to essential features, to the period 1043 — 1092, the most ancient compartment is the crypt, the earliest example of such subterranean architecture in Italy, preceding those crypts next in order of date — at S. Miniato, 1013, and at the abbey of Monte Cassino, 1066 (1). Such hypogees, besides serving for the object of elevating and rendering conspicuous the high altar with its rites, also provided for the saintly dead a suitable resting place withdrawn from publicity, yet still accessible to worshippers; the idea being perhaps also admissible, of intent thus to reproduce, or imitate, the « *martyria* », or sepulchral chapels, in primitive catacombs.

Pre-eminent in the wealth of decoration, S. Mark's impresses, at first sight, like an enchanted fabric, which imagination might regard as raised by a magician's wand from the tributary sea. In the accumulation of accessories, heaped together with lavish generosity, we might recognize the devotion of the mariner, eager to offer at the favourite shrine all fair and precious things, from whatever source, gathered up in his adventurous career. Poetic and wondrously effective as is the whole, we may yet question its claims as a Christian type in architecture: it is like a casket of jewels with every species of workmanship, and all imaginable

(1) It is traditional that the crypt of S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona, a church built in its present form in the XIV century, pertains to the date when the church itself was founded, A. D. 755; and the massive piers, with plain heavy vaulting, in that subterranean, have all the appearance of high antiquity; but the date 1065 has been conjectured for this structure, and more plausibly.

ornaments; its overloaded details divert from what is essential, the spiritual intent and heavenly dedication. Many of the antique curiosities set into its outer walls are, indeed, quite foreign to the religious character, and, like the necklace on the classic idol, serve but to deck, not enhance, the beauty of the art-work. Even the celebrated horses of gilt bronze, brought from the Hippodrome at Constantinople among the spoils apportioned to the Venetians on the taking of that city by the Crusaders, are unsuitable, however imposing in their place over the portals. Alike arbitrary is the admission of the reliefs, Pagan as well as sacred, along the front and lateral walls. And the absolutely grotesque has here its place likewise in some singular specimens, as a figure, within the arch of the chief doorway, in act of biting one of its fingers, and supporting itself on crutches, said to represent one of the principal architects engaged for this church, who had stipulated that his own statue should be placed on the outside « in memoriam »; — but, as he imprudently owned, when his work was done, that he had been unable to carry out in it the lofty conception of his mind, he was thus punished by offended authorities, who transmitted his name to the contempt, instead of the honour, of posterity! More intelligible are the allegorical representations of seasons and months, trades and industries, besides mystic figures of lions and other beasts preying upon human creatures; also the allegories introduced on the rich tessellated pavement: — as the well-fed lion on the sea, and the lean, hungry lion on the land, to denote the maritime commerce, source of Venetian prosperity; two cocks carrying off a fox, to symbolize the conquest and capture of Ludovico Sforza by the French kings, Charles VIII and Louis XII.

S. Mark's affords a striking example how little is effect dependent upon scale alone in monumental architecture; for we see here a nobly attained character of grandeur, power, and solemnity, whilst proportions are far from such as to entitle the building to rank among churches extraordinary

for size (1). The general plan a Greek cross, surmounted by five cupolas, its façade opens in a series of deep round-arched recesses, with vaults resting on a forest of slender columns, of many-hued marbles, in two orders. Above, forming the highest story, is a corresponding series of round-arched gables crowned by delicate finials, pinnacles, canopied niches; and a later addition of Gothic style, that supplies a graceful sky-line to this resplendent front, all radiant with coloured marbles, gilding, and mosaic. Along the entire width extends an atrium, into which is incorporated the baptistery, with mosaic-encrusted vault, perhaps the first instance of an edifice appropriated to such purposes *not* apart, or separated from the church it pertains to, as were all Italian baptisteries during the first nine centuries; and it is probable that modifications in the rite itself may have been the proximate cause for such change. The marbles and chiselled details of this basilica are believed to be, in great part, from the ruins of Aquileia (a city so renowned for monuments as to be called, in the fourth century, the « second Rome »); or from Altinum, another ruined city; or from the abandoned churches of Heraclea and Grado; and such use of fragments from the second-named of those cities at least, is attested in the fact that a species of well-formed bricks, much used in mediæval Venice, were called by masons « altinelle ». Both the inner and outer bronze portals are among earliest extant specimens of metallurgy, with figures of saints in different metals; one, with a Greek inscription, being distinguished as the portal taken from S. Sophia in the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders, 1204. So early as in the time of Charlemagne, it was ordered that in all provinces and chief towns of Italy « aurifices » and « argentarii » should be established; and the practice of the goldsmith's art at Venice, in the twelfth century, is attested by two documents

(1) Length, 220 feet; height (without pinnacles) of façade, 65; length of transepts, 480 feet.

of 1123 and 1190, mentioning its produce among items bequeathed by last wills. The Venetian sculpture of early mediæval periods is exemplified in the monuments to the Dogressa Felicita Michel, (1111), and to the Doge Maria Morosini (1253) · the latter adorned with rude reliefs of the SAVIOUR amidst the twelve Apostles, and the Virgin Mary amidst twelve angels, with censers. As to the mosaics, the precise dates of those that are not modern, among the multitude in this interior, cannot be determined; but critics refer to the eleventh century those on the vault of the atrium illustrative of principal events of Old Testament history from the creation to the lives of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses; and probably among the most ancient are those of the SAVIOUR between the Blessed Virgin and S. Mark, over the chief portal; the personified nations evangelized by the twelve Apostles; and the Divine Being enthroned amidst four angels, with Mary and the Apostles below; also sixteen personified virtues, all upon the same cupola. (1)

The rood-loft, on which stand statues of the Apostles, the Virgin, and a beautiful Crucifix (by two Venetian artists, date 1394) is an accessory of fine effect: and, impeding to great degree, as it does, the view of the high altar and choir, this detail affords proof that nothing like the Benediction-rite of more modern origin could have been contemplated by those

(1) In subject many of these mosaics are scarcely intelligible. Those of the history of the Virgin, in a chapel off the north transept, by Michele Giambane, 1430, are among the finest. It is to be regretted that most of them have been (as Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle observe) « subjected to centuries of restoration ». The style of the most antique has analogies with the Sicilian school; and many are probably of the eleventh century, by artists whose education had been Byzantine, whatever their birth. Occupying the entire golden field of vaults and cupolas, seen in the dim religious light that alone pervades this shadowy interior, their effect is beyond description solemnizing, and technical deficiencies are forgotten in the grandeur of the whole.



who built the church before us. The baldachino of the high altar, a work of the eleventh century, is supported on marble columns encrusted with relief-groups of Scriptural subjects, explained by Latin epigraphs on bands: sculptures more curious than beautiful, Greek in style, and supposed by Cicognara to have been executed at Constantinople about the close of the tenth, or early in the next century. Under the mensa of this altar, the relics of S. Mark, discovered after ages of oblivion in 1811, were re-enshrined with solemnity on the 26th of August, 1835 (1).

The greatest treasure of this church is the splendid Palla d'Oro (or altar-pall), executed at Constantinople by order of the Doge Pietro Orseolo, in 976, or at least begun in that year; but not brought to Venice till A. D. 1102: a work added to and embellished, by order of successive Doges, in 1105, 1209, and 1345; the whole wrought in laminae of gold, encrusted with groups and figures in low relief, in part overlaid with enamel, and enriched by 2,000 gems; the inscriptions, that explain its triple file of sacred subjects, being in both Greek and Latin. Having had opportunity to examine it at leisure, I could recognize the strongly-marked characteristics of the declining Byzantine school in its rigid mannerism, asceticism, and overloading of gorgeous ornament. On the central panel of the front is represented the SAVIOUR en-

(4) Till about the middle of the XIV century was kept up the custom of confiding the knowledge of the exact spot in the crypt where these Relics lay, to the Doge, the Primicerius, and the Procurator of S. Mark's exclusively. The deposit was, originally, in a bronze shrine immured within a pilaster of that crypt. At last the body (or bones) was found, wrapt in silk, in a wooden coffer, together with other unknown relics, and some grains of incense, set in a cross of gilt bronze; some coins bearing the effigies of S. Mark and an Emperor; and a leaden tablet, inscribed with characters of the XI century, as follows: *Anno ab Incarnatione Jesu Christi millesimo nonagesimo quarto die octavo inchoante mense Octubrio tempore Vitalis Faltri Ducis.*

throned and in act of blessing, Greek in type, the countenance sullen and severe; in His left hand the Gospel-book set with twenty-four gems; the nimbus and the supporters of the throne alike blazing with jewels. Laterally to this figure are the Evangelists, each with nimbus of pearls; and below the throne, stands Mary in attitude of prayer; on one side, the Doge Giustinian Participazio; on the other, a regal lady, intended, I believe, for the Empress Irene. The twelve Apostles, prophets, saints of the Old Law, and white-robed angels; scenes from the life of S. Mark, and the translation of his relics; the Madonna and Child, the infant being entirely covered with jewels, besides several busts of miniature scale, are among other subjects here represented; the interstices being filled with graceful flowery borders, showing the skill of Byzantine artists in *this*, whilst their school stood so low in other walks.

On the whole this work presents memorable example of the false direction given to that prematurely enfeebled school; and amidst lavish expenditure of material, exquisite delicacy in detail, and patiently-elaborated finish, we have here the proof of incapacity for all high conception. In moral importance, indeed, this shrine, alike with that of S. Ambrose at Milan, cannot be overrated. We may object to the religious bias that brought such monuments into existence, but rejoice in the ascendancy of an immortal interest, and the soul-moving influences of faith in those who « on their heart-worship poured a wealth of love », itself more precious than all the gold and gems on these resplendent altar-tombs.

No higher date than the tenth or eleventh century can be claimed for the marble chair said to be the episcopal throne of S. Mark, kept in the oft-despoiled, though still rich, « tesoro » of this basilica. Tradition states that it found its way hither, after being presented by the Emperor Heraclius to the Patriarch of Grado; but a much later period is indicated by the reliefs upon it — the Evangelic emblems; the Lamb on the mount, with the four rivers; SS. Peter and Paul ec.

After the Longobardic dominion had been overthrown by Greek conquest in some parts of Southern Italy, the Greek rite was restored in many churches that had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of Rome.

Bari, Brindisi, Taranto, with other Apulian and Calabrian dioceses, were in consequence subjected to the Byzantine Patriarch, instead of to the Pope. At Naples, after the see had been raised to archiepiscopal (though not metropolitan) rank, were established two capitular bodies of Clergy, one observing the Greek; the other, the Latin, rite; the aggregate meeting, on stated days, to officiate in the same cathedral. Such mediate course, between the Latin and Greek, the Roman and Byzantine systems, perhaps influenced the religious temper, as well as the architectural characteristics, peculiar to Neapolitan provinces.

The Othos aimed at bringing back all those southern churches to the Roman obedience; but what those German Emperors attempted in vain, was fully accomplished by the Normans, after they had conquered both Saracens and Greeks in these states.

The prevalent architectural style in these provinces is Romanesque, much modified by Byzantine influences. Apulian architecture presents analogies with that of Lombardy in the XII and XIII centuries; though without the reed-like pilasters and the sculptured figures on portal or façade; for the Greek iconoclast feeling so far prevailed in Apulia as to lead to preferences for the symbolic, for animal figures, and lavish profusion of ornamental detail, rather than the human form, on exteriors of sacred buildings. Robert Guiscard despoiled the ruins of Paestum in order to supply marbles and columns for the cathedral of Salerno, founded by him in 1075 — completed, 1084: entered from a raised atrium, or paradisus, around which extends a peristyle of Paestan columns. The more ancient mosaics in this church (those of the XI century) are too much damaged to be appreciable, except perhaps the single figure of S. Matthew. The crypt, though its gor-

geous decorations are modern, is of the original structure; and celebrated for the shrine of S. Matthew, whose supposed Relics were brought hither from Paestum soon after the founding of this church.

The type copied in all principal churches of the Bari province, is the cathedral of Bitonto, founded (as supposed) early in this century, and remarkable for the rich sculptured ornaments of its porch, the tracery of its windows, and the beautiful arcade-gallery. Nearly equal in importance is the cathedral of Matera, founded about A. D. 1000, with a campanile 173 feet high, and a façade of surpassing richness, with a highly decorated window, and loggia said to be that from which the rescripts of the Byzantine Patriarchs used to be read to the people (see Fergusson). S. Niccolo of Bari, built expressly to enshrine the body of that saint, brought hither from Myra in Lycia — a church completed in 1097, — retains its exterior architecture almost unaltered; observable as a highly characteristic example of the local style; also its crypt (date about 1084), the saracenic character of which has been compared to the Mosque of Cordova.

The Bari cathedral was founded about 1028; in great part rebuilt, by a bishop named Elias, in 1091; but it is questioned whether the actual church be that earlier in date, or a restoration of date 1171 — Ricci assumes the former.

In a situation so wildly romantic, and in the midst of a mountain village so humble, that it is with surprise we here find a monument of exquisite mediæval architecture, stands the now almost deserted cathedral of Ravello, founded in the XI century by Niccolo Rufolo, Duke of Sora and Grand Admiral under Ruggero, Count (afterwards king) of Sicily. The small village of Ravello, on the mountain above the Amalfitan coast, is all that remains to represent a once flourishing fortified town, which contained thirteen churches, and which owed its origin to some patricians of Amalfi, who withdrew from that maritime Republic in the IX century, desiring to establish themselves independently on this more

inland spot. The richest art-objects in this cathedral belong to periods later than that of the building itself; the sculptured bronze portals, to A. D. 1179; the episcopal throne and ambon for the Epistle, to 1130; the Gospel ambon, to 1272.

One of those novelties which should not be left unnoticed, as indicating a new direction of artistic genius, is the series of wall-paintings at S. Angelo, near Capua, ordered, about 1073, by the abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, when that church was enlarged by him for the use of a Benedictine community. Here we see perhaps the earliest example of sacred subjects treated as an Epic whole; comprising the scenes of the Passion and Crucifixion, the Last Judgment, the Saviour blessing, Prophets, and Kings; in execution coarse; the effect unpleasing, though some of the figures are finely conceived (v. Crowe and Cavalcaselle).

From the South we must go back to the extreme North of this Peninsula, in order to observe a monastic pile, the first seen by the traveller who enters Piedmont by the pass of Mont Cenis; and the history of which well illustrates the spirit of an age. S. Michele di Chiusa, on the height that overlooks the battle-field where Charlemagne overthrew the Longobard Kingdom by his victory over Desiderius, was founded, about A. D. 966, by Hugh de Montboissier, a gentleman of Auvergne, on his return, with his lady, from a pilgrimage to Rome, undertaken in the hope of absolution from some unknown crime. The penance imposed upon him by the Pope, to whom he had confessed, was, at his choice, either an exile for seven years, or the founding of a monastery among the Alps. He wisely chose the latter, which tended to the good of others as well as to the benefit of his soul. Whilst at Susa, he determined the site, namely, on the summit of the « mons Pirchirianus » (hill of fire), where already stood a chapel dedicated to S. Michael, and also a few cells inhabited by hermits since about A. D. 872; and this mountain he now purchased from the Marquis of Ivrea. A hermit, who had once been archbishop of Ravenna, but had resigned the mi-

tre, and now inhabited a cell on the opposite mountain-side, confirmed in him these pious intentions; and a French Abbot, who, on his way returning from Rome, had been the guest of Hugh at Susa, undertook to superintend the founding of the new monastery, whilst his friend proceeded to France with the object of obtaining means for endowing this institution. After a few years, the provisional cells gave place to suitable buildings, completed between 970–998; and here were Benedictine monks soon established. Little, if anything, of the X century still remains; but date at least so high as the XI century may be given to the leading details of the architecture before us — imposing, and indeed astonishing by the proof here manifest of the difficulties overcome in raising such a pile on such an elevation. The austere plain Gothic here presents an unchecked irregularity, owing to the accidents of the living rock upon which the structure stands.

A certain fantastic gloom impresses us on approaching the front, a pile stupendous rather than beautiful; still more so, when we enter the lofty vaulted hall, surrounded by the escutcheoned tombs of lordly abbots, and with masonry at intervals interrupted by the protruding rock. The actual church is, probably, of the XII century; and is now reduced to a single nave by the filling up of arcades, so as to cut off the ancient aisles. The sculptured symbolism, and some fantastic capitals of columns, remind of the Moresque; and are pointed out by critics as exemplifying the Oriental taste imported from France into Italy. (1)

(1) See Ricci, « Storia dell'Architettura in Italia », and a « Storia dell'Abbazia di S. Michele » by Valdingo; also, a more interesting notice by Massimo d'Azeglio. In recent time, the Fathers of Charity, an Order founded by the illustrious Rosmini, have been established at this Alpine cloister; and I must gratefully remember their hospitalities.



## CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTS.

ROME. S. Bartolommeo, founded A. D. 1000; Grottaferrata monastery, founded about 1002; wall-paintings at S. Urbano, 1011; crucifixes, ivories ec. in Christian Museum of Vatican (4).

SUBIACO. Lower church of S. Benedetto, or « Sacro Speco », 1053; upper church, 1066.

SPOLETO. Façade and sculptures of S. Pietro; S. Ponziano.

ANCONA. Cathedral founded — added to and embellished, 1148-86.

FLORENCE. S. Miniato, extramural, 1013.

FIESOLE. Cathedral, 1028; Badia, façade preserved in the rebuilding, 1140, of the rest.

PISA. Cathedral founded, 1015 — finished about 1100; S. Michele in Borgo, 1018; S. Pietro d'Arno, finished about 1018; S. Sisto, 1070.

SIENA. Cathedral (founded about 948) enlarged, 1087.

LUCCA. Cathedral founded, 1060; façade of S. Michele, XI or XII century; reliefs over portal of S. Giovanni.

AREZZO. Cloisters of Pomposa founded, 1001.

EMPOLI. Collegiate church, 1093.

VENICE. S. Mark's, 1043-73; crypt of X century; cathedral of Torcello rebuilt, 1008; S. Fosca, about 1000.

MODENA. Cathedral founded, 1099 — consecrated, 1108.

PARMA. Cathedral founded — finished 1106.

NOVARA. Cathedral.

PIACENZA. S. Antonio, finished 1014.

SUSA. Monastery of S. Michele, 1012-'19.

SALERNO. Cathedral, 1075-'84.

(4) See « La Bibliothèque Vaticane et ses Annexes », by the Canon Barbier de Montault, pp. 67, 68, 92, 122.

LA CAVA. Monastery of S. Trinita, founded by S. Alferius of Salerno, 992; church built, 1012-'19, consecrated, 1092.

MONTE CASSINO. Monastic church rebuilt, 1068.

CAPUA. Mosaics in cathedral; S. Angelo in Formis, extramural, with wall-paintings, 1065-'73.

BARI. Cathedral, 1028-34 — restored, 1091: S. Niccolò, 1080-'97.

BITONTO. Cathedral founded about 1000, restored in XIII century.

MATERA. Cathedral founded about 1000.

RAVELLO. Cathedral founded.

PALERMO. S. Normanno de' Leprosi, extramural, 1074 — earliest example of Norman style in Sicily; S. Michele, between Palermo and Termini, 1077 (4).

(4) A writer in the « Athenæum », October 3rd, '68, mentions some pictures discovered near Amalfi, of the XI century, and which « prove that Cimabue was anticipated, in his bursting of the Byzantine art-fetters, by nearly three centuries ».

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## V.

### The Twelfth Century.

THE States of the Church received their greatest augmentation through the bequest of the Countess Matilda; but it was long before anything more than a nominal right to those territories could be secured by the Pontiffs; and the struggle for this inheritance forms a leading fact in the history of the relations between the Church and the Empire during the XII century. Such conflict for things of earth is, indeed, in deplorable contrast with the high-souled efforts for things spiritual and eternal, that formerly absorbed the life and energies of S. Peter's successors!

Many provinces comprised in the ancient Etruria were thus, at first nominally, after a time actually, handed over to the sacerdotal sceptre; among others, Viterbo, the whole of which still remains under its sway; and which from this time acquired the title, « Patrimony of S. Peter », or « Etruria Pontificia ». Centumcellae (Civitavecchia), Corneto, and Toscanella were among the towns longest retained by the Empire, though within Papal territory.

Henry V, who had not scrupled to make war, with the Papal sanction, against his excommunicated father, maintained that the feudal dominions of Matilda had by right escheated to the Empire; the allodial, to himself, as next of kin. Such was the state of things produced by the famous bequest after the death, 1145, of the Countess, who had caused a second draft of her testament to be drawn up in 1102; the original

one having been unaccountably lost. She left to the Holy See not only all her actual possessions, but all additions to them that might be acquired before her decease. No authentic transcript of that celebrated deed now exists (1). The official documents of the Papal Government have not been preserved, in unbroken series, from any period earlier than that of Innocent III; save those of two pontificates alone — namely, of S. Leo I and S. Gregory I.

Paschal II, who was destined to experience, during a long pontificate, humiliations, reverses, and triumphs, had been a monk at Cluny, and Abbot of some monastery near Rome — probably S. Paul's. When elected, in the church of S. Clemente, he fled to some place of concealment, and was brought back, almost by force, to be invested with the dreaded honours. Not only the lower Clergy, together with the Cardinals and Bishops, but also the Regionary Notaries, and the Roman nobles took part in this election. On the same day the Pope was led, riding on a white palfrey, to the Lateran basilica, being mitred and vested in a scarlet cope for the procession. He was seated on both the antique chairs of porphyry that stood in the Lateran portico (2); a sceptre was placed in his hand; and he was girt with a cincture of red silk, from which hung seven keys, twelve seals, also

(1) A scarce legible fragment of it, engraved on marble, is to be seen in the crypt of S. Peter's; and a full transcript, not, however, admitted as authentic, is given in the notes to Donizo's Latin poem on the story of Matilda's life: « Pro remedio animae meae et parentum meorum, dedi et obtuli Ecclesiae Sancti Petri, per interventum Domni Gregorii Papae VII, omnia bona mea jure proprietario tam quae tum habueram, quam ea quae in antea acquisitione eram, sive jure successionis, sive alio quocumque jure ad me pertinent, et tam ea quae ex parte montium habebam quam illae quae in ultramontanis partibus ad me pertinere videbantur ».

(Muratori, *Rev. It. Script.*, t. V).

(2) Such as were used in the ancient Thermae; and a specimen of which is still to be seen in the Vatican Museum.

a red silk purse containing musk and twelve precious stones. All these objects had, of course, their mystical significance: the silken girdle implied chastity; the seals, Apostolic authority; the keys, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, dispensed by the power that could open or shut the gates of Heaven; the musk, the human Body of Christ; the white horse being also symbolic, either of the Apostolic office, or (in other interpretation of sublimer sense) of the splendour of the Redeemer, the lustre of eternal light!

On the next day, the Pope was consecrated by six Cardinal bishops at S. Peter's, and thence conducted, on his palfrey, with the tiara (1) on his head, to the Lateran palace.

For six ensuing years was kept up that schism of the Antipopes still supported by the Empire. The first usurper, Guiberto, called Clement III, retired, after the election of Paschal, to Albano; thence to a stronger place, Civitacastellana. After his death (1000), were raised up three others, successors in the same unhallowed elevation; one of whom was seized, and deposed, on the same day; another was reduced to nullity in less than four months after his first appearance on the historic scene; and a third, called Sylvester IV, was driven from Rome, to be lost in obscurity, the day after his illegal election. Paschal II won popularity by his affable manners; made himself accessible to all his subjects; and at his, strictly speaking, public audiences, listened to the appeals or complaints of all citizens, as, assuredly, a Pope ought to do. Yet in this individual we see strikingly exemplified the effects of the political on the religious character of the Papacy. This sovereign priest, raised from a cloister to a throne, did not scruple to take the command of troops, and in person direct the siege of towers or castles, many of which, held and defended by Roman barons, he

(1) The tiara of this period is thus described by the Abbot Suger: « a Phrygian imperial ornament, like unto a helmet, adorned with a golden circle ».

thus reacquired for his dominions. Among these were Civita-castellana, Montalto (held by the Corsi), and Monticelli. Tivoli was besieged and taken, not without cost of much toil and blood (*labore et nece*) to the Papal troops. Benevento was also recovered by arms. The Pontiff, hearing that the little town of Cavi (near Palestrina) had been occupied by Pietro Colonna (of a family now beginning to be prominent), straight-way sent forces to invest it; and, not contented with his success in this, took reprisals by seizing La Colonna and Zagarola, two small towns held as fiefs by that house, which is supposed to have received its name from the former — more probably, at least, than from the Holy Column at S. Prassede, said to have been brought by a Cardinal Legate of that family from Palestine. Certain castles of the Corsi, one of the most turbulent of the baronial families, had been demolished by the Pope's order; and Stephen Corsi, head of that house, avenged himself by violently taking possession of the S. Paul's basilica and the fortified town, which surrounded it, called from its founder (John VIII) Joannopolis, and which the Corsi made a rallying point for their retainers, as for all desperate adventurers ready to support them against legal authorities. An attack by the Papal troops was vigorously repulsed. At last the latter obtained entrance by night with false keys, taken from a wax impression made at the gates; but even after this the defendants kept up gallant resistance, not giving way to the foe within their walls, till deserted by their own chief, Stephen Corsi, who escaped in disguise of a monk. Next morning the Pope, with numerous train of Clergy and laics, came to take formal possession of the town and basilica. During the years 1106–7, Paschal was travelling in France and Italy, and presiding at several councils; one of which he had convoked at Florence, mainly with object of considering certain theories broached (and in the result condemned) by the bishop of that see, as to the speedy coming of Antichrist. The proceedings in that city excited such interest that, owing to the concourse and confusion, it proved impossible



to bring the council to a close in the regular way. In the Winter of A. D. 1111, Henry V crossed the Alps at the head of a great army, desiring to receive the imperial crown at Rome, and to make good the privilege his predecessors had maintained for about three centuries of conferring bishoprics and abbacies with the ring and crozier — that secular investiture which Paschal II, acting in the spirit of his predecessors, had denounced, and declared to be invalid. Henry brought with him doctors of Law, ready to support by argument what he was determined to defend, if requisite, by arms. His progress through the Lombardic provinces was that of a devastating invader; the states of Matilda were especially doomed to suffer; neither churches, monasteries, nor villages were spared. From Florence the king sent envoys to the Pope for the adjustment of a treaty, to be stipulated before his arrival at Rome. The step to which Paschal now consented may be deemed (though indeed never followed by practical effects) one of the most important acts of the Papacy. He agreed that the bishops should renounce all temporal rights and properties, hitherto held of the crown, and return to their primitive conditions, as before the time of Charlemagne, in dependence on the oblations of the faithful. The pompous list of the regalia they were now required to forfeit, comprises duchies, marquisates, cities, coinage, advocacies, the right of raising troops, of arresting and imprisoning, levying taxes, holding tribunals (4); in return for the abandonment of all which prerogatives, the Emperor was to forego the long-disputed claim of investiture, and to leave the capitular and monastic Clergy free to elect their bishops and abbots without lay interference. Such the project, generously and boldly accepted by Paschal II, but far from being destined to accomplish itself in the integral reform, therein involved, of the whole hierarchic

(4) Civitates, Ducatus, Marchias, Comitatus, monetas, theloneum, advocatias Regni, jura Centurionum, Curtes, quae manifeste Regni erant, militias, castra Regni. (Nicholaus. Aragon. *in* Muratori).

condition ! Henry V approached Rome with menacing aspect ; but was received with all possible distinction : met , at some distance beyond the gates , by magistrates , officials , a multitude of citizens , and children singing hymns , also by one hundred nuns with torches in their hands ; crosses and the civic standards (the eagle , lion , wolf , and dragon) being borne before the magistrates ; flowers and laurel-branches carried by the citizens and children. At the outside of the Porta Castelli (near the S. Angelo castle) he was welcomed by the Jews , bound to take part in such pageants ; and on the inner side , by the aggregate Clergy chanting ; also by the Greek *schola* , with hymns sung in their language. The Emperor elect , having here alighted from his horse , was conducted , amidst acclamations , to S. Peter's , where the Pope , the Cardinals , and Prelates , were awaiting him on the outer staircase. Here he knelt , and kissed the feet of Paschal , who raised , thrice embraced , and led him by the hand to the portal , where a prayer was recited by a Cardinal bishop. Entering the church , the two potentates took their seats on chairs placed over a large porphyry disk (still seen in the pavement near the chief entrance) ; and the Pope , after other formalities , demanded of the king the fulfilment of his promise as to renouncing investitures. Henry required time to consider , and retired into the sacristy for consultation with the magnates and prelates of the Empire. The Pope , after long waiting , sent to inquire his decision , and to remind him that , the day being advanced and the rites for the occasion long , it was time to proceed. The German courtiers now began to demand that the coronation should be without conditions , as in the case of other emperors ; and some urged arguments on the familiar text of rendering unto Caesar what is Coesar's ec. Henry adopted the expedient of insisting that a certain obnoxious baron , of the Normandi family , should first be received into favour by Paschal , who saw through the hollow pretext , and answered that such a subordinate affair might be attended to subsequently. He also refused to give the crown without conditions , though some

Cardinals advised this. At last the Archbishop of Mainz suggested the use of armed force to Henry, who, acting on that counsel, ordered his soldiers to surround the Pope and the attendant ecclesiastics. Under arrest even at the altar, Paschal had now to celebrate Mass amidst such confusion that it was difficult to procure the elements for consecration; and never has Papal Mass been performed at S. Peter's under circumstances more extraordinary! After that rite, the Pope and Cardinals, the former seated, the latter standing around him, below the high altar, on the side towards the nave, remained prisoners, amidst a cordon of German troops, till nightfall, when those captives were led to a lodging (or hospice) in the vicinity. Still more brutal outrages were that day witnessed in the desecrated basilica. The soldiery plundered the sacred vessels, vestments, draperies, lamps, and ornaments prepared for the expected ceremonies; and, not contented with booty, drew their swords against defenceless spectators, wounding and slaying, or brutally beating them; not sparing even the children who had taken part in the procession of that morning. Some of the ecclesiastics, who fell into their hands, were actually stripped of all their garments, and left naked in the church, either to be taken prisoners or escape as they could. Two Cardinal bishops fled in laic disguise. No sooner had the report of these things spread through the City, than a general rising and arming ensued. The residents and pilgrims of German birth were massacred. A multitude, armed with such weapons as were at hand, crossed the S. Angelo bridge, attacked, and drove away the foreign troops from their position under the porticoes and before S. Peter's. The king himself had a narrow escape with life; his horse was killed under him; and it was only through the devotedness of a vassal, who leant him his own steed, that he was enabled to fly to his camp; that faithful follower becoming in consequence a victim to the enraged citizens, who dragged him through the streets, and tore him into pieces.

Next morning, the Pope and the other captives, among whom were several laics, were led from Rome in the train

of the German army; and, after two days of marching, Paschal was deprived of his pontifical vestments, and bound with cords, like a malefactor; so also were the other captives treated. In this state they were led the bank of the Tiber near mount Soracte, where the army crossed the river; thence to march south eastward as far as the point where the Lucano bridge spans the Anio. Here they encamped; and from this picturesque spot under the hill of Tivoli, the Pope and six Cardinals, his fellow, prisoners, were taken to a neighbouring castle; the others to a fortified place called Corcodilum; Paschal, it seems, being treated with some respect, as two German nobles were appointed to take charge of him. Terrorism, promises, threats were tried with the object of bringing him to a compromise; it was intimated to him that life would not be spared: that all the captives, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, might have to suffer either death or mutilation unless he accepted the terms imposed by the King. After a confinement of sixty-one days — during the months of February and March, — and we may imagine the dreariness, even under Roman skies, of such season spent in captivity within the sullen walls of one of those castles now left in grim decay on the waste Campagna (4) — the unfortunate Pontiff yielded with tears, and the protest: « Behold me forced to submit for the sake of the freedom and peace of the Church, and to do what I would rather shed my blood, and give up my life, than voluntarily consent to! »

All were released; and on the 8th April, 1114, were conducted, amidst the German troops, to the Salarian bridge, where the army encamped. In the imperial tent near that bridge, and on the evening of the same day, the Pope signed the compact dictated by the King, after the chief Notary had

(4) The ruined Castel Arcione, near the road between Rome and Tivoli, once a stronghold of brigands, and now a picture of romantic gloom in its decay, might be *imagined* as the place of this captivity — which, however, is named, Trebicum.

been brought from Rome, with the pontific seal, so that no legal formality might be wanting (4). The document (*privilegium*), drawn up in the twilight of that day, was as follows: « We concede to thee, and confirm by the present privilege, that prerogative of sovereignty which our predecessors conceded to the Catholic Emperors, thy predecessors: namely, that thou mayest give investiture with the ring and crozier to the Bishops and Abbots of thy kingdom, elected without compulsion or simony; and that, after being thus canonically elected, the same shall severally receive consecration from the Bishop to whom it pertains. If, finally, any should be elected by the Clergy and People without thy consent, and not invested by thee, such shall not by any one be consecrated. The Bishops and Archbishops shall have liberty to consecrate canonically those who have received investiture from thee. » The Pope, and the other released captives now returned to Rome, where an exulting welcome awaited them. The long-delayed coronation ensued; but it was with closed doors that the rites took place at S. Peter's; and not even the Leonine city was left open to the Romans, till all had been finished. After Henry had been crowned, Paschal communicated with him from the same consecrated elements, addressing to him the words: « As this portion of the Host is divided from the rest, so may whoever shall attempt to break or violate the covenant between us, be severed from the Kingdom of CHRIST! »

(4) The Salarian bridge over the Anio, restored, after the Gothic war, by Narses, is now a picturesque ruin, to which state it was reduced by military order whilst Rome was recently in danger from invasion. The mournful, but impressive, scenery around this spot is now associated with other memories of conflict and hostilities against the Papal sovereignty. The « Garibaldini » volunteers approached still nearer to Rome than this spot; and in the apprehension of an attack from this side, the bridge was blown up; the Salarian gate closed and barricaded. From the same bridge we see the Castel Giubileo, on the site of the Fidenae acropolis, where Garibaldi had his quarters on the very day the French entered Rome, 30th October, '67.



Soon after the imperial forces had left, strong opposition declared itself against the act of the Pontiff. The latter, regretting what he had done, but respecting his solemn engagements, retired to Terracina, and is said to have hidden himself in a hermit's cell, resolving to abdicate. From this purpose, however, he was dissuaded. Returning to Rome, he revoked and annulled all his concessions to the Emperor; but at the same time declared that he would not disturb him in the exercise of the rights conceded by himself. He desired that the « *privilegium* » might be corrected, but left to the Cardinals the mode and responsibility of doing this. The latter, in his presence, pronounced anathemas against Henry V; and legates in distant countries fulminated alike the excommunications which the Pope himself was withheld by conscientious scruples from uttering with his own lips. In this singular transaction we see the inability of the Pontificate to check the onward movement of the Church; and the insufficiency of an individual volition, however surrounded by pomps of prerogative, to resist the « tide in the affairs of men », which is often independent of the will of those apparently foremost and mightiest!

After the death of Matilda, Henry again crossed the Alps at the head of an army, to assert his claims as heir to the Countess's States. Paschal would not listen to the terms proposed through an embassy; and when the Emperor again appeared in arms before Rome (1117), he fled to Monte Cassino; thence journeying to Capua.

Another coronation was desired by the imperialists; and, though the Roman Clergy, with much dignity, refused to sanction or take part in it, was performed at S. Peter's by an Archbishop of Prague, whom the Pope had degraded. Both Henry and his Empress were now crowned, amidst the rejoicings of the fickle populace; for not only the humbler citizens, but the nobles and Consuls had been won (it is said) by the gifts of the Emperor, who had farther strengthened his party in Rome by giving his daughter in marriage, with



an ample dower, to the Consul Tolomeo, a member of one of the first families. Soon after Henry and his army had left, Paschal returned with an escort of Norman troops. Still full of energies, he was preparing to make war against a rebellious Abbot of Farfa, and also against the above-named Consul, when death overtook him.

One important step in the progress of the Papacy to that supreme dominion finally attained, was accomplished by Paschal II in the imposing of an oath — already, indeed, introduced, but now formulated anew — upon all bishops, as profession of loyalty to the Roman See. Drawn up in a council at Rome, in 1002, this formula is as follows: « I anathematize all heresies, but principally that which troubles the present estate of the Church, and which teaches that one may condemn her anathemas and censures. I promise obedience to Pope Paschal and his successors, in presence of JESUS CHRIST and of the Church, affirming what she affirms, condemning what she condemns ». It is important to observe that the Episcopacy did not at once, or unanimously, submit to this demand; and we have before us the arguments of Pope Paschal for justifying it, in a letter to a Polish archbishop, to whom he represents that the measure had not been taken with any vain object of promoting the glories of the Roman See, but « to maintain the faith, obedience, and unity of the Church — to show that you (the bishops in general) are members of the Catholic Church, and united with her head » (Fleury, l. LXIII, § 53).

The Cardinals met, for the electing of a successor, in a small church on the Palatine, S. Maria in Palladio (now S. Sebastiano), then a Benedictine Abbey — hoping there to find quiet and security. After much discussion, the votes united in favour of the Cardinal Chancellor, who had been a monk at Monte Cassino, and now became Pope as Gelasius II (1448–49). Scarcely had the latter been raised to such high eminence, when he was doomed to experience all the bitterness of the trials that now usually, and as if through inexorable des-

tiny, beset it. The narration of what ensued may be given in the words of a contemporary: « Cencio Frangipani, the foe and perturber of peace, who adhered to the faction of the schismatic Emperor Henry, having heard what had taken place, girt on his sword, and hissing with rage like a dragon, fetching forth long deep sighs from his breast, rushed hastily to break open the portals of the church. Entering furious, after he had driven away the guards, he seized the Pope by the throat, dragged him along the pavement, struck him with blows and kicks, so cruelly wounding him with his spurs (as he might have treated a horse) that he became covered with blood, even within the threshold of that church; then like a robber, whilst the holy Jesus was asleep in the bark, he dragged away by his hair and by his arms this great Lord, and carried him to his house, where he chained and imprisoned him. Of the bishops, cardinals, clerics, and others, some were in like manner bound by the soldiers of Cencio; others thrown across horses or mules with their heads hanging downwards, and thus tormented with unheard of pains till some, at last, reached their homes, half-dead; and woe for those who could not speedily escape! » (Pandulph. Pisan.).

When these outrages had been made known, loyal citizens assembled on the Capitol, and sent to demand the instant release of the Pontiff. The furious jailer, now subdued and trembling before his victim, knelt, imploring mercy from *him* who alone could now protect him from popular vengeance. On the same day, Gelasius was led in triumph to the Lateran, for the solemn installation, attended by all the clergy chanting hymns, and by the civic guilds with their banners, as he rode along the Via Sacra.

About five month after these events, the Pope was awakened at night with the intelligence that Henry V had suddenly entered the Leonine city, and that a German army occupied the purlieus of S. Peter's. He immediately repaired to the castle of a faithful family; and it was determined by

the counsellors, who followed him, that he should quit Rome the next day. Early in the morning, Gelasius and a few attendants embarked in two open boats on the Tiber, and as they were rowed down the river were pursued by German soldiers, who shot at them with poisoned darts, and hurled inextinguishable fire — probably that lately invented by the Greeks. At Ostia the fugitives were overtaken by a violent storm; they proceeded for some distance along the coast; but were at last obliged by the fury of the waves to land, and seek shelter for the night at Ardea, whither the weary pontiff was carried from the shore on the shoulders of a robust Cardinal, who had shared his flight. At (or near) Ardea they passed the night in a castle, where some German soldiers overtook, but did not disturb them, being credulous enough, in their Teutonic simplicity, to believe the assurances given that the fugitives had not been there. In the morning the party put out to sea, with fair weather, in the same open boats; reached Terracina on that day; and, on the morning of the day after, Gaeta, the native-city of Gelasius. There the Pope was received with honours by his fellow-citizens; prelates and princes, the duke of Apulia and the Prince of Capua came to welcome him. At Gaeta he was ordained (not being yet in priest's order's), consecrated, and crowned; and here he gave investiture for the duchies of Apulia and Calabria to Duke William, the grandson of Robert Guiscard.

In the meantime the Emperor raised up an Antipope — no other than that excommunicated prelate, Bourdin, by whom he had been crowned. Gelasius was escorted back to Rome by a Norman force. The Germans raised the siege of a castle before which they had been occupied, and, not wishing to encounter the Normans, quitted the Campagna, whilst the Pope and the Cardinals with him, having taken leave of their escort beyond the gates, entered the city, as a chronicler says, « more like pilgrims than like such great domini ». The antipope being still here, and supported by a faction, Gela-

sus took up his sojourn amidst the castellated buildings of the Normandi and Corsi families, near S. Maria in Trastevere. He was unfortunately induced to quit that retreat for the celebration of Mass at S. Prassede, on the festival of that saint.

What followed, in that church, may be described in the words of a contemporary : The rites were not yet over, when « the impious Frangipane appeared with a large troop of soldiers, mounted and on foot, and other desperate men, who assailed them (the Pope and his attendants) with stones and darts. Normandi and the illustrious Crescentius, as well as others, resist, shooting back the darts shot against them; combating with swords and spears, so that many fell on both sides, while some tried to sieze the Pope, others protecting him. At last the foot-soldiers scale the walls, and some of those on our side, though not the leaders, are taken captive. Oh ! what wailings were then heard ! what lamentings from matrons who saw the Pope flying alone on horseback, still partly clad in his sacred vestments; the Crucifer riding after him, till he (the latter) fell from his horse, but was assisted by a woman, and taken to a place of concealment; the cross being hidden in a hedge till evening. The combat continued with violence, in one place or another, during one fourth part of that day » (Pandulph.).

When the Frangipani found that the Pope had escaped, they desisted from an attempt which seems to have had no other than a murderous object against Gelasius's life. In the evening that venerable sufferer was discovered, overcome by fatigue and fasting, seated alone in a field near the Ostian basilica. It was deemed best that he should again quit the stormy capital of the Church, for the hospitable shores of France. About six weeks after that scene at S. Prassede, he left Rome with six cardinals and certain nobles, after appointing a Vicar to act in his absence. The travellers first proceeded to Pisa, where they were honourably entertained, and where the Pope consecrated the new cathedral. France had proved, even from an earlier period than that here

considered, the hereditary Protectress of the Popes; and such Gelasius found her to be, when, soon after he had landed on her shore, King Louis VII sent the abbot Suger to welcome him with the offer of first fruits, an ancient form of tribute to the Church; and the Abbot of Cluny came to place forty horses at his disposal for his farther journeying. The king desired to meet him at Cluny; but, whilst the guest of that monastery, Gelasius was seized with the illness of which he died a few days afterwards. Feeling that his last hour was near, and having received the last sacraments, he summoned the Cardinals and monks, and caused himself, according to the discipline of that cloister for the dying, to be laid on ashes strewn upon the bare pavement, on which couch he expired, whilst the monastic community recited prayers and psalms for the departing soul (4).

Reveiwing this tragically eventful pontificate of one year and a few days' duration, we find it difficult to account for the fierce hostilities directed against an old man of saintly life and inoffensive conduct. But the epitaph on the tomb of Gelasius II, at Cluny, supplies a hint for the solving of the problem before us in the sorrowful story of his life:

Qui Rege fuit now praeipiente levatus  
Horrendum fremuit Princeps.

His election without deference to the imperial assent, seems to have been, as implied in those lines, the head and front of offending on the part of the Roman Clergy in

(4) Sackcloth and ashes, blessed with a formula, were spread on the floor, and the dying monk, after receiving the last Sacraments, was laid on this couch, with ashes, strewn in form of a cross and sprinkled with holy water, over his breast. {The Prior then summoned all the brethren by the sound of a bell to assemble, and join in prayer for the parting soul around that deathbed. So did the Mortal pass into the Immortal amidst the observances of the reformed Benedictine Rule at Cluny.



this instance visited with such relentless severities on their blameless chief.

On the third day after the death of Gelasius, a French prelate, Guy, Archbishop of Vienne, was elected, at Cluny, as Calixtus II (1119-24). Soon afterwards arrived the ratification applied for, from, Rome in the names of all the Cardinals, of the Prefect, the Clergy in general, and the people - a noticeable proof that up to this period such concurrence was not only legal, but requisite in such transactions. The first step taken by the new pontiff was to hold a council at Vienne, where he excommunicated the Emperor Henry; and in which assembly were passed decrees against the transmission of benefices by inheritance, the holding of church-property by laymen, the incontinence of the Clergy &c. Before leaving France, Calixtus met Henry II of England, who did homage to him, and received from him confirmation of the prerogatives of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, as already granted to his father. The honest, straightforward answer of our king, when the Pope offered to absolve him from a vow he had made never to reinstate Turston in the archbishopric of York, is admirable: « What faith (he said) would henceforth be placed in vows, if it were shown by my example that they can so easily be cancelled by absolution? »

On his arrival at Rome, the French Pope was received with customary honours and more than the usual picturesque pageantries: streets and piazzas were hung with rich stuffs, on which glittered gold embroidery and gems. The procession, which had entered early in the morning, the Pope riding with crowned head, could not reach the Lateran, for the installation, till near sunset. In the following year, the Antipope Bourdin, who had taken refuge at Sutri, was captured, after that town had been besieged by troops under the command of a Cardinal; and the citizens gave up the pretender rather than expose themselves to farther damage for his sake. Bourdin, conducted thence to Rome, was paraded through the streets, seated backwards on a camel, and clad in a bloody sheep-



skin, in derision of that Papal mantle he had usurpingly worn. Calixtus saved his life from the fury of the people; and confined him, first in the castle of Fumone, finally in the La Cava monastery, where he died. Presently the Pope ordered his own portrait to be painted in the Lateran palace, with that fallen rival beneath his feet, and the epigraph:

Ecce Calixtus patriae decus, honor imperiale,  
Nequam Burdinum damnat, pacemque reformat.

The principal event of this pontificate was the final and pacific adjustment of the long dispute respecting investitures. On both sides it was felt that concessions might be made without loss of dignity; that compromise was the best principle of policy in the relations between ecclesiastical and royal power. In a Diet at Worms (1122) the Emperor publicly renounced the right to invest Prelates with crozier and ring, leaving to the Clergy freedom of choice; but stipulating that the sovereign, or his deputies, should be present at the election of bishops and abbots. In case of any question arising as to the individual, the decision was to rest with the Metropolitan; and, finally, the elect was to be invested by the Emperor with the sceptre alone, for the lands and regalia of his see, or abbacy.

This distinction of symbolism had its understood significance: the *crozier and ring* being the admitted emblems of what was spiritual and essential; the *sceptre*, of what was temporal and accidental, in the episcopal office. On a great plain washed by the Rhine (a locality preferred on account of the vast number of spectators), the Emperor, his courtiers, and his entire army were solemnly absolved by a cardinal Legate, who afterwards celebrated Mass in the open air (or under a pavilion); and, before the communion, gave the kiss of peace to Henry V. This concordat of Worms was, in the next year, confirmed by the Pope in a General Council, which ranks as the Ninth AEcumenical, the First of Lateran. This

august assembly, held in the chief basilica, and attended by 300 Bishops and 600 Abbots, (1123), passed decrees that throw some light on the manners and usages of these troublous times. Only twenty-two of these canon are extant; which prohibit and anathematize various offences — as forgery; the seizure or sale of property belonging to absent Crusaders; the maltreatment or detention of pilgrims; the desisting from pilgrimages commenced, either to Jerusalem or Compostella, unless (sole expiation) the same pious journey should be resumed between the two next-ensuing Easters; the fortifying of churches (*ecclesias a laicis incastellari*); the appropriation by laymen of offerings left on altars, particularly at S Peter's, the Lateran, and S. Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon) — also the seizure of such offerings from crosses. All indulgences hitherto granted to Crusaders were renewed; and the Pope confirmed the Concordat of Worms, determining that « the election of German Prelates should be made in presence of the Emperor, without constraint or simony; and that the Elect should receive investiture, not with crozier and ring, but with the sceptre, in the German States *before*, in Italy und Burgundy *after*, being consecrated ». Eventually was allowed a still greater preponderance to the ecclesiastical principle, when the Emperor Lothaire II abandoned the right to intervene, either in person or by deputy, at episcopal elections, and left the decision of all questions respecting their validity to the Pope. Peace being now cemented between the two great Powers of Christendom, the conditions of Rome, and, no doubt, of Italian and other provinces in general, became ameliorated: Pilgrims could visit the Apostles' shrines in safety; oblations were no longer snatched by profane hands from the altar. In this City the fortifying walls were repaired, and one of the ancient aqueducts was rendered serviceable. Calixtus II proved an energetic ruler. He opposed with success the turbulent barons, who had occupied strong places pertaining to the Church; caused their castles to be dismantled, and built others for pontific garrisons. He

also obtained a name in religious literature by his work on the Miracles of S. James, an Apostle for whom he had such reverence that he recommended to the English the pilgrimage to Compostella (perhaps out of consideration for the difficulties of travel) rather even than that to Rome.

A Cardinal bishop was elected, a few days after the death of Calixtus, and with strange deviation from the recognised norma of procedure. Before the Cardinals had met, Leone Frangipani, the then head of that powerful family, sent to desire the chaplain of each to bring with him into the church, — namely, the Lateran, — a scarlet cope, such as the newly elect was at once vested in; contriving thus to let *each* Cardinal suppose himself the favoured one. A majority had already declared itself for one Cardinal Theobald, and the *Te Deum* had been entoned, when Frangipani entered the church, and at once announced that the bishop of Ostia was legitimate Pope! Indignation arose; protests were made; but, for the sake of peace, Theobald yielded; and Lamberto, the favoured Cardinal, vied with him in magnanimity by also offering, in presence of all the Clergy, to renounce his claims (if such he can be said to have had); but the strangest part of the story is, that the aggregate Roman Clergy decided in favour of this nominee of the insolent Frangipani! Honorius II (1124–30) — such the name he took — soon afterwards travelled to Capua with intent to oppose the progress of Norman conquest in the southern provinces, which had been invaded by Ruggero, Count of Sicily, after the death, without issue, of William, Duke of Apulia and Calabria. At Capua the Pope gave investiture to Robert, Prince of that State; and, in an assembly of prelates and nobles, complained of the cruelties of the Normans, who had not spared the pontific province of Benevento in their recent marches. Soldiers and citizens declared themselves ready to devote life for the cause of S. Peter. Prince Robert exclaimed: « Behold me, venerable Father! I submit to thy control my person, and the entire principality thou

hast bestowed upon me ; all which shall be subject to thy authority ». A war was determined , and with the sanctions of a Crusade — namely, the same indulgences as were conceded to the combatants in the sacred cause in Palestine — the first example of *such* miscalled Crusading , in which Christians took the sword against Christians under religious sanction — « a dangerous precedent (observes Muratori), and a strange expedient, henceforth becoming common, whereby Religion was made subservient to temporal interests » (*Annali*, an. 1128).

The Pontiff himself accompanied the army , led by the princes of Capua and Bari , into Apulia. But their enterprise proved inglorious. Count Ruggero , holding a strong position, would not accept battle. His enemies quarrelled among themselves ; and the two princes withdrew . leaving the Pope , almost unprotected , at Bari. There Ruggero made friendly overtures to him ; and an interview ensued , on a bridge over the Sebeto , in which the Count did homage to the Pope , and received from him investiture with the standard for the Duchy of Apulia. Henry V having died , childless , in 1125 , the principal German magnates elected Lothaire , Duke of Lorraine , as his successor ; but two other claimants were supported by adverse parties , namely , the Hohenstaufen brothers, Conrad and Frederick, nephews to the late Emperor. Courad was crowned at Milan ; but other Lombardic cities refused to recognise him ; as did also the Pope. Lothaire also was crowned , at Aix-la-Chapelle ; and , after that ceremony, he sent envoys to request the confirmation of his title from the Pope — a step which marks the advance towards a singular inversion of the former relations between the Empire and the Papacy, resulting, at last, in the acquired right of the Pope to confirm the Elect to Empire, instead of the Emperor's confirmation, according to ancient usage, sought, and deemed requisite, for the election to the throne of S. Peter !

Immediately after the death of Honorius , sixteen Cardinals assembled in the early morning , and voted for an abbot of

the Lateran Canons, who became Pope as Innocent II (1130-43). The other Cardinals, who formed the majority, met on the evening of the same day at S. Mark's, and elected another of their own college, Pierleone, the son of a converted Jew, who took the name, Anacletus II.

Rome now beheld, for the first time, the successive ceremonies of the installation and coronation of two rival Popes, on the same successive days; Innocent being crowned at S. Maria Nuova, Anacletus at Peter's. Agitation and panic prevailed, during the struggle between the two parties, in Rome. Many terrified citizens took refuge « in the ancient habitations of the Martyrs, hiding themselves in cemeteries » (v. Baronius) — a fact from which we may infer that the catacombs, here in question, were still visited and permeable. The cause of Innocent was at first so feebly supported that, after he had taken refuge for a time in the castles of the Corsi and Frangipani, (now friendly families), he was obliged to quit Rome, and travelled into France, where king Louis VII, with his Queen and children, hastened to welcome him. The example set by the French king was soon followed by others; and all the European sovereigns, except David of Scotland and Ruggero of Sicily, agreed in recognising Innocent II as legitimate Pope. In a Council held by the latter at Estampes the influence of S. Bernard, who now begins to sustain a great part in the historic scene, was powerfully exerted for the cause of this pontiff. Anacletus, meanwhile, was supported at Rome by a clerical party, comprising twenty-eight of the Cardinals; and on Holy Thursday he anathematized his rival with the usual circumstances of awful formula. At Benevento he conferred, by bull, on his chief protector, Ruggero, the title, of king of Sicily; with prospective right of sovereignty over the still independent Republic of Naples, on condition of an annual tribute, 200 *schifati*, to Rome. Thus originated the title of the Norman dynasty in the Sicilian states; and the coronation of Ruggero ensued, at Palermo, where the diadem was placed on his head by a Cardinal Legate representing the Antipope.



Innocent II returned to Italy after celebrating the Holy Week at Paris, and after he also had officiated at a coronation, that of Louis and his son, at Rheims.

He re-entered Rome on the same day that the Emperor elect, Lothaire II, also made his public ingress. Anacletus, who had returned from Benevento, supported by Norman troops, now ruled over considerable part of the City, — at least that within the Leonine fortifications. The coronation of Lothaire ensued, (4th June, 1133), at the Lateran, instead of S. Peter's, which church was held by the Antipope. On this occasion Innocent adopted the wise expedient of investing the Emperor, after crowning him, with all the allodial states of Matilda, and conceding the right of succession to his son-in-law, Henry IV, Duke of Bavaria, on condition of an annual tribute, 400lbs of silver, to Rome; with stipulation, however, that, after the decease of both those Princes, the States should return, in their integrity, under the sceptre of the Pontificate; and that all chatelains, in the same territories, should take oaths of fealty to the Pope, even while the Emperor had right of possession. The usual collisions between German soldiers and Roman citizens occurred before Lothaire departed. The former could not walk the streets without being molested; darts, or other missiles, were thrown at them from towers; wherever they went, they were exposed to insult or attack. After their departure, other sanguinary contests, between the adherents of Innocent and Anacletus, ensued; and again did the former find himself so powerless, as to be unable to remain in Rome. He went to Pisa, and there held a council, at which the directing mind, the Arbiter to whom all referred, was, not the Pope, but S. Bernard. That Saint afterwards made a progress through Lombardy, where he was received like an Angel from Heaven: the people flocked from towns, villages, fields, to see him pass; multitudes came out, beyond the gates of cities, to welcome his arrival; men, women, children knelt before him, many eagerly striving to obtain threads of his monastic hab-



it as relics ! His eloquence is said to have wrought a general reform of manners, of the luxurious living, and also the vanities of dress, now prevalent in northern Italy. What was important to the cause of the legitimate Pope, was his success in inducing the Milanese, with their Archbishop, to recognise Innocent, and reject Anacletus. In other provinces, about this time, the prelates who were returning from the Council of Pisa were attacked, robbed, some wounded, others taken captive, by the marauding soldiery, who had served under the rival Emperor, Conrad, and were now overrunning the country.

The whole of northern Italy now adhered to Innocent II; but the Antipope was still supported by a faction at Rome. In the Spring of 1137, Lothaire led an army into Apulia to oppose the Sicilian King, who had invaded that province, and in his devastating progress had not spared the pontific territory of Benevento. Innocent accompanied the German Army on that march, and passed in sight of Rome, without entering her gates; but at Albano, where he stopped on his way, he was received with honours. After a successful campaign; the aged Emperor was overtaken by death, on his march northwards, and expired in a humble cottage in the Tyrol. Another Antipope was raised up after the death of Anacletus (1138); but this new pretender, called Victor IV, was so moved by the persuasions of S. Bernard (now in Rome) that he accompanied that Saint into the presence of Innocent II, and laid down the usurped Papal insignia, penitent, and imploring the pardon readily granted, at his feet (1). Peace being now secured in the States of the Church, rural industries were resumed; the people again assembled to hear the Word of God in long-closed temples; and for this happy change, described in colours perhaps too brilliant by a biographer of S. Bernard, that great and holy man had the

(1) The subject of a fine picture by Carlo Maratta, at S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome.

credit given him by the popular voice in Italy; hailing him as « restorer of peace », and as « pater patriae » — not, indeed, to his own, but to another country. Through his influence were established the Cistercian monks on their first appearance at Rome, in the restored cloister of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, near S. Paul's. Innocent II applied himself to the restoration of many sacred edifices, and the reorganizing of their Clergy, who had been dispersed. In the April of 1139 was held the Tenth AEcumenical, reckoned as the Second Lateran, Council, attended by nearly 1000 prelates. Among the thirty canons promulgated by this assembly, were some directed against the doctrines of Arnolfo of Brescia, and others against prevalent abuses — as the luxurious living and dress of ecclesiastics; the illegal marriages between monks and nuns; the violation of the Truce of God; the revival (as we might call it) of the gladiatorial profession by soldiers who fought for hire, and for public entertainment, at fairs. At this Council Innocent II advanced a new theory respecting Papal prerogatives: « Ye know (he said to the prelates) that Rome is the Capital of the World; and that ecclesiastical dignities are to be obtained, and can be lawfully held, only as fiefs, by permission of the Supreme Pontiff ».

In the same year the Pontiff was so ill-advised as to put himself at the head of a hurriedly improvised army for a campaign against the Sicilian power in Apulia. An interview he had with Ruggero at San Germano failed of securing the desired pacification. In the result, Innocent met with similar fate to that of other Pontiffs who had alike mistaken, or forgotten, the proprieties of their more exalted mission. He was surprised by the march of his foes upon San Germano: attempting to fly from that town, was pursued, and, after much slaughter of his troops, made prisoner by the Prince of Apulia, the King's Son. Notwithstanding his compromising and false position, the captive Pope was treated as the Head of the Church; and in the royal tent met with the reception due, from a Catholic sovereign, to a spiritual lord

greater than himself. Four days afterwards was concluded, at Benevento, a treaty by which Innocent confirmed to Ruggero his titles as King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia, and Prince of Capua; absolving him from all censures, and giving him investiture with the standard. The King and Prince swore fidelity to the Pope on the Gospel, and pledged themselves and their successors to annual tribute, 600 schifati, in acknowledgment of their obligations to the Holy See. Hence the claim of the Papacy to a species of feudal dominion over the Neapolitan Kingdom; and hence the long-agitated question of the tribute of the *chinea* (white palfrey), and 1000 gold *onzie*, equivalent to 480,000 francs, so often offered, or refused, to the Popes during the procession before High Mass on S. Peter's day (1).

In the same year, 1139, the city and duchy of Naples became, through voluntary act of the citizens, subject to the Sicilian crown; the last sovereign Duke, Sergius, having, shortly before this, fallen in battle whilst fighting under the banner of Ruggero, whom he had alternately owned, and refused to submit to, as King (2).

(1) The white horse, richly caparisoned, used to be led into the church, and made to kneel before the Papal throne, whilst the tribute was presented by the Constable of the Kingdom Prince Colonna. Orloff, (« History of Naples ») gives all particulars respecting the differences between the Pontiffs and the Bourbon Kings in the affair of this tribute; the claim to which was finally abandoned by Pius IX, in consideration of the friendly relations established between his Holiness and Ferdinand II, after the revolution of '48.

(2) All the concessions in ecclesiastical matters, made to the Sicilian kings, were revoked and annulled by Innocent III, whose act did not, however, destroy the effects of that of his predecessors. The Sicilian « Tribunal of Monarchy » continued in after ages to exercise the prerogatives thus bestowed on the Crown, as an ecclesiastical court dependent on that Crown alone. In 1866 Pius IX abolished this tribunal by sentence published in the Roman gazette; but with how little effect appears from the solemn Excommunication

The year 1143 proved eventful in Rome. Tivoli had revolted, and a siege of that town had been undertaken; but such the spirit of the defenders, that the Romans were repulsed, leaving considerable booty in the hands of the gallant Tiburtine citizens. However the minds of the latter may have been acted upon, they soon afterwards submitted, notwithstanding the advantages they had won in arms. The Romans impetuously urged the Pope to require, as condition of peace, that the Tiburtines should demolish their city's walls, and quit that mountain-girt home forever, to settle elsewhere. To this Innocent humanely objected; and his refusal furnished the pretext, or immediate provocation, for the first regularly organized revolt against ecclesiastical government in Rome.

The scanty notices by contemporary writers give nothing more than the leading facts: (1) that an insurrection suddenly broke out with irresistible violence, headed by the nobles, participated in by the people generally; that the insurgents rushed to the Capitol, declared that the war against Tivoli should be continued in spite of the Pope; and proclaimed an independent municipal government, under a Senate constituted as the representation and organ of the People. The Pontiff tried all means at his disposal, but in vain, for checking the tempest; in the midst of which, powerless and overwhelmed by the shock, he died, 24th of September, 1143. His remains were laid in the porphyry sarcophagus of

against the Prelate who had persisted in acting as judge to that court, in spite of the inhibition — published in the « *Giornale di Roma*, » 23rd September '68.

(4) In the Chronicle of the Aragonese Nicholas, the whole story is dismissed, like an evil thing, in as few words as possible: « About the end of his (Innocent's) pontificate, the Roman people, loving innovation, created a Senate on the Capitol, contrary to his will, and under pretext of benefit to the Republic ».

the Emperor Hadrian, removed (perhaps before this period) from the fortified mausoleum — destined for other vicissitudes, that tomb was injured by the fire at the Lateran in 1360; afterwards, the body of the Pope being transferred, was placed in the cloister, or elsewhere on the premises of that church; and the part best preserved, the cover alone, was finally taken to the new S. Peter's, to serve as a baptismal font, its appropriation up to this day. Innocent's remains were reinterred at S. Maria in Trastevere, a church rebuilt by him.

We may pause to consider the social elements prevailing at Rome when the memorable revolution of 1143 broke out.

Two classes alone now divided laic society here: the Nobles, who shared influence and honours with the Clergy, and the People, who, though comparatively insignificant, had still their recognized rights, and were associated together in guilds called *scholae*, each with its militia recruited among its own members; which armed bands, under their respective standards, represented the *Rioni* (regions—eventually fourteen) into which the city was divided. These armed citizens had of old (it may be impossible to determine for how long a period) the right of intervening at the election of Popes, and at that of the Urban Prefect, the highest laic Magistrate; and they used to be, on special occasions, convoked by the Pontiffs, sometimes also (it is believed) by the chief nobles, to assemble on the Capitol, and give their suffrages on public questions. Besides this civic force, there were other military, vassals either of the barons or of the higher clergy; and also « *Capitanei* », great proprietors of the Campagna, who held lands as fiefs of the pontiff, and were bound to feudal services in recognition of his sovereignty. The Consuls, usually the heads of patrician houses, held an office invested with judicial authority. That Senate, whose restoration was the main object of the revolution, cannot have been for a long time extinct; as we read of the adherence of the Senate to the persecuted Pope



Paschal II in his contest with Henry V (4): and the title, « Senator », is found in an epitaph of about A. D. 1100, given by Galletti (*Inscript. Roman.*). It seems certain that the Senate of the VIII century transferred its allegiance from the Greek Emperor to the Pope, after the revolt of the Romans against the iconoclast Leo; though there is no proof that, when Rome became an independent Duchy under the voluntarily accepted dominion of the Pope, the transfer of all municipal government into pontific hands was either intended, or desired. Rather is it inferable, indeed, that the mediæval senate continued to act as an independent body, within its proper sphere, taking its assigned place at all great ecclesiastical occasions, as the elections of Popes and coronations of Emperors. The first interference with municipal liberties, that led to essential change, came not from Papal but from imperial power, when Lothaire I interposed to put down disturbance in this City, soon after the election of Eugenius II (A. D. 824); and, during his stay, created new magistrates, dependent (apparently) on the Empire, for the decision, especially, of civil causes. The proud title, « Senator of all the Romans », was first assumed by Alberic, son of Marozia; afterwards by Crescentius, and by others who affected absolute dominion over this City; and there has been produced, from the ancient archives of Farfa, a chart drawn up at Rome « in presence of the lord Patrician, the Judges, and the noble Senator ». As reconstituted in 1143 the Roman Senate consisted of fifty-six members, elected annually by a college, in which each of the civic Regions had ten voices. But before the close of the century this system was changed,

(4) That historic episode is thus briefly narrated in verse by Godfrey of Viterbo:

Unctus apostolicis manibus, sumptaque corona,  
Cepit Apostolicum; rumor in Urbe sonat;  
Bella parat populus; succurrit ab Urbe Senatas.

(Pantheon).



and gave place to a single Senator, « Summus Senator », first appointed in 1191, who concentrated in himself all the powers of the formerly elected aggregate, and held office for two years. (1) In 1195, after the retirement of the second « supreme Senator » so appointed, the original system was restored ; but again to be set aside, — such the restless love of change ! — at the opening of 1197, when a single Senator was raised up ; other vicissitudes ensuing in this municipal government, which belong to the history of after ages. Those Senators in Chief assumed the style : *Dei gratia almae Urbis Senator*. Their acts were dated from the year of the restoration, 1143 ; and money was coined in their names with the effigies of SS. Peter and Paul, or that of the personified Roma, and the legend : *Senat. P. Q. R.* (Vitali, « Storia Diplomatica dei Senatori di Roma », an exhaustive work on this subject ; see also the able treatment of it by Gregorovius). It is supposed to have been in consequence of, and in punishment for, this revolt, that the Roman people were thenceforth excluded from all participation in the electing of Popes ; and that the lower Clergy also became, gradually, deprived of the right of voting, which they had formerly exercised (Onofrio Panvinio, Annotations to Platina).

The Pontificate was, at this period, feeble at home whilst powerful abroad ; and the nominal Rulers of the States of the Church were encircled and restrained by petty principalities, each claiming independent lordship. Even within sight of Rome there were many small towns, some of historic name — as Palestrina, Tusculum, Zagarola, Bracciano — subject to Barons, who paid neither respect nor tribute to the tiara. The cities to the East of the ancient Latium were alike under the sway of feudal lords, Barons or Prelates. At great-

(1) The first in that office was Benedetto Carushomo (or Carosomo), whose name is seen in an inscription, rudely cut, on the Cestian bridge, or « ponte S. Bartolommeo : » *Benedictus almae Urbis Senator restauravit hunc pontem fere dirutum* ».

er distance, the state of things was still less favourable to the Papacy: Spoleto, Osimo, Pesaro, Camerino, Fermo, cities nominally under its dominion, were immediately governed by magnates, who, if they owned, certainly could not be compelled to obey, the sacerdotal sovereign.

Amidst whatever excitement and confusion, the cardinals were able to elect, with customary formalities, a successor to Innocent II, who was installed on the same day as Celestine II, (1143-4). This Pope survived little more than five months; and his sole noticeable acts were: the anathematizing of the Sicilian king Ruggero, for having invaded and despoiled the cloister of Monte Cassino; also the support he gave to the Empress Matilda in her struggle with Stephen for the crown of England. We have this Pontiff's own account of his election, addressed to an abbot of Cluny, and from which it appears that the Roman people were not excluded, at least as witnesses, from that proceeding: « Our lord Pope Innocent (he says) being defunct on the VIII calends of October, and interred in the Lateran church with great concourse of the Roman clergy and people, the cardinal priests and deacons, together with our brethren the bishops and subdeacons, the Roman clergy and people acclaming and demanding alike, on the third day, through I know not what decree of God, with unanimous votes, and by common consent, elected me as Roman pontiff, though unworthy, and utterly unequal to so great an office. — I am shaken by so many waves of events, and, after the leisure of the quiet I remember to have once enjoyed, am afflicted by the great tempests of this tumultuous life » — the last words in evident allusion to the agitations amidst which he found himself raised to a throne now exposed to danger.

Next was elected a Cardinal, who had been Chancellor, and took the name of Lucius II (1144,5). The Senate hastened to intimate to him that all temporal power must be left in their hands; and that the pontiff, as well as the Clergy in general, was required henceforth to depend for subsistence

upon tithes and oblations, as in ancient time. Lucius applied for protection to the German King, Conrad III, to whom the Senate also addressed themselves, inviting him to visit Rome, and there to exercise sovereign power (4). Towards the latter he maintained significant silence; but to the Pope he sent amicable assurances. Lucius, unfortunately, too impatient to wait for any foreign intervention, anticipated war by an armed attack against the Senate; and the Capitol was besieged; the Pope himself commanding, or at least present at, these operations. One account is, that he met with his death from the blows of stones hurled against the assailants; but the actual circumstances of that death, and the issue of this extraordinary siege, are involved in much obscurity. Godfrey of Viterbo says that the Pope (as he had heard at the time), was struck by great stones, so that he could no more sit in his chair till the day of his decease, which occurred soon after; but the chronicle of Sigebert states merely that he was repulsed from the siege of the Capitol by Jordanus, the new patrician, and, soon afterwards, attacked by the disease of which he died. Nicholas of Aragon does not mention the mode of his death, but states that it occurred at the monastery of S. Gregorio — to which we may suppose that, if wounded, he may have been carried from the foot of the Capitol, rather than to the Lateran palace, on account of the proximity of that cloister. Baronius cites a Vatican code confirmatory of the version of the story which represents a death under circumstances so far from suitable to the last days of a Christian Pontiff: « struck by the blow of an uncertain stone, after a few days he fell ill, and by that malady was removed from this life ». From the few other

(4) The somewhat pedantic metrical lines, with which this address winds up, serve to show the feeling, so adverse at this time, against Papal government in Rome:

Caesaris accipiet Casar; que sunt sua, Praesul,  
Ut Christus jussit, Petro solvente tributum.

particulars that are known of this Pope, his career seems to have been praiseworthy.

An Abbot of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, who had been a monk at Clairvaux, and the disciple of S. Bernard, was now elected as Eugenius III (1145-53), the Cardinals having assembled in the small church of S. Cesario, on the Appian Way, — now silent, neglected, seldom opened, but interesting in its antique-basilica character. It was intimated to this Pope that the Senate intended to oppose his consecration, unless he would submit to the quasi-abdication of the temporal power they required. Consequently, on the night before the day appointed, he fled with a few attendants to the strong castle of Monticelli, about twenty miles distant (1). The Cardinals followed him the next morning; all proceeded first to Farfa, where the Pope was consecrated; thence to Viterbo, where Eugenius III resided for eight months.

Arnoldo of Brescia, one of the reformers born too soon, now made his appearance in Rome, and began, with bold eloquence, to maintain his reprobated theories — directed not against any doctrines of Faith, but against the worldly honours and privileges of the clergy, the political sovereignty of the Popes ec. He counselled the restoration of the the Equestrian Order, and the rebuilding of the Capitol — perhaps under the erroneous notion that an *edifice* so called had been the chief seat of government in ancient Rome. Amidst the popular excitement now prevailing, the citizens discredited their cause by acts of violence, which, it seems, none could punish or repress. Palaces and castles were broken into and plundered. Nobles and Cardinals were assaulted in the streets. S. Peter's was fortified (sacrilegiously, as a chronicler says); and pilgrims, who came to worship

(1) Now a ruin above a wild little town, on the conical summit of one of the Montes Corniculani, distinctly seen from Rome, and strikingly conspicuous in the landscape near Tivoli.

there, were compelled by blows or wounds to pay for their free passage; those who could not pay (the same writer tells us), « they (the citizens) had the detestable audacity to kill even in the portico, or vestibule, of the temple » (Otto Frising). The words of S. Bernard, in a letter to the Roman magnates and people, afford us a glimpse of wild realities: devastation of churches, purloining of sacred objects for the sake of their material value — and show us also that there was then (as there still is, most certainly) a repressed frenzy of hatred against priestly rule, and a germ of fierce hostilities against the Church herself, in the Roman Mind. « Remember (writes the Saint) for what cause, for whom, and for what uses, all the wealth and adornment of all the churches you possess, have been squandered. Whatever could once be found, in altars, or altar-vessels, in sacred images of gold and silver, has been snatched and carried away by the hands of the impious. What do ye now find in your purses of all these things? The glory of the Lord's house has, in truth, irrecoverably perished. — But woe unto ye now, miserable people! and doubly more woe than of old! not from foreign nations, not from the fierceness of barbarians; but from your own domestics and friends, from intestine slaughter, from the anguish of your vitals, from the tortures of your own entrails! » The Saint could foresee the last results of revolutionary rage; but could he estimate the disease in the body of governing power, that had been the original source of Evil?

The Pope, after having vainly tried spiritual weapons, all disregarded by his own subjects, found more substantial utility in the arms with which his friends could fight for him. Troops from Tivoli obtained advantage over the Romans, in a battle as to which we have no particulars; and a treaty was proposed, with stipulations finally agreed to on both sides; the Pontiff pledged himself to recognise the Senate on condition that the office of Patrician should be suppressed, and that of Urban Prefect (set aside in the new system) restored; the Romans, on their part, promising to recognise and submit to

the Papal sovereignty. Eugenius now returned to his capital; received, we are told, with cordial welcome by both Clergy and People; and the chant, « Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini ! » greeted him as he entered the gates. His charities won for him the affection of the humbler classes at least. But no stable or enduring concord was established. The Romans, in their old grudge against Tivoli, now naturally stimulated, required the Pope to order the dismantling of that town's fortifications; and, on his refusal, disturbances broke out, which obliged him to quit the Lateran palace for safer residence in the transtiberine quarter, probably at the S. Angelo castle, now held by the Pierleone family; whence, after a time, Eugenius set out for a journey to France. In that country he held councils, one of which, at Rheims, was mainly occupied with the condemnation of certain heresies maintained by an obscure fanatic, whose answers show him to have been almost (if not quite) insane, but who was sentenced by the Council to imprisonment for life; and several of whose followers — for, strange to say, he had found many to believe in him — were condemned, by Barons and Prelates in different French cities, to death at the stake — a terrible indication of the growth of intolerance, that now darkens the annals of Christendom.

Neither a saintly character nor a benign temper withheld Eugenius III from a policy of secret antagonism against the institutions he had sworn to respect, in his own capital. He did not desist from the object of putting down the revived municipal system; and S. Bernard makes the statement, to his praise, in a eulogium on him after his death, that « he had almost annihilated the Senate ! »

In the first year of his pontificate, this Pope urged Louis VII of France to undertake a new Crusade, since the capture of Edessa by the Turks (1144) had naturally alarmed for the interests of the Christian cause in Palestine. S. Bernard was charged by the Pontiff to preach this holy war; and in 1147, was announced to Europe that Second Crusade for which the



armies of France and Germany were united under the same sacred standard ; Louis VII himself, and Conrad III taking the Cross ; the Pope appointing two Legates to accompany the expedition. Bitter was the disappointment of high hopes, and humiliating the failure of great preparations ; but, in this instance, the disastrous results were due rather to inclemencies of season, and to the habitual perfidy of the Byzantine Greeks than to any manifest decline of the heroic spirit that had hitherto animated these religious wars (1).

In 1148 the Roman Senate invited Conrad III to visit their City, and assume the powers here exercised by other Emperors. He answered, ominously, that he was about to cross the Alps, with intent to reduce the Italian cities to order and peace, by punishing the rebellious and rewarding the loyal. But, in the midst of his preparations for this campaign, the Emperor elect was cut off by death ; and his nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, was elected as his successor (1152).

That young Prince — the redoubted « Barbarossa » — at first declared himself friendly towards the pontific sovereignty ; entered into correspondence with Eugenius III ; and pledged himself never to accept terms of peace with the Romans, unknown or unapproved by him. The Pope promised to give him the imperial crown at Rome ; but did not live to witness the arrival of Frederick ; for, shortly after he had been again enabled, thanks to another treaty with the Senate,

(1) Many Italian princes joined this Crusade, among whom were Amadeus, Duke of Turin, and the Marquis of Montferrat. Ruggero, Duke of Apulia, offered ships, provisions, and the [services of his own son, provided the Crusaders would undertake the journey by sea. They refused ; and, travelling by land, were exposed to the multiform treacheries of the Greeks ; the enterprise totally failed, and 200,000 perished. The Italian Crusaders wisely counselled the founding of colonies along the coasts of Asia Minor, for protection against the encroachments of the Turks ; but this also was negatived in the decisions acted upon by the ill-starred expedition.

to take up his abode at the Lateran, Eugenius III died during a summer-sojourn at Tivoli. He was a learned, pious, and lowly-minded man, whose monastic education bore fruits in his life. He caused several works of Greek Fathers, SS. Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, and John Damascene, to be translated into Latin. To him did S. Bernard address his eloquent expostulation, « de Consideratione », — a striking and bold expression of the disapproval felt in a fervidly religious mind, against the worldly position and entanglements of worldly care in which the Pontificate had now become involved: « If you glorify yourself (he says to his former disciple), it ought to be, as with S. Paul, in labour and sufferings. Your duty is to tame the wolves, not to lord it over the sheep. Your grandeur should consist of purity in morals, firmness in faith, humility — the fairest ornament of Prelates. Listen to him who said, 'Not lording it over the Clergy, but made like unto the flock'; and lest you should suppose these words to be merely a lesson of humility, and not the indication of a truth, hear the voice the Lord in the Gospel: 'The kings of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them — but ye shall not be so'. It is clear therefore that *domination is forbidden to Apostles* » (« Planum est, Apostolis interdicatur dominatus »).

How unlike the language which has become an ultramontane fashion, in our days, towards the Pontiff-king of Rome!

Anastasius IV (1153'4) survived his election little more than six months — an interval of calm — during which his virtues commanded general respect. His remains were laid in the porphyry sarcophagus of S. Helena, brought to the Lateran from the ruinous mausoleum of Constantine's mother; which sculptured tomb, after being injured by the fire in 1360, was transferred to the Lateran cloisters, and finally restored, to be placed in the Vatican Museum, under Pius VI.

The successor to Anastasius was Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, the sole Englishman ever raised to the Papal throne; a man who presents a remarkable example of merited suc-

cesses, of genuine « self help », winning the highest prizes in life. He was born, of poor parents, in a farm belonging to the Abbey of S. Alban's. His father, become a widower, entered the same cloister as a lay-brother, leaving the son to subsist on alms given by the monks at their gates; and it is said that the unnatural father drove him away, to seek a living elsewhere, after he had for some time got his daily bread from the leavings of the S. Alban's refectory (v. Henrion). But this story may be doubted (1); for it is certain that the young Nicholas presented himself as candidate to be received into the novitiate, at the same monastery; but could not pass with success the examination which postulants had to go through. Ashamed either to beg or dig in his own country, he contrived to reach France, and, after farther struggles against adverse Fortune, was received into a cloister at Arles, where he rose to be, first, Prior — afterwards, abbot. The monks did not like his government; probably found him a greater disciplinarian than they wanted; and he had twice to travel to Rome in order to meet their charges against him. Eugenius III had penetration to see what was in him; and, on occasion of his second appearance as the accused party, told the complaining monks that they might return without their English Abbot, whom he chose to detain. The Pontiff presently made him Cardinal and Bishop of Albano — actuated, it is said by a pleasant fancy for analogies of name: Albion — St Alban's — Albano! Nor was Eugenius mistaken in his preference; for such qualities became apparent in Breakspear as proclaimed the man suited to occupy high

(1) Ciaconius places his father in the more aristocratic post of a Regular Canon; and some writers state that the mother lived to see her son on the Papal throne; but not to be benefited by that elevation, as he left her in poverty, only relieved by charities from the church of Canterbury. We may suppose the monastic life of the father to have begun after separation from his partner; as the Church allows married men to enter the cloister with the wife's consent.

places : energetic , courageous , patient , habitually charitable , eloquent in the pulpit , skilled in ecclesiastical music. After a time , he was sent as Legate and missionary into Norway — no light commission or easy journey in these days ; and at that post he acquitted himself to the satisfaction alike of the Norwegians and the Roman Curia. He returned soon after Pope Eugenius's death ; and , after the next brief pontificate , was elected by unanimous votes , amidst the acclamations of Clergy and laity , as Adrian IV (1154–9). He seems to have set out with a fixed purpose of opposition against the new order of things at Rome ; and refused to recognise the Senate , which body , as was natural , refused to recognise the Pope ; and in the agitated state of the City , he continued to reside in the buildings contiguous to S. Peter's , the church where he had been elected ; this being the first known instance of a Pope becoming established at the Vatican. Arnaldo was still in Rome ; still active in his efforts to rouse the public feeling against ecclesiastical government ; and in the March ensuing after the election , (which had taken place on the 4th of December) , those hostile dispositions broke out in an assault on a Cardinal , who was seriously (it seems mortally) wounded , whilst riding along the Via Sacra to an audience at the Vatican. Adrian , in his indignation at this crime , took the yet unprecedented step of laying Rome , the inviolate City , under Interdict (23 March , 1155) ; leaving her deprived of religious consolations , and of all her unceasing round of stately solemnities , except Baptism and the Communion of the dying alone ! and this too in the holiest season , the week before Easter.

The public conscience was appalled ; for the dread thunders of the Church had still all their withering effect. And on the next day the Senators waited on the Pope , offering to comply with any conditions for the revocation of that awful sentence. He required that Arnaldo and all his followers should be expelled from Rome and the vicinity. They acquiesced ; that obnoxious leader and his party were immediately ban-

ished, at least driven beyond the gates; and the anathema was withdrawn on the next day after it had been fulminated. On the morrow, Holy Thursday, the Pope and Cardinals went in grand cavalcade-procession to the Lateran, there to celebrate the rites of the sacred season, amidst immense concourse of citizens and pilgrims.

Frederick I was now approaching, at the head of an army, bent on obtaining the imperial crown at Rome; and the Pope sent three Cardinals to meet him in Tuscany, and arrange the terms of a treaty, which it was desired to have stipulated prior to his arrival. The Roman Senate also sent a deputation, which found that Prince at Sutri; and delivered an address, making the Eternal City speak in her own name, to an effect that little pleased the German potentate. They spoke (says Otto of Frisinghen) « in the Italian mode, with great diffuseness, and circuitous periods long drawn out » (*more Italico longa continuatione, periodorumque circuitibus productorum*); but Frederick interrupted them with haughty impatience: « Would they know (he said) whither the ancient glories of Rome had departed? The majesty of the Senate, the valour of the knights, the discipline of the camp, the indomitable spirit of warfare? With the Germans were all these things now to be found! Together with the Empire, all has passed over to us; with us are your Consuls; with us your Senate; *here* are your Legions: I am legitimate possessor of all! » Adrian set out from Viterbo for the meeting, appointed to take place in the camp near Sutri, where a curious scene now occurred. The young King revolted from the etiquette which required him to act as groom, and hold the stirrup for the Pontiff, who had to alight from his palfrey without that compliment being paid. Frederick indeed knelt, and kissed the feet of the Pope, after his Holiness had seated himself in the tent; but Adrian, offended, would not give him the kiss of peace in return. The Cardinals, taking it more seriously, turned their horses, and fled to Civitacastellana, the nearest town. Not so the Pope, who remained for that and the following day, the whole of which

interval was spent in discussing the important question. At last, the Pope being (in the spirit of his office) tenacious, conservative, unyielding, the King submitted; and on the banks of a small lake, named Janula (or Jaula), near Nepi, whither the camp had transferred itself, was seen the spectacle of the greatest sovereign in Europe holding the stirrup, for about the distance of a stone's throw, to the crowned Priest who had begun life as a beggar boy at the gates of an English convent! Next day, the King and Pope entered Rome, amidst the army, after a German force had been sent, before daybreak, to occupy S. Peter's. The coronation immediately took place, with closed doors; neither the church nor the Leonine city being accessible to the Romans; and, as soon as the ceremony was over, the Emperor, with crown on head, rode back to his camp on the fields below Monte Mario.

The citizens, meantime, gathered in arms on the Capitol; tumult and bloodshed ensued after the ceremonies were finished; and some of the German courtiers, found in S. Peter's, were killed; Frederick, apprised of this while at the banquet in his tent, rode back into the City, at the head of his troops; and commenced a combat, which lasted till the close of that day; about 1000 Romans perishing either by the sword or by drowning, and about 200 being made prisoners.

We have two contemporary reports of this action: one by Otto, bishop of Frisinghen, the Emperor's cousin; the other by Frederick himself, in a letter forming a preface to the chronicle written by that prelate: « After (thus does the Emperor report) we had returned to our tents, all being exhausted with fatigue and heat, and whilst we were taking food, the Romans rushed from the Tiber-bridge into the monastery of S. Peter, murdered two of our servants, despoiled Cardinals, and intended to seize the Pope. We, hearing the tumult from without, rushed back, armed, within the walls, and fought for the whole of that day



against the Romans, killed and threw into the Tiber almost 4000; took many prisoners; till, at last, the coming of night obliged us to disperse ».

The career of Arnoldo of Brescia had been brought to tragic close shortly before this coronation-day. After his expulsion from Rome, he had been received by a certain Count at his castle on the Campagna: but was given up by that protector to the Germans, who had seized the Count's brother, and demanded Arnoldo in exchange for their prisoner. The former was consigned by Frederick to certain Cardinals; by them to the Urban Prefect, who ordered his execution. It was, probably, outside the gates, perhaps near the German camp on the Tiber, that the victim suffered; being first strangled, then burnt at a stake; after which his ashes were thrown into the river, lest the people should collect them as relics (1).

The offensive doctrines (or rather suggestions) of Arnoldo were: that neither the Pope nor Clergy ought to possess either temporal power or stable property, but should subsist on alms and oblations alone; and should leave the administration of secular affairs to laic hands exclusively. Though he had been denounced by the Lateran Council (1139), he is said to have been attracted to Rome by report of the favourable reception his theories had there obtained. His most violent opponents — as S. Bernard — admitted that his private character was estimable; and under four pontificates were those condemned opinions admitted, during his life-time, to more or less general credit precisely at the centre of ecclesiastical power!

Soon after the coronation, the Pope and Emperor left Rome together, and celebrated the festival of S. Peter in the camp

(1) Godfrey of Viterbo gives a quaintly concise notice as to the influences and the tragic fate of Arnoldo:

Dogmata cujus erant quasi pervertentia mundum;  
Strangulat hunc laqueus, ignis et unda vehunt.

near the Lucano bridge. Whilst at that spot, they were visited by a deputation from Tivoli, offering the keys and the dominion of that city to Frederick. Adrian remonstrated at this; and the Emperor answered only to enjoin on the Tivertines the duty of submitting to their lawful sovereign — saving (he added) in all things that pertained by right to the Empire. After *malaria* had obliged the Germans to hasten their departure from the fever-stricken Campagna, they marched northwards; and on their way besieged Spoleto, which Frederick had determined to punish for the twofold offence of refusing provisions to his army, and detaining captive an envoy sent by him. Terrible was the fate of that unfortunate city: taken by storm, sacked, fired; and, as Frederick's own words report the fact, « destroyed from its foundations »; and the inhabitants returned from the mountain-forests, whither they had fled, half-naked and all destitute, to find even the ruins ransacked of all that had served for the uses of the German soldiery (Otto Frising. c. 24) (1).

William I, of Sicily, whose vices and misgovernment had affixed on him the sinister designation of « The Bad », was excommunicated by Adrian for having not only besieged Benevento, but invaded the pontific province of Frosinone, at short distance from Rome. Everything, at this juncture, proved unfavourable to the interests of that king. The southern provinces of his continental states had risen in general revolt, now supported by the absolving powers of the Pope,

(1) The Spoleto Duchy was founded by King Alboin, and bestowed first upon Faroald, one of his Longobard captains, A. D. 570. In after ages its Dukes were appointed by the Italian Kings or German Emperors; the first so appointed being Theodebald, invested with this Duchy by king Hugo, in 926. After the death of Duke Hugo II, who had begun to reign here in 1028, Spoleto was placed under the rule of officials nominated, and removable, at the pleasure of Emperors; and eventually it passed under the direct dominion of the Papacy, which lost both city and province in 1860.

who released his Apulian subjects from allegiance to William. But, by a hold stroke, he at last redeemed his sinking fortunes; took the command of his army; accomplished a victorious march through Calabria and Apulia; and reduced the rebellious cities to submission. In his adversity the king had offered any terms of reconciliation with the Pope that the latter might require; even to supply him with means to secure, by arms or money (*armis vel pecunia*), the future submission of the unmanageable Romans. It was now the king's turn to dictate. Whilst Adrian and several Cardinals were at Benevento, that city was besieged by the Siculo-Norman army. The Papal court had to experience the hardships and perils of life in a beleagured town. The overtures of William I were gladly accepted; and a meeting between the King and Pope was held near a church, S. Marco, beyond the walls, where the former did homage to the latter; was absolved, and received investiture, with three standards, for the Kingdom of Sicily, the Duchy of Apulia, and Principality of Capua. Adrian, on the same occasion, confirmed the prerogatives granted by his predecessors to the Sicilian Crown in the sphere of ecclesiastical interests. William « the Bad » was, notwithstanding his vices, devout, liberal towards the Church, habitually reverential towards the Pontiff — see his character as strikingly drawn by Giannone.

The domineering spirit of Barbarossa naturally led to collisions with the self-asserting claims of such a Pope as Adrian IV. That Emperor forbade the bishops of his states to appeal to Rome; and when Adrian sent letters of remonstrance, deadly offence was taken at his use of the word « *beneficia* », in defining the favours bestowed by the Church upon Frederick I (1). A count Palatine drew his sword, and would have slain the Cardinal legate on the spot, had not the Emperor

(1) « Si majora beneficia excellentia tua de manu nostra suscepisset, si fieri possit — non immerito gauderemus » — referring, namely, to the coronation of Frederick.

interfered to protect — such the manners, at this time, of the imperial court ! And the Pope had to write again, entering, pedagogue-wise, into the etymology of the offensive term, and showing that « beneficia » need not necessarily be understood as « fief » — its then accepted conventional meaning — but simply as a favour or service. In a diet at Roncaglia Frederick caused it to be defined by Bolognese juriconsults, that the unlimited power of the ancient Caesars pertained, indisputably and absolutely, to him; and in Italy he soon acted upon these pretensions by claiming taxes, contributions, dues of every kind from cities, bishoprics, monasteries. Adrian was about to retaliate by excommunicating the Emperor, when his life was brought to a close at Anagni, 41st September, 1159.

Some ecclesiastical novelties introduced by this Pope have been censured. He originated the system of mandates, or letters recommending individuals to vacant benefices in the gift of the collator addressed; he was the first to dispense ecclesiastics from the duty of residence, and to sanction pluralities. The famous act by which he encouraged the English King, Henry II, to undertake the conquest of Ireland, sets forth: « that Hibernia, as well as other islands illuminated by the Sun of Righteousness, pertains lawfully to S. Peter and the Roman Church »; and the King is authorized to invade that island, in order « to correct the evil manners of the people, to instill into them true virtues, and take possession of the land, not forgetting the object of disseminating the Christian Religion, whilst ever maintaining the rights of the Roman Church, and providing that one *denarius* for each house be annually paid to S. Peter » (Baronius, an. 1159).

Through Adrian's efforts were recovered many places that had been lost to the Papal States. He was the first Pope to reside at Orvieto, and reduce that city under the direct dominion of Rome; besides which he carried out, for its benefit,

improvements and public works there (4). Other towns and lands were purchased by him, from feudal lords, for the Church; and four towns are mentioned (Bolsena among these) of which he thus acquired *one half* from their baronial masters. He augmented the revenues of S. Peter's, and repaired the Lateran palace.

He fortified Orcle (or Orde) a town near Subiaco, which had become a den of thieves; and also Radicofani, on the high mountain at the frontier of the Roman and Tuscan states, which he surrounded by walls, and protected by a conspicuous castle, now in grim decay, overlooking the again deserted little town on that desolate height, no more traversed by vettura or diligence, on the journey between Siena and Rome, since railways have borne the tide of travel along other channels.

Interesting report of private converse with Adrian IV is given by another distinguished Englishman, who had been his friend in early life — John of Salisbury, a learned chaplain to kings, eventually appointed bishop of Chartres (ob. 1182): « I cite the Lord Adrian (he says) in testimony of the fact that there is no one more unhappy than the Roman Pontiff, no condition more wretched than his. He owns how many sorrows he has had in the chair he occupies; and that, in comparison with the present, all previous bitterness in his life would seem joy and happiness to him. He says, he wishes he had never left his native soil of England, or had remained for ever hidden in the cloister of S. Rufus (at Arles), rather than have entered into such troubles » — « Whilst we were conversing together, as is the way among friends » — namely at Benevento, where this writer was for three months the guest of the Pontiff — « he asked me

(4) A chronicler says that Orvieto « per longissimo retro tempore se a jurisdictione B. Petri subtraxerat »; and that Adrian was received there with great honours by the Clergy, Military, and People.

what men thought of him, and of the Roman church? I, acting in the spirit of liberty, declared to him what I had heard in different countries: that many said that the Roman Church, which is the mother of all churches, proves, in fact, a stepmother rather than ought else; that Scribes and Pharisees sit therein, placing on men's shoulders heavy burdens, which they themselves will not touch with one finger; avaritious, heaping up precious vessels, loading their tables with gold and silver, despoiling churches; in no way compassionate for the sufferings of the afflicted; exciting strife, even collisions, between the clergy and their flocks; esteeming riches more than piety; administering justice not so much for its own sake, as for the sake of payment: men among whom you may obtain everything for its price to-day, and nothing without its price to-morrow. Even the Pontiff himself, it is said, becomes burdensome, almost unendurable, because, while the churches raised by the piety of our forefathers are sinking into ruin, and altars left neglected, he goes about not only clad in purple, but covered with gold (*deauratus*). A cardinal had owned to him (the writer adds) that there existed in the Roman Church a certain root of duplicity, and stimulus of avarice ».

Yet mark the fairer side of this picture, which the candid observer gives on personal testimony: « Nowhere (he states from his own experience) have I seen more virtuous clergymen, or any more opposed to avarice, than in that (i. e. the Roman) Church »; among which admirable examples in the sacerdotal class, he names certain Cardinals and Prelates, « of so much modesty and gravity that they would not be found inferior even to Fabricius ». (« Polycraticus », or « de Nugis Curialium » l. VI, c. 24, VIII, 23) Adrian IV, creditably to his sense and good temper, listened to all his plain-spoken friend had to report with sad but serene attention (1).

(1) A project for a monument to Adrian IV was formed, some years ago, in Rome; and a design, distinguished by taste and feeling,



After debates for three days at S. Peter's, which basilica was now fortified, the majority of Cardinals elected Rolando Bandinelli; Chancellor of the Roman Church, as Alexander III (1159-81). But a schism immediately declared itself; for three dissentient voters raised up one of their own insignificant minority, Cardinal Octavian, as Victor IV. The latter attempted to tear the Papal mantle from his rival's shoulders; and when a Senator checked this insolence, provided himself with another similar vestment, putting it on, in his indecent haste, the wrong way — back foremost — at which general laughter arose in the assembly (4) Alexander and the Cardinals on his side were driven out of the church by soldiery in the pay of this Antipope, and obliged to take refuge in a tower (probably part of the adjacent palace), where they sustained a kind of siege during nine days. Thence they were led, still as prisoners, by some senators and nobles, to a castle in the Trastevere quarter; but, after a few days, rescued by the Frangipani, and other

was prepared by the late sculptor Signor Gajassi. A subscription among the English had been suggested, to be raised under the auspices of Cardinal Wiseman; but his Eminence had objections, no doubt well founded; and the body of the English Pope still lies, at S. Peter's, in a Pagan sarcophagus, without one line of epitaph, or sculptured symbol appropriate to its destination.

(4) Octavian was, however, officially proclaimed; and the formula used on such occasions, is given, as in this instance heard by the Roman people — different indeed from that with which Popes are now proclaimed from the loggia of the Quirinal, after the breaking open of the wall that closes the ingress during Conclave: « *Audite cives Romani et coetus Reipublicae! Secunda feria Pater noster Adrianus mortuus est, et proximo sequente sabbato Dominus Octavianus, cardinalis S. Ceciliae, in Romanum Pontificem electus et immanatus est, et Papa Victor est nominatus. Placet nobis?* — which query was thrice repeated, and thrice answered, « *placet* », by the assenting auditors; the Protoscrinarius having made this proclamation from a balcony.

families, whose interference was availing. The Pope, and the ecclesiastics on his side, now quitted Rome, not without marks of respect from the people, and repaired to Santa Ninfa, the ancient Nympha, a once considerable, but now totally ruinous and deserted town, at the foot of the Volscian mountains, about sixteen miles from Velletri. There was Alexander III consecrated and crowned, in presence of cardinals, prelates, nobles, and magistrates (who had followed him from Rome), besides great concourse of other spectators.

Those stately ceremonies must have taken place in some church, not of very large dimensions, and now ruinous in a city of ruins — its aisles roofless, its altar gone :

Silent, save when early bird  
Sings where once the Mass was heard.

Santa Ninfa is now a scene to suggest meditations on the moral of History. This doomed city is supposed to have been reduced to the decay, from which it has risen no more, by the devastating wars of Barbarossa. It stands in the midst of cultivated, but almost uninhabited, plains, at the base of the steep mountain crowned by the ruins of the almost prehistoric Norba. A high dusky tower is the only object descried from a distance, as we approach Santa Ninfa; but, arriving, we perceive the wrecks of vanished prosperities: a baronial castle, several churches, and a cincture of towered and turreted walls. We walk amidst weeds and long grass through the crumbling masonry of what once were streets. On the walls of the roofless churches we see dim frescoes of Saints, that overlooked altars, of which remains no trace. No sound, save the rippling of a stream, and the turning of a mill wheel moved by its waters, breaks on the silence, except on festivals, when the bell summons to Mass in a humble chapel among the ruins: for the Church spreads her motherly mantle even over this forlorn place. The miller is the only inhabitant,

but even he goes away for the night. Between the silent town and the mountain lies a glassy lake, round as a mirror, from whence issues the copious and gurgling stream that here makes pleasant music, and which, bifurcating near its source, forms with one branch a natural moat below the battlemented walls, whilst the other flows through the midst of mouldering towers and desolate homes.

For a time the parties of Alexander and Octavian (or Victor IV) seem to have been almost equally balanced. Chroniclers give an imposing array of adherents to the latter — ten Archbishops and Patriarchs, the capitular clergy of the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore, and several monastic bodies in Rome, who affixed their signatures to the act of a Synod, held at Pavia, in favour of Victor IV. Frederick I, who had convoked that Synod, and invited both claimants to attend, — as Octavian did, but not Alexander — publicly recognised the former as Pope; did not hesitate to hold his stirrup, and lead his palfrey to the door of the church, where he invested him with the Papal insignia and ring — an act degrading to him whose honour was intended. It was urged that Octavian's election should be held legitimate, because, though not majority, priority had been on his side. But in Rome the popular voice decided otherwise; and we are told that women and boys used to cry out, after Octavian, in the streets: « Accursed son of the accursed! thou takest away the mantle of thy companion, — thou shalt not be Pope — we want Alexander, whom God has chosen » (4). The Antipope, however, supported by German arms, was now not only upheld by his party in the capital, but master of

(4) The epigram with which one Brito accosted the Antipope, exemplifies the early growth of the Roman talent for pasquinade:

Quid facis, insane, patriae mors Octaviane?  
Cur praesumpstisti tunicam dividere Christi?  
Jam, jam pulvis eris; modo vivis, cras morieris.

all the Papal States, except the cities of Orvieto, Anagni, and Terracina. Alexander returned to Rome for a short time; there, on Holy Thursday, he excommunicated the Emperor with solemn formula; and, having appointed a Cardinal bishop to act as Vicar in his absence, embarked with some attendants at Terracina, in Sicilian gallies, for France — the usual refuge of Popes in distress.

In that country all possible honours were rendered to him by princes, clerics, and laics. At Clermont two kings, Louis VII. and Henry II, were seen together holding his stirrup and leading his horse. At Paris he celebrated Easter with pomp; and at Tours held a Council, in which the Antipope and his partisans were anathematized. Among decrees passed by that assembly was one prohibiting the practice of medicine to monks; another forbidding to exact payment for Extreme Unction, sepulture, or the reception of novices in monasteries. The decrees of the Council of Clarendon were, on this occasion, submitted to the Pope by Archbishop Thomas-a-Becke, and unreservedly condemned by this Holiness, who showed marked regards for the English Primate at the Council of Tours.

The death of Octavian (1164) did not put an end to the schism; for another cardinal, Gui di Crema, was raised up to succeed to him, as Paschal III. The Romans urgently requested Alexander to return; and in the November of 1165, after disembarking at Ostia from the Sicilian gallies supplied to him and his Cardinals, the long-absent Pope re-entered Rome; where he was welcomed by all the clergy in their rich vestments, by senators, magistrates, and citizens bearing olive branches; the Jews also taking part, offering the Hebrew books of the Law; and amidst hymns, acclamations, tapers burning and banners waving, the august exile passed to the Lateran palace — this ingress having proved, it is said, the most triumphal by which any Pope had yet been honoured in Rome (1).

(1) It reminds me of the return of Pius IX — an occasion of beautiful pageantry and fetes, but not enthusiastic demonstration, in the Spring of 1851.

A remarkable correspondence took place, about this time, between the Pontiff and the Greek Emperor, Manuel. The latter sent a « sebastos » to treat not only of the reunion of the two long-severed Churches, but also of that of the divided Empires, East and West. Arguing against the validity of the title now held by a German dynasty, the Greek autocrat maintained that Frederick had no right to the imperial crown; and promised large subsidies, money and troops, to arrive after the acceptance of his project. Alexander sent legates to Constantinople on the mission of ascertaining how far the Greeks could be relied on; and required, among conditions to his assent, that the seat of Empire should be restored to Rome — in proposing which the Pontiff showed his superiority to the low ambition of the mere secular potentate, as assuredly such juxtaposition could not but have prejudiced the independence of the Papal power in things temporal. It seems that this requirement proved the point of insurmountable difficulty. The more splendid « new Rome » was preferred to the ancient capital; and, at all events, this singular negotiation failed to bear fruit (Baronius, an 1166).

In the same year, a German army, under command of Christian, Archbishop and Chancellor, invaded the Papal states; besieged cities, fired and sacked those that offered resistance; while in Rome large sums were spent by the warlike Archbishop in bribery, to raise a party against the Pope. Frederick himself presently entered Italy at the head of another army; devastated the environs of Bologna, and commenced the siege of Ancona, whose inhabitants maintained a defence truly heroic. Meantime the Count Raimone of Tusculum leagued with the citizens of Albano and Tivoli for hostilities against the Romans; those allies besieged castles, and laid waste the cultivated lands on the Campagna; encompassing Rome herself with a fiery circle of civil war, relentless, ferocious, as such wars ever were in these ages. Tusculum was besieged in retaliation; but succoured by two German reinforcements, successively sent by Frederick from his camp before Ancona. On the 30th of May, 1167, the Romans brought into the field



their entire force (severally reported as 40,000 and 30,000), the largest army they had ever raised since the fall of Empire, for battle against the united Tusculan and German troops. Total defeat, and rout, of the Roman combatants, the most disastrous suffered by the ancient Capital since the battle of Cannae, was the result of that action; and some writers state that scarce one third of the vanquished host returned to the city. The chronicler Acerbo Morena gives the number of slain as 2000; of prisoners, as above 3000; but the Monte Cassino chronicle reduces these numbers to 1500 killed and 1700 captured. The Pope wept on hearing of the fatal event; but did not lose either time or energy; at once ordering the requisite restorations of walls; and applying for aid from Sicily, whence an armed force was promptly sent by the Queen then governing as regent during the minority of her son, William II.

On the 24th June, 1167, the Romans beheld from their walls a German army led by Barbarossa himself, encamped on the mount Malo — now called « Monte Mario ». Panic prevailed. The Pope and Cardinals had just time to take refuge in the castles of the Frangipani; Alexander himself in that « Turris Charlutaria », which rose above the Arch of Titus, and a massive remnant of which is still seen beside the classic archway; the Cardinals being received into the fortified Colosseum, now held by the same family. The Leonine city was soon taken by storm; and the Germans attacked S. Peter's, which basilica, now strongly fortified, stood a siege of eight days' duration. An adjacent church, S. Maria in Torre, was burnt down; the belfry towers and porticoes were ruined. Some traiterous Viterbese soldiers, fighting with the imparialists, carried away the bronze portals on which were inscribed in silver letters the names of cities bestowed by Emperors on the Papacy. The great doors having been broken open with axes, the assailants rushed in; the combat continued upon sacred ground; blood was shed in the holy place, even upon the shrine of the Apostle, till, after gal-



lant but vain resistance, the Romans submitted. On the same evening the *The Deum* was sung in that desecrated basilica.

Next morning, the Antipope (a third pretender, successor to Paschal), who had arrived with the Germans, was installed at S. Peter's by Frederick, who himself wore, on this occasion, the golden diadem of a Roman Patrician. Soon afterwards that Emperor and his consort, Beatrice, were crowned within the same walls by the so-called Calixtus III. Offers of peace were conveyed to Alexander, on condition that he and his rival should both abdicate at the same time; a project favoured by the Senate, but to which neither the legitimate Pontiff nor the Cardinals would listen. Subsidies in money, and an offer of galleys to Alexander, in order to facilitate his escape, arrived soon from Sicily.

That alternative was naturally preferred by the Pope and his consellers. He left the Frangipani castle, in the disguise of a pilgrim; and, three days subsequently, was seen taking an evening meal, with a few attendants, on the promontory of Monte Circeo, beside a spring hence called by the name it still bears, « fontana del Papa ». At Gaeta the Pope resumed his proper vestments; and at Benevento, the goal of his pilgrimage, he excommunicated Frederick I, absolving his subjects, particularly the Italians, from their allegiance. The Emperor, remaining in his camp before the walls of Rome, made treaty with, and recognised, the Senate. A new civic Council was created; a new prefect elected, in dependence on the Empire; and many, though not all, of the chief representatives of the citizens, took the oath of allegiance to Frederick I. After the Germans, now visited, and with alarming extant of mortality, by the scourge of malaria, had marched northwards, the Pope returned as far as Tusculum, where he was entertained by Count Raimone. A deputation of Romans invited him to re-enter the capital, assured of loyal reception, under condition, however, that the walls of Tusculum should be demolished. To this Alexander consented, but, when finding how hollow were the promises made to him, he ordered,

or permitted, those fortifications to be restored. About this time the neighbouring Albano, in vengeance for the part taken by its citizens in the recent war, was devastated and almost destroyed by the Romans; churches alone being, as is probable, spared.

A serious check in the career of conquest, turning the tide of Fortune against Barbarossa, through the glorious victory of the leagued Lombardic cities at Legnano (29th May, 1176), at last induced that Emperor to seek reconciliation with the Church and the legitimate Pontiff; and his barons even refused to follow him farther unless the disastrous strife should be brought to a close by amity with Alexander III. He sent three Prelates to Anagni, then the residence of his Holiness, to negotiate the terms of alliance and peace. After a conference of fifteen days, it was advised that, Frederick having renounced the schism, a meeting should take place between the chief personages interested, the Emperor and the Pope; and that the Sicilian King, as Alexander insisted, should be a party to, and benefit by, the treaty of peace. William II, so soon as apprised of this decision, sent, as ambassadors to the Emperor, his Grand Constable, D'Andria, and the Archbishop of Salerno—Romuald, the chronicler who is our best authority respecting this historic episode. Alexander III, preceded by six Cardinals, his envoys to the Emperor, embarked in Sicilian gallies at Vasto, an Adriatic port (9th March, 1177); and, after being driven by stress of weather to land at Zara, where they spent three days amidst festivities in honour of the Pope, all reached Venice. The Doge, magnates, and Clergy, did the utmost in welcoming their illustrious guest, who was conducted in state, seated in a splendid barge between the Doge and the Patriarch, first to S. Mark's, thence to the patriarchal palace. On the next Sunday (the fourth of Lent) Alexander celebrated Mass, and preached, at S. Mark's; also, according to the usage in the Pontifical rite for that day, blessed the Golden Rose, and presented that much-prized symbol to the head of the hospitable Re-

public. Great was the concourse of nobles, prelates, and their dependents, numbering in all (it is said) 6390 — attracted to Venice for this occasion. Presently was opened here a congress of German Princes, and of all the nobles and prelates of the chief Lombardic cities; and, after long discussion, were arranged the terms, finally accepted by the Emperor, and conformable to the wishes of the Pope: Peace was to be kept by Frederick with the Sicilian King for fifteen years, with the Lombardic cities for six years; and Alexander consented that Frederick should hold the territories of Matilda for fifteen years, on condition of the final concession of the entire States, bequeathed by that Countess, to the Holy See. Venice was fixed up, after Bologna and Ferrara had been proposed, and after the Pope had actually gone to the latter city, for the important meeting; while that Republic, usually so jealous of ecclesiastical power, gave such signal proof of attachment to the cause and person of the venerable Pontiff, as not to allow the Emperor even to enter the city; and, after he had been invited thither, to require him to spend several days in obscure lodgings at Chioggia, till Alexander had agreed as to the proper time for receiving him. This engagement, never to admit Frederick I. without the Pope's consent, the Doge pledged himself, by the vicarious oath of twelve noblemen, to fulfil; and caused that resolution to be proclaimed by public crier on the Rialto. After Frederick had accepted the terms of the convention, six Cardinals were sent by the Pope to absolve him; and on the 23rd July, he was escorted by an honourable retinue, in six galleys, from Chioggia to the S. Niccolò monastery.

A momentous scene, grandly picturesque, no doubt, in its totality as presented to the eye, was that beheld on the 25th of July, 1177, before S. Mark's basilica — a church which then stood almost as we now see it, in the fairy pomps of its wondrous and gorgeous architecture; though neither the superb Ducal palace nor the stately porticoes and buildings of the Piazza, as at present before us, entered into

the background of historic grouping on that day. The Pope, robed and crowned, the Cardinals, two Patriarchs, and all the Lombardic Bishops, pontifically vested, were seated before the portals of the beautiful church. The Emperor arrived, with the Doge, in the Bucentaur, escorted by long procession of courtiers and nobles in gondolas. Around those chief personages were assembled citizens of all degrees. — Germans, Italians, clerics and laics — filling the space between the church and quays, as well as the great piazza in front. No sooner did Barbarossa find himself in presence of the august High Priest, than he cast aside his imperial mantle, prostrated himself, full length, on the pavement, and kissed the feet of Alexander III, who was affected to tears, as he raised, embraced, and blessed him. From multitudinous voices then arose the exulting *Te Deum* — fit hymn of triumph for such peaceful victory! Hand in hand, the Pontiff and Emperor, followed by the Doge, Clergy, and citizens, passed into the church, where the benediction was more solemnly repeated; Frederick being afterwards escorted to the Ducal Palace; Alexander to that of the Patriarch (1).

(1) The narrative by Romuald of Salerno, an eye-witness, suffices to refute the story long admitted, and immortalized by a great Poet (v. Wordsworth, « Ecclesiastical Sketches »), of the Pope's trampling on the neck of Frederick I, as he knelt before him: « When he had come near to the Pope, venerating God in Alexander, and indeed moved by the Divine Spirit, whilst disregarding his imperial dignity, he cast off his pallium, and threw himself prostrate, at the entire length of his body, before the Pontiff's feet: whom Alexander raising benignantly, and with tears, received to embrace and to bless. » In the interesting series of frescoes by Spinello Aretino, at the Public Palace of Siena, the story of the conflicts and reconciliation between the two potentates is illustrated with quaint originality and much dramatic effect. We see the episodes of the successive Antipopes, the siege of Rome, the flight of the Pope, disguised as a monk; and in the absolution scene, Frederick is represented lying full-length, with crown and regal robes, *on his back*, so that his upturned face is close to the Pontiff's feet! These paintings (no historic authority indeed) were executed in 1408.

Well has it been said that « in every object there is inexhaustible meaning; the eye sees therein what the eye brings means of seeing ». And how profound, how holy the significance, in its symbolism of the exaltation of the spiritual over the Material, of Mind over Force, conveyed in the scene before the Venetian cathedral on this day ! (4).

On the morrow the Pope sang High Mass, and preached, in that church; the Emperor acting as verger, walking, wand in hand, before the procession; taking his seat among prelates in the choir; doing homage, as also did the German magnates, by kissing the Pope's feet, and offering oblations in gold. After which rites, Frederick held the stirrup for the Pontiff to mount his palfrey; and would have led his horse to the place of embarkation, but that Alexander waived that compliment.

A marble slab in the pavement, near the threshold of S. Mark's, indicates the spot where the Emperor knelt before the Pope. It is not true (v. Giannone) that the privilege was, on this occasion, conferred by Alexander on the Doge, of having carried before him silver trumpets, banners, lighted tapers, a sword, and a throne with cushions of gold tissue; symbols earlier adopted at Venice in imitation of the Byzantine court. The only addition to pomps of Venetian observance, dating from this visit of the Pontiff, was the increased solemnity thenceforth given to the Espousals of the Sea by the Doge on Ascension day, a festival which occurred during Alexander's stay; and for which ceremony he consigned to the Doge, Sebastiano Ziani, a consecrated ring, with the words: « Receive this ring, and, through my authority, render the sea subject unto thee; as thou and thy successors shall annually observe on an appointed day; that all posterity may understand the possession of the sea to be thine by right of conquest; and that, as the wife to the husband, thus is the ocean subject to the Dominion of thy Republic ». The Espousals were thenceforth performed with the words: « Sea, we

(4) Subject of one of the frescoes in the Sala Regia, at the Vatican.



espouse thee in token of our true and perpetual dominion ». (Romanin, « *Storia documentata di Venezia* »).

The Pontiff, after returning into his States, remained at Anagni, till a deputation from Rome had given him guarantees for honourable reception there, and loyal submission to his government. It was stipulated that the Senators should henceforth swear fealty to the Popes. Alexander now entered Rome; met by the Clergy, magistrates, and citizens, bearing olive-branches and singing hymns. Shortly afterwards the Antipope, who had been keeping up his pretensions at Albano, came, penitent, to throw himself at the feet of Alexander, while the latter was at Tusculum. In Christian spirit, he was pardoned by the High Priest he had rebelled against, with the words of evangelic consolation: « There is joy in Heaven over every sinner who repenteth »; and, more than this, was promoted to the rank of governor, also (as is stated) archbishop, of Benevento. Another phantasm usurper was afterwards supported, for brief interval, and remained under the protection of the feudal lord of Palombara (in the Sabine district), till that false friend gave him up, and for money, to Roman authorities. So ended this Antipapal schism of nineteen years' duration!

In the March of 1179 was held a General Council, the eleventh oecumenical, and third of Lateran, at that basilica; attended by 300 Prelates — some from Syria. Among twenty-seven decrees passed, was one that prescribed anew the method of Papal Election, limiting it to the College of Cardinals exclusively, and requiring a majority of two-thirds. Another canon of this Council, respecting the Vaudois and Albigensi heretics, is also memorable, as fraught with results but too important: « Though the Church entertains horror of blood, it is often useful for the soul of man that he should be made to fear corporal chastisements: let then certain heretics and their partisans be prosecuted by excommunication, those, namely, who, not content to act in silence and secrecy, do publicly and audaciously preach their errors, thus perverting



the feeble and ignorant ; who commit cruelties against the orthodox faithful , sparing neither churches , nor widows , nor orphans ; all commerce with such shall be prohibited , whilst Indulgence of two years shall be granted to all who make war against them ».

Other note-worthy things occurred during this long pontificate. A Soldan of Iconium , converted through means of his mother , requested the Pope to send missionaries for the religious instruction of his people. A king (hitherto Duke) of Portugal , Alfonso , the first ruler of that country to assume the royal title , made his States tributary to Rome in the moderate amount of two gold marcs per annum. Casimir , king of Poland , sent to the Pope , for his approval , the constitution drawn up for that new kingdom by the royal hand. Among memorable acts of Alexander III , was the canonizing of S. Thomas-a-Becket , celebrated at Segni , two years after the murder of that Archbishop ; on which same occasion Henry II was excommunicated. It was after that king had been absolved , in consideration of his public penance for the sacrilegious assassination imputed to him , that Papal Legates were appointed permanently to hold office in England.

By act of Alexander III , the right of canonizing was classed among attributes proper to the Holy See , and legally to be exercised by the Pope alone (4). In the progress of conversions to

(4) The total number canonized by the Holy See , according to evidence , prior to the pontificate of Pius IX , has been 445. Till the XI century , occurred cases of Prelates conferring the honours of Sainthood by their own authority ; as we learn in the writings of St. Peter Damian ; but sometimes this step was vicariously taken with sanction from the Roman Pontiff , as when Urban II , in 1088 , granted faculties to the Archbishop of Trani for inscribing in the sacred ranks a holy man , to whom the Trani Cathedral is dedicated , as S. Nicholas. The canonizing of St. Gaultier de Pontoise by the Archbishop of Rouen , 1153 , was the last example of such act accomplished by other authority than that of the Holy See. A bull of Innocent III ,

Christianity, we have now to notice a neophyte supposed to be no other than the original of the quasi-idealized «Prester John», namely, a King of Abyssinia, who sent an embassy (1477) to Rome, with request that missionaries might be charged to instruct him in the faith; in compliance with which demand the Pope entrusted his own physician — perhaps chosen on account of his linguistic attainments — with the mission to that African Prince. After this — how soon it is not certain — S. Stefano, a small church near S. Peter's, was assigned to Abyssinian Christians in Rome. Alexander III died at a villa near Civitacastellana; and when his body was brought into

for the canonizing of the Empress Cunegunda, defined that to the legitimate successor of St. Peter alone pertains the arbitration in such questions; a decision especially called for at that period, seeing that, in the Pontificate of Alexander III, the Anti-Pope, Pascal III, had taken on himself, in 1165, to canonize Charlemagne, whose claim to such honours the Church never admitted, though she has tolerated the reverence locally paid to him, as « Beatus », in certain dioceses of Germany, France, and Flanders (v. Lambertini, « De Serv. Dei Beatif. »). The first regular process, since developed into the minute and searching procedure carried out, to investigate and weigh merits, in each individual case, before the Pontiff determines either to beatify or canonize, was in reference to St. Raymond de Pennafort, deceased 1275.

The first canonization attended with complex ritual pomp, was that of St. Francis, at Assisi, 1228. That of St. Leopold, 1455 (by Innocent VIII), involved the outlay of 25,000 gold ducats; for that of St. Francis de Sales the costs were 31,903 scudi; and Lambertini (Benedict XIV) states that, in his time, the entire cost was 14000 scudi for each person canonized. In 1741 the Congregation of Rites prescribed a more moderate average for the fees of officials, decorations ec.; towards which same fees each postulate of a cause has to deposit beforehand in a Roman bank 649 scudi, whilst 1500 scudi must be assigned to the sacristy of St. Peter's. The entire expense for the canonization of twenty-seven Saints, in 1862, was stated as 600,000 francs, contributed by the Religious Orders immediately interested.

Rome, the populace — shameful to narrate — received it with insults and imprecations; threw mud and stones at the bier, and disturbed the funeral rites at the Lateran. Such a rabble may have been incapable of appreciating the moral dignity that ennobled the career of this illustrious Pontiff; whose reign is one of those that most signally evince, in the history of the Popes, the necessity for that sacerdotal headship attained by them, as means for the conservation of high, indeed essential, interests to the world of mediaeval Christendom.

The election, which took place at Civitacastellana, of his successor, Lucius III (1181–85), was the first in which the Cardinals alone had part, to the exclusion of the lower clergy and laics. This Pope was scared, by continual disturbance and outrages, from his capital; and could only find security at Viterbo; after fleeing from one castle, or fortified town, to another, a helpless fugitive, persecuted by his own subjects. The Emperor sent forces, commanded by the Archbishop Chancellor, to protect him; and the Romans were driven back from their sallies against the Papal fortresses; but at last rid themselves of their German foes by the assassin-expedient of poisoning a fountain on the Campagna, whence those soldiers used to draw water for mixing with their wine.

The Chancellor himself, and more than 4000 of his soldiers, were thus act off by sudden death; and the rest of the army dispersed. After this, the revolt against the Pontiff became more violent: it was the absolute breaking up of the friendly relationships hitherto maintained between the Papacy and the Romans. During a short sojourn in Rome, Lucius III was revolted by an act of atrocity that displays in horrid distinctness the temper of these citizens at this period. The Roman troops had laid siege to Tusculum, and slain all of its inhabitants who fell into their hands; thus indignantly punishing them for the simple fact that they had presumed to strengthen their own fortifications. Several clerics of the Papal court, passing near to their camp on the mountain, were

seized; all, except one, were blinded; set upon asses, so as to ride backwards, with paper mitres on their heads, inscribed with blasphemous or insulting mottoes against the Pope; in which state they were obliged to swear to present themselves before Lucius III, guided by the single companion who could see, and who also had a mitre on his head, inscribed, *Lucius nequam Simoniacus* (1). The unfortunate Pontiff, when he saw these victims, pronounced perpetual anathema against the perpetrators of the outrage; and immediately left Rome. He travelled to Verona, and entered that city together with the Emperor, who had met him on his way. There he held a Council, at which Frederick I attended, and in which decrees were passed against the heretics known, severally, as Cathares, Paterines, Valdensians (or Vaudois), and Arnoldists. It was determined that, while the Church used her spiritual weapons against them, the civil power should employ all material means at its disposal for the correcting or extirpating of such offenders.

It was ordered that all bishops should annually visit, or depute others to visit, the places where it was supposed that heretics were lurking, within their dioceses; and should moreover appoint three or four trustworthy persons — if necessary, all such inhabiting their dioceses — to denounce the suspected, and give information of secret conventicles, or whatever religious novelties had come to their knowledge. The detected heretics were to be cited before the episcopal courts, and, if obstinate, punished according to the competency of those tribunals — how, or with what degree of severity, the Council did not define. In these enactments we see the origin of the Holy Office, or Inquisition: a tribunal not the offspring of the Church alone, but created by the civil power also, which fully co-operated, and evidently

(1) According to one version of the story (less credible), the victims were not clerics, but twenty-six Tusculan soldiers; and even their guide was left with but one eye, to lead them before the Pope.

from the same point of view, in what both Church and State aimed at alike, as of paramount obligation, the chastising or extirpating of Heresy. During the discussion the Emperor rose, in commanding attitude, in the midst of that venerable assembly, and, after waving his hand, threw his glove on the ground, with the defiant declaration that no sort of law or right could be admitted for the benefit of those accursed offenders, the betrayers of the Faith! (1) Lucius III died at Verona, in which city was elected his successor, a Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, in fair repute for his virtues, as Urban III (1185-92). The main object of this Pontiff was a new Crusade, to which he had directed his efforts even before being apprised of the great disaster that now rendered such war more than ever urgent for the Christian cause.

The most precious fruit of the victories won in the first Crusade had been lost by one fatal blow. On the 2nd of October, 1187, Jerusalem was conquered by Saladin, who had already taken Caesarea, Ptolemais (or S. Jean d'Acre), Nazareth, Bethlehem. The unfortunate king of that short-lived realm was made prisoner. All the churches were converted into mosques, except that of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Syrian Christians were able to ransom; and the patriarchal cathedral, on the site of the Temple, was washed, inside and outside, with rose-water, to be purified from Christian, in preparation for Moslem worship! Antioch, Tyre, and Tripoli alone remained to the Latins of all their hitherto conquests in the Crusades. All Europe was thrown into mourning; and when Italy was first informed of these events, the messengers, who came in black vestments with this intelligence from the East, went about the cities telling tales of grievous wrongs and profane excesses; exhibiting a picture of an Arab (meant, probably, for Mohammed) in act of smiting the Incarnate Lord! The « truce of God » was proclaimed for seven years' duration. The Pope published a new Crusade, which

(1) « Ut heretici nullo jure, nulla lege tuerentur libertatis ».



distinguished prelates began to enjoin on all the faithful who could take arms. A » Saladin tithe « was imposed upon all property, alike of priests and laics, in different countries. The Cardinals pledged themselves by vow to renounce all pleasures, refuse all gifts, and never to mount on horseback till the Holy Land had been rescued.

Urban III, was met by this intelligence at Ferrara, on his way to Venice, whither he was travelling with the object of inducing that State to equip a fleet for the expedition (now too late recommended) to Palestine. The blow is said to have killed him. At Ferrara he died; and there also took place the election of his successor, Gregory VIII (1187), who survived that event less than two months, and died at Pisa, where he had been endeavouring to bring about reconciliation between the citizens and the Genoese, as preparatory measure before the new Crusade.

At Pisa was elected a Cardinal bishop of Palestrina, Roman by birth, as Clement III (1187-91), who also dedicated his efforts to the same great cause. In the majestic cathedral of that city he addressed the Pisans, urging the duty of self-devotion to the holy war; and gave the standard of S. Peter to their Archbishop, then and there appointed Legate and *vexillarius* of the Church at the Crusade. To all European nations did this Pontiff address letters, recommending the sacred enterprise, and exhorting them to abandon luxuries and vices, as fit preparation for the soldiers of the Cross; ordering a general fast, and prayer (with the psalm *Deus venerunt gentes*) in all churches. The Third Crusade had been first solemnly proclaimed by Gregory VIII.

In Italy the cause was promoted by the preaching of zealous prelates; by an Archbishop of Tyre, minister of the ex-king of Jerusalem, Baldwin; and by the Archbishops of Ravenna and Pisa, who themselves took the cross and accompanied the armies. The Genoese sent offers of aid to several European powers; and to Richard I of England they promised not only the free use of their harbour, but the supply of as



many transports as might be requisite for his troops. It was in gratitude for such generosity that Coeur-de-Lion adopted the Red Cross of Genoa for his naval device; and declared that the Patron Saint of that Republic, S. George (a soldier-martyr of the V century), should be revered as celestial Patron of England also. At Bologna, 2000 took the cross; at Piacenza, 600.

Cremona equipped a large ship of war. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice concurred in the defence of S Jean d'Acre; the Pisan fleet twice defeated that of the Moslems. But these gallant efforts and vast preparatious resulted in little of permanent advantage. The Emperor Frederick, who conducted a large army, lost his life by accident, being drowned in the Cydnus, in Cilicia, 1190. The armies led by Philip Augustus and Coeur-de-Lion, which landed in Palestine during the Summer of 1190, accomplished nothing more important than the capture of S. Jean-d'Acre.

Clement III wisely sought a reconciliation, on honourable terms, between his own throne and his people. He made overtures to the Senate; and a treaty was finally stipulated, by which that body promised to restore the regalia to the Pope; and recognise his sovereignty, pledging themselves and their successors to take, every year, oaths of fidelity and peace to the Pontiffs; and stipulating for certain emoluments from the Papal treasury; also, that the Pope should annually pay 100 lire of good « Proveniensiensian » coin for repairing the walls of Rome (1). Another point insisted upon, and agreed to, little to the honour of either party, was that Tusculum, and its inhabitants, should be given up to the power — i. e. vengeance — of the Romans; and that in case the latter should not have obtained the desired mastery

(1) *Tam nos Senatores quam alii Senatores, qui erunt per tempora, singulis annis jurabimus fidelitatem et pacem vobis et successoribus vestris, sicut consuetum est. — Vos autem dabitis Senatoribus, qui erunt per tempora, beneficia et presbyteria consueta.*

within the ensuing half-year, the Pope should excommunicate all the Tusculans. Strange perversion, or rather reprehensible oblivion, of all just and religious theories respecting the solemn purpose and righteous use of such sentences of exclusion from Christian consolations! — an appliance of the keys of Heaven to exclude the wronged, the helpless, from the gates of Heaven! It reminds us of Carlyle's remark ( « French Revolution » ), that, however the false philosophies which aim at overthrowing Religion may be reprobated, much more reprehensible is the act of those who originate the Evil by rendering the Holy itself abominable in men's eyes! After these terms had been agreed to between the Senate and Pontiff, Clement III returned to Rome, where he was received with due regards. He did not live to witness the vengeance he had sanctioned; and his only other important act was the bestowal of investiture on Tancred, as King of Sicily, whom he had preferred to the other claimant, the son of Frederick I.

An octogenarian Cardinal was next elected as Celestine III (1191-'8), who, the very day after his elevation, crowned at S. Peter's, with much pomp, the Emperor Henry VI and his wife Constanza, from his marriage with whom were derived his claims to the Sicilian throne, after the death of William II. A story of the Pope having struck the crown with his foot, and left it to roll on the pavement, till the Cardinals picked it up, before placing it on the Emperor's head, is utterly unfounded. Previously to this coronation, antagonism between the Papal and imperial parties had again broken out with its former violence. Even before the death of the reconciled Barbarossa, the Roman provinces had been invaded, in 1187, and all the towns near the capital, except Ferentino and the Fumone fortress, occupied by German troops under command of the Prince (now Emperor) Henry. Whilst Urban III was at Ferrara, the environs were overrun by the same troops; none could quit the city without danger; and persons belonging to the Papal court, who fell into the hands of the soldiery, were put to death with tortures. The

hostility between Popes and Emperors seems the normal state of their relationship during these times ; and it remains to be decided whether this was the natural result of exaggerated claims on both sides. The Papal sovereignty had given power to the Church ; but it had not contributed to bring about peace on earth. On the day after his coronation , the Emperor went through the formality of consigning to the Pope, as if from himself, and in order to save appearances. the city of Tusculum , which Celestine , bound by his predecessor's engagements , reluctantly delivered up to the Romans. That stately Queen of the Alban Hills , classic through so many associations , and immortalized on the page of Cicero , was now destroyed to her foundations ; not even churches were spared ; and many citizens , who fell into the hands of the Romans , at the first fierce onset , were either put to death with tortures , or barbarously mutilated ; some were blinded ; others had their hands cut off , and the bleeding members hung round their necks. Those who escaped with life , in utter destitution , took refuge , mostly , in a retreat improvised for their use , consisting of huts made of branches of trees , lower down on the same mountain-side — hence , from *frasche* (boughs) , the name , « Frascati » , given to this new home of the victims of fratricidal vengeance. The sanctioning of this act is said to have drawn down severe blame both on the Emperor and the Pope. Worthy of note were the efforts , some years previously , to protect Tusculum from Roman assailants , made by the Emperor after the withdrawal of Lucius III. A Count had been sent , at the head of forces , for an intervention requested by the Pope ; and on this occasion the romantic little town of Rocca di Papa , so commandingly situated on the Alban Mount , was besieged by the imperialists , but *not* taken , — owing , no doubt , to its strong position. Its now ruined fortress may have been impregnable in those times.

Celestine III showed that he could resist the powerful , and reprobate Iniquity in high places. He persistently con-

demned the divorce of Philip Augustus, authorized by the French bishops, from his lawful wife. He denounced the joint treachery of Duke Leopold of Austria and Henry VI, the former of whom had imprisoned, and consigned to the latter, King Richard of England, made captive on his homeward way from the Crusade by Leopold. After his liberation (1194), that king sent envoys to Rome, appealing against the injustice done to him; and the Pope answered by excommunicating the Duke of Austria, and laying his states under Interdict. The cruel and perfidious Emperor was cut off by premature death, at Messina, in 1197; and the Pope would not allow Christian burial to be given to his remains without the consent of Coeur-de-Lion, and the restitution of the sums advanced from England, for his ransom, to Henry VI (1). Great part of the « Patrimony », or Viterbo province, which had been seized by that Emperor, was restored to the Holy See after his death; and Celestine now received a payment of tribute, 4000 silver marcs for himself, with the same sum for the Cardinals, in recompense for his assent to the coronation of Henry's infant son, Frederick, as King of Sicily.

On the day after this nonagenarian Pontiff had expired, the twenty-eight Cardinals, who now formed the college of electors, voted in favour of the youngest among themselves, Lottario, of the Conti family, lords of Segni — a Cardinal deacon, then not more than thirty-seven years old, but already distinguished for his vigorous character, his virtuous life, and his religious writings. He resisted with tears; but finally accepted the sovereignty; and in the ensuing Lent was ordained priest, consecrated, and crowned as Innocent III (1198-1216). In the complicated ceremonies at the coronation

(1) Roger of Hoveden states that Henry, before his death, had exonerated the English King from his promise of annual tribute, 5000 sterling, as price of his liberation, which took place at Mainz, after a captivity of one year and six weeks.

of this celebrated Pope, not only was the golden tiara placed on his head, but also a circle of peacocks' feathers, which the symbolism of the age had introduced with the understood meaning, that, like the eyes on that brilliant plumage, so should the Pontiff's regards be directed towards all quarters of the earth (1). Immediately after his installation, Innocent III availed himself of the popular feeling in his favour to effect integral changes in the civic government of Rome. It was on the very day of his election that a Chief Senator had entered upon office, succeeding in authority to the Senate of fifty-six members. The Pope set aside this functionary, and appointed another, from whom he exacted an oath of fealty. The Urban Prefect, and eventually all other magistrates were required to take similar oaths of loyalty to the Pontificate. The local authorities, elected by the people in different cities, were obliged to yield place to others nominated, directly or indirectly, by the Pontiff, who thus succeeded in causing to disappear not only the last traces of imperial ascendancy in Rome, but also the independence of the civic constitution, as created in 1143. His aims and policy were despotic, but it was a despotism checked by wise moderation and accredited by many virtues.

Innocent III found the pontific dominions in a state that threatened dissolution to his government. Except the Roman Campagna, no territories were under his actual control; and even in the environs of Rome there were many estates held as fiefs of the Empire by military Counts or Captains, who had been thus repaid for their services by Henry IV; and who used, issuing from their fortresses, to make pre-

(1) Such the meaning also of the flabella, or fans of ostrich feathers with peacocks' eyes, carried before the Pope in processions; and with similar intended moral, we may suppose, was a crown of gold tissue and peacocks' feathers presented by Urban III to Prince John of England, when, at the request of his father, Henry II, the Pope sent a Legate to crown him as King of Ireland.

datory excursions, sometimes as far as the city's gates. The distant provinces were almost all alienated. But the energetic Pope succeeded in recovering Romagna from Marquardo, an Imperial Seneschal, who had been invested by Henry with its government; and eventually won back also, to the pontific dominion, Perugia, Gubbio, Lodi, Città di Castello, Foligno, Terni. The Spoleto province he did not even claim; but he excommunicated the Suabian Count, who now ruled over it, for having occupied Assisi, which town, however, the Count would have restored to the Holy See, but for the opposition of its inhabitants, backed by that of the Perugian citizens, who declared themselves averse to Papal sway. Ravenna also retained its independence of Rome, under the government of its own Archbishops, who affected a shadowy title to the succession of the Greek Exarchs.

The widowed Empress Constance, now Regent of Sicily, having requested the investiture for that kingdom on behalf of her son, Frederick II, the Pope took this occasion to demand renunciation of all the prerogatives in ecclesiastical matters conceded to the Siculo-Norman kings. Constance died in the same year, and (it seems) before she had time to consider, or send any answer to, those demands. She left her son, as had already been the testamentary disposal of his father, to the guardianship of the Pope; ordering that, during his minority, 30,000 *tari* should be annually paid to his holiness, over and above reimbursement of whatever he might expend for defence of the Sicilian Kingdom.

Arrived at the close of a century, we may glance at some features of the Church's discipline and ritual at this period.

The ceremonies of the Mass were still, at least at high altars, concealed by curtains only drawn aside at solemn passages; and now was introduced the swinging censer, suspended by chains, to send aloft its fragrant cloud in a manner that more clearly announced its symbolic purpose — the soaring of adoration — an improvement upon the simple vase, in which incense used to be carried round the altar



at certain intervals during rites. The Elevation, immediately after the consecrating, of the Elements, had been first practised, in the earlier years of this century, by Carthusian, Camaldolese, and Premonstrensian monks; and finally, towards this period's close, became the usage of the entire Latin Church (Fleury, l. 78). The sound of the bell, at that act most solemn in ritual —

With iterated summons loud,  
Not wasted on the attendant crowd —

and also the ringing in processions, as summons to adore, when the Holy Sacrament was carried to the dying, were practices first introduced at Cologne by a Cardinal Legate, A. D. 1200; and which from that archdiocese gradually pass into other countries of western Europe, — though it is not thence inferable that they had been previously unknown to any congregation in Latin worship. Communion in one kind began to be authorized towards the end of this century, about the time of Celestinus III; many years after the adoption, in particular churches, of the practice of giving the Host, dipped in consecrated wine, instead of both elements separately; which, however, was expressly prohibited by the Council of Clermont; again by Paschal II; and also by a Synod held by the English Primate, at London, in 1175. The term, « Transubstantiation », which Fleury states to have been first used by Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours (a celebrated preacher, deceased 1133), was now generally admitted, though not formally sanctioned. Baptism was still administered with triple immersion, and usually in buildings apart from the church, appropriated to that rite, which took place only on certain days, at Easter and Pentecost, or thrice in the year. Public confession was sometimes made, and recommended for the edification of auditors, by penitents at the point of death; and it is mentioned in the writings of the English Cardinal Pully (or Pullen), that the confession of sin, even mortal

sin, to laymen, in the absence of priests, was occasionally instanced in these times. Reserved cases, exceptionally referred to bishops, or to the Pope himself, for absolution, now entered into the practice of the Confessional; and public penance, for public crime, was far from being yet abolished -- indeed occasionally imposed upon royalty itself, as when performed by Henry II at the shrine of S. Thomas-a-Becket.

The classification of public penitents, assigning to them their respective observances and places in, or outside of, the sanctuary, during public worship, was now fallen almost entirely into desuetude. And one result of this change is still brought before us in the sprinkling of ashes on the brow, or head, with the words: « Remember, O man! that thou art dust, and to dust shalt thou return » — an observance substituted for that of so giving the ashes, on the first day of Lent, to public penitents *alone*, and at the threshold of the church-door, beyond which they remained during the rites. In some churches this mode of giving ashes at the doorway is still adopted (Maringola, « Antiq. Christian. Institutiones »).

But indulgences were now rendered obtainable with such facility as to frustrate, or neutralize, the ancient penitential system; and « the false Decretals (says Fleury) inflicted an incurable wound on the discipline of the Church ».

A novelty in the sacred offices was the introduction of the Athanasian Creed, now inserted in the Latin Breviary, though not to be heard — nor is it at this day heard — during any service for congregational worship.

Bishops adopted in this century the style, « Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia » — first used by a bishop of Cyprus, who had obtained extended jurisdiction from Rome: instead of that earlier style, common to episcopal letters, « Servus servorum Dei », which all prelates, alike following the example of S. Gregory, had shared with the Roman Pontiff.

Literature was not effete during this period, nor unproductive in other walks besides the theological; in which latter

Peter Lombardus (ob. 1164), author of the celebrated textbook, « *Libri Sententiarum* », and S. Brunone (Abbot of Monte Cassino and Bishop of Segni — ob. 1123) were foremost among representatives of ecclesiastical learning in Italy. The monastic chroniclers were also active; and conspicuous among them is Leo Marsicanus, of the Counts de Marsi (a monk at Monte Cassino), author of the history of his own illustrious monastery; a work most valuable in what relates to the writer's time; and carefully continued by another Cassinese monk, Peter Diaconus, whose best work is that on the celebrities of his own cloister (« *De Viris illustribus Cassin.* »). The chronicles of Fossa Nova, and of La Cava (or S. Trinita) are but meagre, though serviceable for the historian. Higher merits must be recognised in the chronicle by the Archbishop Romuald of Salerno, from the Creation down to A. D. 1178. An Abbot Alexander, who wrote a chronicle of Sicily, appealing to King Ruggero on behalf of his cloister, asks, courtier-like, what he might not expect from the generosity of such a princely benefactor, seeing that Virgil, for but two lines in the *Æneid*, had been promoted by Augustus to the office of governor over Naples and Calabria?

The lives of Popes, from Gregory VII to Alexander III, by Pandulf of Pisa, have unquestionable importance; and, besides these, we may consult other contemporary, or, at least, ancient lives, and passing notices, of Roman Pontiffs, abundantly supplied in the ably-edited volumes of Watterich (« *Pont. Rom. Vitae* », A. D. 872-1198). Towards the close of this century, the task of compiling all the documents of the Roman Church was commenced by a Cardinal Deusdedit; to be finally completed by the joint labours of two other Cardinals, Cencius and Albinus.

In the Poetry of this age, we have the quaint compositions of Godfrey of Viterbo (ob. 1186): verse and prose interwoven in a chronicle, not without value, extending from the origin of the world (now the favourite starting point) to A. D. 1186; also, some ponderous metrical histories — on such subjects

as the victories of the Pisans in the Balearic Isles (1114-15), and the war between Milan and Como, which lasted from 1118 to 1127. The enthusiasm of the Crusades kindled some sparks of poetic life, if not genius; and there is a cadence that strikes the ear in certain effusions called forth by those great European contests — as in the lines on the loss of Jerusalem (1187), (1) and those of a « Planctus », after the departure of the Crusaders in 1189 (2).

Among pilgrims from far lands to Rome came, in the year 1139, an Irish Saint, Malachy, who had renounced the archbishopric of Armagh to become a Cistercian monk, and who died at Clairvaux, 1142. To him is ascribed the Prophecy of the Popes, containing a motto for each, from Innocent II till the end of the world. Many of these sentences scarce rise above the dignity of puns in their obvious derivation from the family names, names of birth-places, or heraldic devices of pontiffs; and some critics have suspected,

- (1)                   Novi rursum Philistaei,  
                       Capta cruce, crucis rei  
                       Receperant archam Dei,  
                       Archam novi foederis

                      Sed cum constat quid sunt isti,  
                       Praecursores Antichristi,  
                       Quibus Christus vult resisti,  
                       Quid, qui non resisterit,  
                       Respondere poterit  
                       In adventu Christi?

- (2) Quis enim non doleat tot sanctorum caedes,  
                       Tot sacratas Domino profanatas aedes,  
                       Captivatos principes et subversos sedes,  
                       Devolutos nobiles ad servorum pedes?

victores redeant, imploremus Deum,  
                       Ut tollant de medio terrae Cananaeum etc.

for this document, an origin not earlier than 1590, when it was first published during the conclave which elected Gregory XIV. In the sense, however, of the mottoes referred to Pius VI (« *Pellegrinus Apostolicus* »), and Pius VII (« *Aquila Rapax* »), there is a striking suitability to destinies in the womb of the Future when this « *Prophecy* », first appeared in type; and certainly, when we remember the device of the House of Savoy and present King of Italy, we must be struck by appropriateness in the motto, « *Crux de Cruce* », applied to Pius IX. The Oracle announces only ten successors to his Holiness last-named, and with the following mystic utterances: *Lumen in Coelo* — *Ignis Ardens* — *Religio Depopulata* — *Fides Intrepida* — *Pastor Angelicus* — *Pastor et Nauta* — *Flos Florum* — *De Medietate Lunae* — *De Labore Solis* — *Gloria Olivae*; — after which sounds the prediction of final catastrophe: « In the last persecution of the holy Roman Church, the chair shall be filled by Peter, a Roman, who shall feed the flock amidst many tribulations; which being accomplished, the seven-hilled City shall be overthrown, and the tremendous Judge shall come to judge the nations! »

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## VI.

### **Monuments of the Twelfth Century.**

IT SEEMS that every epoch, in the evolutions of Christian Civilization, has had its special calling, and fulfilled some purpose, whether consciously or unconsciously undertaken; and in the accomplishment of such destiny (or we might rather call it Providence), the task achieved by the Pontiffs, through many trials and adverse circumstances, in this century, had a high aim, directed towards the reinvigorating of the Church, and restoring of social concord after the tremendous political shocks, the general dissolution of morals and discipline, that had fatally marked the period antecedent. The War of Investiture was brought to a close, after continuing for about forty-five years, in 1122; the great objects of that conflict on the part of the spiritual power had been attained in securing, for the hierarchical body, a position fenced against the interferences and corrupting influences of secular despotism. The factions of successive antipopes had been gradually put down, or rendered contemptible; and in the breathing time that ensued, brought on the wings of the peace so much desired and long absent, were raised up Pontiffs of energy and enterprise, — Pascal II., Calixtus II., Innocent II., Eugenius III -- who loved the arts of peace, and desired to render their capital worthy, as well in outward as in inward realities, of her supreme rank.

Nothing, perhaps, could have been more mournfully desolate than the condition and aspect of Rome for sixteen years



(namely, since the Norman conflagration in 1084) prior to the dawn of the XII century. Not only were classic monuments scathed and dilapidated, or, at least, deprived of their ancient beauty, but entire quarters were left unpeopled after the destruction of dwellings, probably for the most part in woodwork, by the unchecked fire. The Papal palace lay, as to its greater extent, in ashes; and the two Pontiffs who reigned during that interval, Victor III and Urban II., were neither of them able to remain for more than a few months (the former, indeed, not more than a few weeks) in their stormy and dangerous capital; Pope Victor finding refuge in a castle then held by the Countess Matilda, on the Tiber-island — where one gloomy brick tower, its sole remnant, still frowns above the entrance to the Fabrician bridge; Pope Urban obliged to depend on the hospitality of the Frangipani, who entertained him either at their castle that rose above and surrounded the Arch of Titus — near which its massive roots are still visible, — or in their other fortress above the Theatre of Marcellus, where that Pontiff, the originator of the first Crusade, died, almost a stranger in his own states.

Few Roman relics, of date within this century, bear any record of the historic events by which that period was checkered; but in the crypt of S. Peter's we see what is undoubtedly the most ancient, though a much mutilated, copy, on marble, of the famous donation of Matilda, consisting but of fragments from thirteen lines. Another epigraph, in the portico of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, is the sole extant record of any one among the antipopes, who so often caused bloodshed in Rome and scandalized Christendom — that tablet telling of the consecration of the same church by Anacletus II., the rival to Innocent II. And strikingly suitable, indeed, have been the awards of posterity to those once conspicuous pretenders: — silence, only broken by reprobation, surrounds their memory; nor has one of them left to us even the ruins of a tomb.

At the outset of this period we are met by a legend characteristic of the spirit of the age; although the church

whose origin it accounts for, is not, in any portion of its existing architecture, older than the fifteenth century. One Sunday in Lent of the year 1100, a procession with cross and incense was led by Pope Pascal II. to a poplar grove, then extending between the slopes of the Pincian Hill and the Flaminian Gate, for the ceremony of consecrating an altar, prior to the building of a church, upon that site, believed to require exorcism from diabolical powers. The tomb of Nero was known to have stood near — though certainly the mausoleum of the Domitian family, where a faithful few paid the last honours to his remains, occupied some higher terrace of the Pincian — and it had long been believed that fiends used to haunt that poplar grove by night, squatting among the branches of an old walnut-tree in the midst, from which were heard horrid shrieks, whilst fierce eyes glared through the darkness; so that at last the whole neighbourhood became infamous, perhaps uninhabitable. Thus did the popular mind punish, in its own way, the crimes of an emperor, not certainly known to Rome's citizens in that time, as to us, through the pages of Suetonius or Tacitus, but who was abhorred as the tyrant-murderer of S. Peter and S. Paul; and whom the songs of the Sibyl had denounced as Antichrist. The prevalence of such panic induced Pascal II to order public devotions for three days, at the end of which he was favoured with a vision of the Blessed Virgin, who enjoined on him to purify the spot by raising there an altar, and finally a church, dedicated to herself. First was cut down the demon-haunted walnut-tree; next ensued the consecration; and it is needless to add that the sacred remedy proved at once and for ever effectual. Voluntary contributions flowed in for the buildings, and hence the appropriately democratic name — « S. Mary of the People »; — though it was not till long after the date assigned by legend for its origin that an historically-known church arose, namely, about A. D. 1227, on this spot. The later S. Maria del Popolo was rebuilt from its foundations, in 1471, by Sixtus IV; and the

fully admitted belief in that story of the supernatural, at least till the sixteenth century, is attested by the reliefs in gilt stucco, representing the legend in its several acts, on the walls near the high altar : an illustration of this subject ordered by Alexander VI, though a glance may convince us that the extant series is of later origin.

The twelfth century was an epoch of storms, in which Roman monuments suffered severely. In 1119 was passed a decree against the profane converting of churches into fortresses. S. Paul's basilica was, for a time, together with the fortified village surrounding it, held and garrisoned by the Corsi, a potent family. The Pantheon was long the obstinately defended stronghold of an Antipope, who there used to sing mass while his soldiers were fighting against the legitimate Pontiff. When, A. D. 1167, the Emperor Frederick I. entered Rome after a furious siege, and S. Peter's was attacked by German, and defended by Roman troops, its atrium was filled with military outworks, its roof laden with war-engines; its aisles and chapels gleamed with arrays of serried weapons. And in the conflict that ensued was totally destroyed the great mosaic on the façade; besides which were lost the bronze doors inscribed with the names of cities possessed by the Holy See, in silver letters — a prey fortunately recovered, when the traitorous Viterbese, who had purloined them, were compelled to send back those historic portals, in 1200.

At every turn we have to regret the annihilation, or essential alteration, of mediaeval monuments in Rome. The absolute estrangement by which mind and feeling were alienated here from the art-tendencies of Christian antiquity, appears one of the most singular moral facts in this city's annals for the last three hundred years, or more. There could scarce be a more striking example of non-appreciation of works due to the period here in question, than the forlorn but picturesque church on the supposed site where S. John was thrown into the cauldron of boiling oil — S. Giovanni a Porta Latina —

so called from the adjacent gateway in the Honorian walls. Its origin is lost in the dim past; but we know that it was entirely rebuilt by Celestinus III., and consecrated anew, A. D. 1190; also that modern restorations have reduced it to its present condition, in which the mediaeval is only recognized in a fine campanile (as badly restored as possible), in the classic colonnades, and a remnant of rich intarsio pavement. Yet even this neglected church, seldom open for worship, has that touching dignity, in its decay and solitude, rarely wanting to sacred monuments in Rome.

One of the most important edifices, in which the genius of this century may still be appreciated, is S. Maria in Trastevere, a point at which concentrate legends and memories that carry us back into a past even anterior to the Christian era. As Aracoeli is associated with the name of Augustus, and the legend of the altar dedicated by him to the expected Messiah, so is this venerable church connected with the history of one of the best among heathen emperors — Alexander Severus, who adjudicated in favour of the Christians in a suit between them and certain tavernkeepers (*popinari*), for possession of the site supposed to be that where this church stands, and on which the former desired to build an oratory; the young Emperor deciding that it was better to allow the worship of God, under whatever form, than riotous feasting, on this disputed ground — *melius esse ut quomodocumque illic Deus colatur quam popinariis dedatur*, says Lampridius (*Vita Alex.* § 49). It is traditional (not indeed certain) that Calixtus I, about A. D. 222, founded on this spot the first public place of Christian worship in Rome; a church rebuilt by Julius I, in 340; and again by Gregory III, about 733. This site was originally occupied by the Taberna Meritoria, or Hospice for retired soldiers; and was preferred by the Christians, because here had a fountain of oil gushed from the ground, and continued to flow hence into the Tiber for one day, shortly before the Nativity — a phenomenon far from unaccountable or unprecedented, but interpreted by

ancient Christian writers (see Eutropius and Orosius) as a preternatural prognostic of that Divine Birth. The spot where the oil gushed forth is still marked by a grated cavity below the tribune of this church, where some moisture of the soil was observed in the twelfth century; and two Latin epigraphs, one near that cavity, one on the coffered ceiling, still remain to assert the miraculous nature of that phenomenon — whilst the words, *Fons Olei*, on a marble slab near the Ponte Sisto, indicate where that fountain flowed into the Tiber. In 1139 Innocent II ordered the entire rebuilding of this church, soon after, and in thanksgiving for, his release from harassing contest on the submission of the Antipope. His successor, Eugenius III (between 1143–53), finished what the former did not live to see completed; but it was not till near the end of the same century that this new basilica was consecrated by Innocent III. Of the building raised by those Popes, the only parts remaining intact are: the campanile, the lateral walls and cornices, the fine Doric colonnade of massive granite shafts, the rich inlaid pavement, and (most interesting) the mosaics, both external and internal. On the façade, disfigured by the worst possible modern work, (date 1702), is fortunately left in its original place the frieze of mosaics ordered by Eugenius III, A. D. 1153, representing the Blessed Virgin with the Child on a throne, amidst ten female saints; five approaching on each side; all richly clad, and all holding lamps, which are *lit* in the hands of eight, *unlit* in those of the two others. We are reminded of the Parable of the Ten Virgins; but it is evident that such subject cannot have been in the artist's thoughts, as each stately figure advances towards the throne with the same devout aspect and graceful serenity, the same faith and confidence; the sole observable distinctions being that the two with unlit lamps are somewhat more matronly, their costumes simpler, than is the case with the rest; and that instead of being crowned, as are the others, these two wear veils. Explanation of such attributes may be found in mystic



meaning — the light being appropriate to Virgin Saints; the oil taken to signify benevolence or almsgiving; and we may conclude that those without light represent wives or widows; the others, Virgin Saints, in this group. Two other diminutive figures (the scale indicating humility), who kneel at the feet of Mary, are Innocent II and Eugenius III, both vested in the pontifical mantle, but bareheaded. Originally the Mother and Child *alone* had the nimbus around the head, as we see in a water-colour drawing from this original (now in the Barberini Library), dated 1640, made *before* a renovation by which that halo has been given alike to all the female figures. Another much faded mosaic, the Madonna and Child, under an arched canopy, high up on the campanile, may perhaps be as ancient as those on the façade.

But the most valuable art-work of this church is the great mosaic in the tribune, which was restored by Camuccini some forty years ago. Central to the principal group on the vault is the SAVIOR, seated, with His Mother, crowned and robed like an Eastern queen, beside Him, both sharing the same gorgeous throne and footstool; while a hand extends from a fan-like glory with a jewelled crown held over His head; *she* (a singular detail) here giving benediction with the usual action; He embracing her with the left arm, and in the right hand holding a tablet that displays the words, « Veni, electa mea, et ponam in the thronum meum »; to which corresponds the text, from the Song of Solomon, on a tablet in her left hand, « Laeva ejus sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me ». Below the heavenly throne stand, each with name inscribed in gold letters, Innocent II, holding a model of this church; S. Laurence, in deacon's vestments, with the Gospel and jewelled cross; the sainted Popes, Calixtus I, Cornelius, and Julius I; S. Peter (in classic white vestments), and Calepodius, a martyr of the third century, here introduced because his body, together with those of the other saints in the same group, was brought from the Catacombs to this church.



As to ecclesiastical costume, this work affords decisive evidence of its ancient splendour and varieties. We do not see the keys in the hands of S. Peter, but the large tonsure on his head; that ecclesiastical badge which he is said to have invented, and which is sometimes the sole peculiarity (besides his ever-recognizable type) given to this Apostle in art.

Above the archivolt we see a cross between the Alpha and Omega, and the winged emblems of the Evangelists; laterally, Jeremiah and Isaiah, each with a prophetic text on a scroll; along a frieze below, twelve sheep advancing from the holy cities, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, towards the Divine Lamb, who stands on a mount whence issue the four rivers of Paradise — or, according to perhaps juster interpretation, the four streams of Gospel Truth. Palms and a phoenix are seen beside the two prophets; also a less common symbol — caged birds, that signify the righteous soul incarcerated in the body, or (with highest reference) the SAVIOUR in His assumed humanity; such accessory reminding of the ancient usage, in some countries, of releasing birds at funerals, and of that still kept up amidst the magnificent canonization-rites, of offering various kinds of birds, in cages, at the Papal throne.

Remembering the date of the composition before us, about a century and a half before the time of Cimabue and Giotto, we may hail in it, if not an actual Renaissance, the dawn, at least, that heralds a brighter day for Art, compared with the deep gloom previous. Other mosaics, on the lower part of the same apse, representing scenes in the life of the Blessed Virgin, also the commissioner of the same series, Bertoldo Stefaneschi, kneeling before the Mother and Child, while presented by S. Peter and S. Paul, are from the designs of Cavallini, (thirteenth century) — not, therefore, within the scope of my present subject.

Recent works, for the renovating and embellishing of this church, not without much change to its olden characteristics, have brought to light a choir, advancing to the centre

of the nave, once, no doubt, enclosed by marble screens, long hidden under the intarsio pavement; and if this feature had really been so sacrificed in the twelfth century, the fact affords singular proof of the early departure, even in this most conservative city, from precedents both of ritual usage and architectural plan. At *later* periods, such ancient choirs and enclosures were removed from many Roman churches.

Perhaps much altered by modern touches, but still beautiful, is a mosaic head of the SAVIOUR, ordered by Pascal II, in the apse of S. Maria in Monticelli; a modern picture now surrounding, so as to appropriate, this art-work. Another mosaic of the same Divine Person (a half-length figure, ordered by the same Pope), which seems to have been detached from a larger composition, on the façade of S. Bartolommeo, is now enclosed within a gallery above the atrium, where the friars chant office. In act of blessing with outspread arms, one hand holding a book open at the words, « Ego sum Via, Veritas, et Vita », this figure has a grandeur that confirms our persuasion as to the manifest progress of mosaic art in Rome since its alike manifest decline in the ninth century. Such nobler conception of the aspect of the SAVIOUR in art, is, indeed, one hopeful sign of life.

At the Lateran Baptistery is a noticeable work of this period — the latter years of the century here considered: the bronze valves of a portal leading into a side-chapel, with incised designs of buildings in which the acute arch is united with Romanesque forms, and with towers in stories of arcades, like those that rise above Roman basilicas. On one of these valves is a well-treated alto-rilievo of a woman seated, in nun-like dress, a diadem on her head, a globe and a book in her hands; probably meant for the Church, and in style reminding of Andrea Pisano; epigraphs below giving the names of two artists, Ubertus and Petrus, with that of the commissioning Cardinal, no other than the oft-quoted Cencius Camerarius; also, for date, the 5th year of Celestinus III (1195).

From disappointing attempts to trace the twelfth century in architecture whose olden characteristics have, for the most part, been concealed or destroyed — save in the lofty campanile and the inlaid pavement, as at S. Croce, (rebuilt by Lucius II, A. D. 1144), and S. Maria Maggiore, (added to by Eugenius III, about 1150), also in the pillared canopies of high altars, as at S. Giorgio and S. Lorenzo, — we turn to some better preserved examples of monastic building, with characteristics of a severe and simple, but imposing, style. This we find well represented at S. Lorenzo, in cloisters built about A. D. 1190, for the Cistercians established at that monastery, which was also the residence assigned to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem whenever they might visit Rome; also (date about 1140) at the long dilapidated cloisters of SS. Vincenzo ed Anassasio, where in the same year was located, by Innocent II, another Cistercian community. Still exempt from modern touches (however neglected) is that silent sanctuary: arcades, with low colonnettes and narrow round arches, here extend along two sides of a quadrangle, from which we enter the now deserted chapter-house, a spacious oblong hall, under a finely-vaulted ceiling, dimly lit by narrow mullioned windows, and in its mournful desolation seeming a fit scene for some incident of high-wrought romance, such as is met with in Mrs. Radcliffe's fascinating pages.

This abbey-church was founded in the VII century; and, about the year 1138, was assigned by Innocent II to Cistercian monks, invited hither from Clairvaux, S. Bernard's monastery. In late years it has been occupied by Franciscans; but, on account of the unhealthiness of the situation, in the uninhabited valley where three churches (this and two others of modern building) mark the site of S. Paul's martyrdom, the S. Vincenzo convent has been left during the sultry season to the charge of a single lay-brother. Lately it was bestowed by Pius IX, together with some adjacent land, on the French Trappists, twelve of whom took up their abode here towards the close of the year '67. When I last visited it, in April '68,

the projected works for restoration had not yet been commenced, nor was the church even serviceable for worship. I then made acquaintance with a venerable monk of that Order, whose well-known agricultural activities may here be applied in a most useful manner. On the groined vault of a lofty porch, under which we pass into the premises, are some faded remains of a fresco representing the Saviour with the Evangelic Emblems. Other wall-paintings in the portico and cloisters (referred to the IX or X century), have been totally effaced; but we may become acquainted with them through water-colour drawings, copied in 1630, and to be seen at the Barberini library.

It seems scarce possible to dwell too much upon religious legend in its connection with religious monuments. Other imaginings of this period, besides the above mentioned, are alike indicative of excited feeling, and serve alike to suggest subjects for art; though the horror and gloom investing details may have deprived them in some instances of that attractiveness felt by the mediaeval mind when the spiritual lesson was more directly conveyed. It was believed of the boy-Pope, Benedict IX, — intruded into the papacy by a potent family when he was about twelve years old, and who for ten years disgraced that sacred rank by his vices and follies, — that he used to commune with evil spirits, and had obtained from them the charms by which he subjugated females to his will; and that; after his death, his troubled ghost used to be seen rushing by night through the Latian mountains, like one frantic from horror and anguish -- the vision of his punishment in the invisible life.

Pascal II, Cardinal titular of S. Clemente, was elected, A. D. 1099, in that ancient church, — (first mentioned by S. Jerome as a basilica on the site of S. Clement's house) -- the restoration of which, after the Norman conflagration, was, probably, one among many works, for repair or rebuilding, undertaken by that energetic Pope, who consecrated fifteen churches, in or near Rome, in the course of a long pontificate. Still do we

recognize at S. Clemente (spite of much bad modernization) the characteristics of the twelfth century in the external walls, the narrow arched windows (now built up), and the cornice of the apse, with the quaint mixture of terra cotta and marble, henceforth becoming a mark distinctive of Roman masonry. In the present state of the antique (now subterranean) church, the weight of the superincumbent building mainly rests, as evident, on brick buttresses, which fill the spaces between the marble columns dividing nave and aisles. We see how that system of buttresses cuts off the aisles, so that worshippers there placed would be allowed no view of the high altar or its rites. Can we conceive that such an arrangement would have been adopted before the lower had become subordinate, as a mere crypt, to the upper edifice? And observing those paintings, that have lately attracted so much notice — we see that certain of the series, and those the more archaic in character, occupy the surfaces of the older walls; but others (the greater number) cover those brick structures between the columns: to which latter pictures, therefore, this peculiarity of their collocation may induce us to assign a date far less remote than I am aware has been claimed for them by respectable authorities.

Still lower than that primitive church have been discovered some vaulted chambers of a patrician mansion, adorned with stucco reliefs, classic in style; this being, to all appearance, the very home of the Pontiff S. Clement, next but one in succession to S. Peter (4). It seems unlikely that

(4) The discovery of a Mithraic altar, with the usual subject in relief of Mithras sacrificing the symbolic bull, in these buildings, might be difficult to account for, unless we suppose that, after the suppression of that Oriental worship, such relic of it may have been preserved for the sake of its sculpture, and concealed here, to be beyond the reach alike of idolater and destroyer. The highest ascendancy attained by Mithraic worship at Rome, as is well known, falls within the second century of the Christian era, under the Antonine Emperors.



a dwelling associated with his memory should have been cut off from all communication with the church above; and there is a fact recorded which may confirm the supposition that both the actual crypt-church and the ancient mansion beneath it continued accessible, perhaps often visited for devotion, for some time after the comparatively modern S. Clemente had risen on the Coelian Hill. The Emperor Otho III, who died at the age of twenty-two, — who undertook long pilgrimages, and at one time resolved to exchange his crown for the cowl of a monk — is said to have retired, clad in sackcloth and barefoot, together with a German Bishop, his spiritual director, to spend fourteen days in penitential exercises and profoundest seclusion « within a cavern » near S. Clemente, during his visit to Rome, A. D. 999. Now, if we observe the configuration of the Coelian slopes around this site, it seems impossible to infer the existence of any natural cave in this vicinity; and we may believe the chronicler mistaken in describing that imperial penitent's retreat. We may suppose the subterranean mansion of the sainted Pontiff, naturally preferred out of regard for the « *religio loci* », to have been the real scene of those devotions. There are analogies in treatment, costume, and sacred ornament, between some of the S. Clemente paintings and other art-works of known date, that seem farther to support the inference of a later origin than authorities have assumed. And perhaps no earlier date than the twelfth century can be assigned to the most interesting in this series, that illustrate the legend of S. Clement, and the miraculous retreat of the sea from a submarine chapel, built by no human hands, to serve as his mausoleum; alike with those representing the legend of the young patrician Alexius, who fled from his father's palace and from his bride on his marriage day, to make pilgrimage to the Holy Land, returning at last to die, an unknown mendicant, at the gates of the parents who did not recognize him till he lay on his deathbed — a story of the fifth century, associated with the church of SS. Alessio on the Aventine, where we



see the wooden staircase beneath which he died, and a statue of the young saint in his last moments.

Opposite S. Clemente stands another church, that retains much more of the architectural style proper to the twelfth century — the SS. Quattro Coronati, founded by Honorius I, about A. D. 622, rebuilt with splendour by Leo IV, about A. D. 850, and again restored from its foundations by Pascal II, who consecrated it anew, A. D. 1111, and also built the adjoining residence for his own use whilst the Lateran was in ruins, and could not be restored, owing to want of means. That gloomy but picturesque pile of brick-work seems more like a feudal castle than either a papal palace or (what it is now) a nuns' convent and orphan asylum; and the vicissitudes which the church has passed through are traceable in its actual features — its double atrium and two outer porches, its colonnades with classic shafts and capitals, several of which are cut off from the files within the nave, and left isolated in an atrium, external to the reduced limits of the actual interior. Some antiquaries suppose that a vaulted corridor, quite plain, in part subterranean, and running along the rear of the semicircular tribune, is the sole extant remnant of the church of Leo IV; but it may be believed that the actual interior, severe and sombre, still represents the style of ninth-century architecture in Rome (4).

Besides the extramural S. Agnese and S. Lorenzo, this is the only Roman church where we see the arrangement required by strict discipline, no doubt primitive, for the complete separation of the sexes at worship; an upper gallery with colonnades being destined for females. The groined vaulting in the aisles, the nave having a coffered wooden ceiling, is another peculiar detail. A Gothic inscription over a pointed arch tells us of the last modifications, when the

(4) The chronicle of Pandulphus Pisanus states that Pascal II rebuilt this church « from its foundations », after its destruction by the Normans.

SS. Quattro was repaired by a Spanish cardinal, in the fifteenth century; and the desolation of this, alike with many other churches and convents in Rome, during the schism of the Antipopes previous to the date here given, may be inferred from the metrical lines of this epigraph :

« Haec quaecumque vides veteri prostrata ruina  
Obruta verbenis, ederis, dumisque jacebant, ec. »

For the history of local construction both church and convent are interesting, as they display the improved method adopted after the great fire — the abandonment of the so-called Saracenesque masonry in irregularly-cut tufa blocks, and the substitution of lateritial brickwork, taken from classic edifices, and henceforth used by Roman builders till about the middle of the thirteenth century — nor without example, indeed, at much later dates; for precisely in this manner were the *Thermae* of Caracalla stripped of their finer brickwork by Pope Paul III, to supply the Farnese Palace.

The importance that began to invest Art, even affecting interests apart from its own, in the twelfth century, is attested by some interesting details found in old chroniclers. The practice of painting in Rome had now taken rank among respectable professions; and we read, under date 1148, of one so high placed as a Senator (named Bentivenga), who had a certain reputation in that art-sphere. A picture ordered by Innocent II, for a new hall of the Lateran Palace, so provoked imperial resentment, as almost to become a *casus belli* between the Empire and the Papacy. It represented Lothaire II receiving the crown from Pope Innocent, and again in the act of taking oath, on his knees at the portal of the Lateran church, to maintain intact the rights of the Roman people — a pledge thrice given by the Emperors at different places before their coronation, namely, at the Milvian bridge, at the city-gate, and at the portal of the basi-

lica, where the ceremony was to take place. Beneath the picture in question were inscribed the lines:

Rex stetit ante fores jurans prius Urbis honores;  
Post homo fit Papae, sumit pro dante coronam.

(« The King stands before the gates, first swearing to preserve the honours of the City; then does homage to the Pope, and receives the crown for him who bestows it »). The German Princes complained that a most scandalous picture had been placed in the Lateran, representing the Emperor in posture of a vassal at the feet of the Pope, an act explained by Latin verses in alike insulting sense. Twice was application made for the erasure both of painting and verses; and Adrian IV, it seems, gave promise to comply long before this demand was actually satisfied by the picture being, at last, destroyed — « lest (as a chronicler says) such a vain thing should become the subject of strife and discord between the highest personages on earth ». Appreciation for antique art is singularly manifest in an edict of the Roman Senate, A. D. 4462, threatening even with death those who should mutilate the column of Trajan; as also in another document, still to be read on marble in the atrium of S. Silvestro in Capite, date 4449, with anathemas laying under a solemn curse, by authority of the Abbot and his monks, with sanction of Cardinals and Bishops, all who should attempt either to maltreat, or alienate from possession of that monastery, the Antonine column, as that of Marcus Aurelius is here styled, or the oblations made at the altar of S. Andrea, a small church beneath that monument, which church, with the column itself, had been given by a Pope in the ninth century to the S. Silvestro monks, but afterwards alienated, till both were finally reclaimed through the act here read.

A most interesting, though modernized, basilica is S. Maria in Cosmedin, founded by Adrian I, late in the eighth cen-

tury, and rebuilt under Calixtus II, about A. D. 1128, by Alfano, Roman Chancellor, whose marble sepulchre stands in the atrium, with his epitaph, along a cornice, giving him that most comprehensive title, « an honest man », *vir probus*. Some more than half-faded paintings, a Madonna and Child, angels, and two mitred heads, on the wall behind the canopy, give importance to this Chancellor's tomb. Though now disfigured exteriorly by a modern facade in the worst style, interiorly by a waggon-vault roof and heavy pilasters this church is still one of the mediaeval gems of Rome, and retains many olden details: the classic colonnades, probably left in their original place since the time of Adrian I; and the fine campanile, one of the loftiest in Rome; also the sculptured doorway, the rich intarsio pavement, the high altar, the marble and mosaic-inlaid ambones, the marble episcopal throne, with supporting lions and a mosaic decoration above; etc. — all of the XII century. But we have to regret the destruction of the ancient choir-screens, and (still more inexcusable) the white-washing of wall-surfaces so as entirely to conceal the mediaeval paintings which adorned them, conformably to that once almost universal-practice of polychrome decoration in churches, prescribed even by law under Charlemagne. Ciampini (see his valuable history of this Basilica) mentions the iron rods for curtains between the columns of the atrium, and those, still in their place, in the porch, with rings for suspending; also a small chapel with paintings, at one end of the atrium, destined for those penitents who were not allowed to worship within the sacred building — as such, an evidence of disciplinary observance, retained till the twelfth century, the loss of which is indeed matter for regret. Over the portal are some tiny bas-reliefs, so placed along the inner side of the lintel that many might pass underneath without seeing them: in the centre, a hand blessing, with the Greek action, between two sheep, laterally, the four evangelic emblems, and two doves, each pecking out of a vase, and one perched upon a dragon (more

like a lizard), to signify the victory of the purified soul over mundane temptations. Another example of such mystic sculptures over a church-portal, and probably of the same period, is at S. Pudenziana, (restored in 1130), where, above the chief entrance, are bas-reliefs of the Lamb with cross and nimbus; the daughters of Pudens, SS. Praxedis and Pudenziana, holding vases filled with martyrs' blood, and two men, each with a scroll and book, namely, the Senator Pudens and S. Pastor, brother of Pope Pius I, to whom this church was dedicated, conjointly with that Senator's daughter.

The Pontificate of Adrian IV, the only Englishman who ever filled the Papal throne, is represented by no other edifice than the now-solitary portico, with classic columns and Ionic capitals, before SS. Giovanni e Paolo; besides (what is referred also to his time) a little ruined and ivy-clad chapel on the road to Tivoli. Two years before this century's close was elected one of the greatest in the long line of Roman Pontiffs, one in whose character were strikingly blended the virtues of the priest with the qualities requisite for a sovereign; yet scarce any recording fabric or sculptured stone remains to tell of Innocent III, whose capital does not possess even his tomb; and of whose buildings the only one still extant, though indeed but in a remnant, is that immense brick tower, erected by him for his relatives, the Conti, near the Forum of Augustus; though some indeed refer it to the ninth century, and to Pope Nicholas I as founder, supposing it only restored by Innocent III. As we now see it, the Torre de'Conti is the work (or restoration) of an architect, Marchione di Arezzo, who won renown in different walks; and, as compared with the barbaric Palace of the Crescentii on the Tiber-bank, it displays a unity of design indicating some progress in civic architecture. Its upper stories were destroyed by the terrible earthquake in 1349, of which we have a description by Petrarch; and in the seventeenth century much more of its ponderous pile was taken down on account of the then threatening danger of



ruin. Over its narrow arched doorway, reached by the steepest possible steps, a fresco of the Madonna and Child, by Benozzo Gozzoli, was formerly, but is no more, seen. This dilapidated fortress is now used as a barn, with hay-lofts; and it absorbs (so as to conceal) the massive ruins of some structure of the Republican period, as to which archaeologists are not, perhaps never will be, agreed. Entering its cavernous and dismal interior, we find nothing that seems accordant with the memory of the good and great Innocent III; but rather such tokens of domestic life in the Middle Ages as may assist us to form an idea of its unrelieved gloominess.

A magnificent detail, that reached its completed form in the period here considered, was the intarsio pavement (*opus Alexandrinum*), for the most part of porphyry, Phrygian purple-veined marble, serpentine, and giallo antico; in many instances but ill preserved, or wretchedly repaired in tiles, as at Aracoeli, S. Benedetto in Piscinula, etc., but elsewhere extant with all its varied richness of rainbow-hues, as at S. Croce, the SS. Quattro, S. Crisogono, and S. Maria Maggiore. In which latter basilica the sole remnant of the portico added by Eugenius III, is an architrave with the dedication to the Blessed Virgin, now set into the external wall on one side; and so significant is that record of the worship of Mary in the twelfth century, that I may here transcribe, from Pope Eugenius's portico, the lines chiselled in cubital letters on its frieze: --

« Tertius Eugenius Romanus Papa benignus  
 Obtulit hoc munus, Virgo Maria, tibi,  
 Quae Mater Christi fieri merito meruisti,  
 Salva perpetua Virginitate tibi.  
 Es Via, Vita, Salus, totius Gloria Mundi,  
 Da veniam culpis, Virginitatis Honos ».

It is well known how the old has been cased up, and masqueraded, by the new on both fronts of this historic basi-



lica; yet we still trace the twelfth century in the dusky brick walls and terra cotta cornices of the tribune, overlooking an enclosed court. In the midst of the intarsio pavement of the nave is a slab of white marble with the incised figures of two knights, armed *cap-à-pied*, on horseback, with their names beside them, Scotus and Joannes Paperone, — said to be the donors to this church of that rich inlaid flooring; but a glance may convince us of more recent origin in this portraiture. The sacred art of this period indicates a love of magnificence and of elaborate adornment in detail, apparent in the richly inlaid ambones and chancel-screens, the altar-canopies, and the above-named opus Alexandrinum; also in the ever-increasing range of symbolism, all which features may be considered as allied with, and expressing the same mental tendencies as, that development of ritual and church-decoration, the distinguishing characteristic of Catholic worship, especially in Rome, throughout mediaeval periods. The sense of grace and majesty in ecclesiastical architecture cannot certainly have been wanting in the age that could produce such works as the Campanili of S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Pudenziana, S. Silvestro, and S. Michele. Minor details that are characteristic are seen at S. Cesario, in the chapel of S. Silvestro, at S. Benedetto in Piscinula; and we must admire the beauty given to the altar-canopy (or ciborium), well exemplified at S. Clemente, S. Giorgio, and the extramural S. Lorenzo, in which last church the structure bears an epigraph with its date, 1148, and the names of the artists. It is interesting also to find evidence as to ritual, and the usage still kept up (shown in the metal rods on some of these canopies) of enveloping the altar with curtains, drawn aside only at certain passages of the Mass -- an expression of the sense of unutterable awfulness in sacramental rites.

We may notice in symbolism the conspicuous part now assigned to animals, whose couchant figures are usually placed at church-doors or porches, sometimes supporting

columns. From classic art was borrowed the Griffin, the supposed guardian of sacred treasures, and therefore placed beside the tomb; and at S. Cesario we see this creature associated with the mystic emblems of the Evangelists. But most of all prominent in such mystic range is the Lion, as signifying power, vigilance, the Church herself, or even the person of the SAVIOUR; for fables represented that the Lion never slept save with eyes open and flaming; and this creature became the symbol also of the Resurrection, owing to the belief that the lion's cub was always still-born, nor animated till it had been licked into life and shape by the father, three days after being brought forth. When the lion, or other wild beast, appears in the act of preying on a smaller animal, or on a man, is implied the severity of the Church towards the impenitent or heretical; but when in act of sporting with another creature, her benignity towards the neophyte and the docile. Thus, at the extramural S. Lorenzo, we see beside the portal two lions, one preying on another animal; the other, sporting with a little man; and at the portal of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, the same idea is more naively carried out in the figure of a manikin affectionately stroking the beard of the terrible creature who protects, instead of devouring him.

The preservation of good models in an almost unbroken chain from the fourth century, and also that of traditions serving for technical guidance, secured to the mosaic a superiority over the pictorial art of this period; for what still remains in Rome of painting referable to the twelfth century has neither the freedom nor truthfulness distinguishing works of other classes. The legend of the conversion of Constantine and that of S. Sylvester appear, in perhaps the earliest art-presentment, on the walls of the small chapel of S. Silvestro, entered from the atrium of the SS. Quattro: frescoes ascribed by Agincourt to the thirteenth century; by others (and it seems on good grounds) to about 1140, at which date that chapel was founded by Innocent II. It is well known what

a colouring mist has been thrown by imagination, in utter disregard for history, over the realities of that imperial conversion; but we may consider this embellishment of fact by fiction, interwoven round the memory of the first Christian Emperor, as a natural result, in the popular mind, of the transmutations wrought by his laws, and the profound impression left by the social change mainly due to Constantine.

Here, as in so many instances, legend is the genuine reflex, not of the external, but the moral, part of history. In that series of curious wall-paintings, we see Constantine dismissing, consoled and laden with gifts, the mothers whose children were to be slaughtered to provide a bath of blood, the remedy prescribed — but which he humanely rejected — for the leprosy, his punishment for persecuting the Church while he yet lingered in the darkness of Paganism; we see the vision of S. Peter and S. Paul, who appear to him in his dreams, and prescribe the infallible cure for both physical and moral disease through the waters of Baptism; we see the mounted emissaries, sent by the Emperor to seek S. Sylvester, finding that pontiff concealed in a cavern on Mount Soracte; we see that saint before the Emperor, exhibiting to him the authentic portraits of the two Apostles (said to be still preserved at S. Peter's), pictures in which Constantine at once recognizes the forms seen in his vision, assuming them to be gods entitled to his worship; we see the imperial Baptism, with a background of fantastic architecture; the rite administered both by immersion (the neophyte standing in an ample font) and affusion; we see the Pope on a throne, before which the Emperor is kneeling, to offer him a tiara — no doubt the artist intending thus to imply the immediate bestowal of temporal sovereignty, (long generally believed the act of Constantine in the first flush of his gratitude and neophyte zeal), upon the Papacy; lastly, we see the Pontiff riding into Rome in triumph, Constantine himself leading his horse, and other mitred bishops following, on

horseback. Another picture — evidently by the same hand — quaintly represents the finding of the true Cross by S. Helena, and the miracle by which it was distinguished from the crosses of the two thieves, — a subject here introduced because a portion of that revered relic was among treasures deposited in this chapel, as an old inscription, on one side, records. The largest composition on these walls, that completes the series, represents the SAVIOUR enthroned amidst angels and apostles. This chapel is now only used for the devotions of a guild of marble-cutters, and open for mass on but one Sunday — the last — in every month.

Another small church, of scarce known origin, rebuilt in the poorest modern style, but still retaining its ancient brick-work and cornices, is S. Sebastiano (formerly, *S. Maria in Pallara*) on the Palatine, said to occupy the site where that soldier-martyr was shot with arrows in the grove, or portico, of Adonis — an imperial pleasure-ground occupied by no other building at present save that unfrequented church, and the cottage-home of a family with whom lodges the sole priest officiating here. But a pleasant garden, where brilliant flowers bloom beside the aloe and cactus, adds a charm to this spot — which has not been at all times solitary, as it is now, since the fall of Empire; for here arose an early and once celebrated centre of monastic observance, said to have been founded before the seventh century; and we read that Boniface IV, before his election in 608, had been one of its monks. In 1070 this cloister was given by Alexander II to the Benedictines of the Cassinese congregation; and thenceforth that almost regal dignitary, the « Abbot of abbots », who presided at Monte Cassino, had here his Roman residence. In 1118 fifty-one cardinals took refuge at this retreat, amidst storms of civic discord, and elected Gelasius II, a much tried Pontiff, within these walls.

The former abbey could scarce be recognized in the present S. Sebastiano, reduced to its modern insignificance by works ordered in 1623. Entering, we at first see nothing

noticeable save some epigraphs; but behind the altar and reredos is hidden the gem of this casket — a small apse, covered with much-faded frescoes — the SAVIOUR, richly vested, and giving benediction, with the usual mysterious hand extending from a glory above, to place a crown on His head; also four saints, two of whom (with books) seem to be the chief Apostles; and below, two groups in which Mary's figure is twice introduced, under different aspects and in different costume — in one instance youthful, crowned, and in gorgeous robes, attended by archangels and female saints, who both wear and offer crowns; again appearing in simple nun-like garb, of maturer aspect, giving benediction, between SS. Peter and Paul, who hold jewelled books in their hands. Beneath is an imperfect inscription, informing us that one Benedict, no doubt an abbot, ordered these paintings for his church.

At another S. Sebastiano — the basilica on the Appian Way — are seen some curious frescoes, as to whose origin we know nothing, but which may be of this century, and are referred to the Graeco-Italian school. They cover the walls of a low vaulted chamber, entered from the staircase by which we descend to that primitive chapel once especially revered as the temporary burial place of S. Peter and S. Paul, after the Apostles' remains had been removed from the basilicas dedicated to them. On those dim-lit walls are several large figures, some almost effaced — the SAVIOUR blessing, within an elliptical nimbus; the two Chief Apostles (S. Paul with the sword); an archangel with a sceptre and globe, another head of the SAVIOUR, solemn in character; also a Crucifixion (more than half destroyed), where the Sufferer appears dead; the composition being little better than barbaric. Such pictures as the above-mentioned may be compared with not few among those lately found at S. Clemente, though inferior to others in that church. In the best we observe a degree of freedom of design; and though beauty can be predicated of none, a devout seriousness of expression



attests that their artists, like the personages they represent, were thoroughly in earnest.

We must observe the marked inferiority and feebleness of sculpture, compared with other arts, in earlier mediaeval periods. Most interesting example of the former art referable to this age, in Rome, is the marble candelabrum at S. Paul's for that paschal taper, lighted and blessed with one of the most poetic formulas in the entire Latin Ritual, on Holy Saturday. Mgr. Nicolai (in his valuable « History » of S. Paul's) shows that this candelabrum is, beyond doubt, a work of the XII century. Its shaft (nearly twenty-two palms high) is divided by astragals into eight cylindrical compartments; two adorned with foliage and wreaths, two others with figures of fantastic animals and arabesques; three with sacred groups; and the basement with strange reliefs of monstrous creatures, whose heads are alternately human and bestial; female figures being seated between each pair of these nondescript. On the central compartments are low reliefs of the Passion, the Resurrection, and Ascension: the Crucifixion being treated in most singular manner, with the principal figure vested in a long tunic, and the two thieves, bound on their crosses, diminutive in proportion to the others. In the Resurrection, the SAVIOUR stands on a half-open sarcophagus, holding in one hand a long cross, in the other a disc with a cruciform impress, like the consecrated Eucharist. The two artists of this sculpture, Nicholas de Angelis and Peter Fasso de Tito, have left their names in a Latin epigraph round one of the astragals, besides another long and quaint inscription referring to the mystic meanings of the taper blessed on the Vigil of Easter. Nicholas is known to have been a son of that Angelo, who, together with him and two other sons, wrought the altar-canopy (above noticed) at S. Lorenzo; and it was about the middle of the twelfth century that the two artists flourished, whose work we see at S. Paul's. When we compare the Crucifixion-scene, as treated by these sculptors, with what the same subject became in the hands of great



masters, three or four centuries later, we are possessed by a sense of irrepressible (may we not say, Heaven-directed?) progress, as well in imaginative power and technical skill as in religious conceptions; such contrast as seems itself to typify the course of that civilization to which the Cross itself is the guide and standard.

Among old towns in the Papal States least frequented, but well worthy to be visited, Anagni, the Anagnia of the Hernicians, to which Virgil gives the epithet « dives », is picturesquely conspicuous. Seated on a long ridge amidst the cultivated uplands of the Frosinone province (Latium Novum), looking towards the Hernician mountains on the east, the Volscian on the west, this decayed city, chosen residence of so many popes, seems from a distance far more imposing and prosperous than on nearer view. Among its tortuous, gloomy streets, one is often surprised by the relics of past magnificence, porticoes with arcades, mullioned windows, Corinthian capitals and classic friezes; or, it may be, some nondescript animal-head, or other Gothic fantasy, in marble, set into the rough stonework of modern houses. The Communal Palace, but a remnant of what it was as built in the fourteenth century, is a heavy pile, sombre and imposing, pierced by a broad cavernous archway, with some fine old windows of three lights, under acute arches, divided by colonnettes; armorial shields in stone emblazoning its dusky fronts, on two sides. But my principal business at Anagni is with the cathedral, noticeable on account of its architecture, historic through its association with the memory of pontiffs among the illustrious of St. Peter's successors — particularly the high-spirited and unfortunate Boniface VIII. Local tradition states that the first bishop of this see was consecrated by St. Peter in person; and its prelates may be counted in unbroken succession up to the seventh century. The actual Duomo is of the XI century; though it appears, that the XII century must be the date of its completed structure, much altered, no doubt, in later ages; and in many details we

recognise the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The first historic notice of it imports that the primitive church on this site (referable to high antiquity, we may assume) was enlarged and embellished, by means liberally supplied by the Greek Emperor Michael (A. D. 1071-78), in gratitude for his recovery from illness through the prayers and merits, as he believed, of Peter, a canonized bishop of Anagni; but it was not till A. D. 1167 that the renovated church was consecrated by Alexander III, a Pope who spent several years in this city, and who celebrated the canonization of St. Bernard in this same cathedral; where also S. Clara of Assisi was canonized by Alexander IV, and the Emperor Frederick II was excommunicated by Gregory IX, A. D. 1227. The architecture before us presents example of the transition between the Early Romanesque and the Italian Gothic; the round and the pointed arch being here united, though the former predominates. Instead of the coffered ceiling of flat woodwork, as common in Rome, is a stone vaulting; and instead of classic columns, are heavy stone pillars alternating with quadrate piers. The plain façade terminates in a gable, but its original form is lost, owing to the raising of lateral walls above the lean-to roofs of the aisles. At each side of the single round-arched portal are set into the walls various friezes, classic and barbaric, nondescript animals in rude relief &c. pieced together without plan or symmetry. Three apses project from the eastern end, the central and largest having an arcade gallery near its summit; at the springing of the arches in which gallery fantastic animal-heads alternate with the capitals of columns. Near one angle of the façade projects a quadrate structure, on whose front we see the outline of a walled-up acute arch, indicating the former existence of an atrium with Gothic arcades, demolished in all but the portion now converted into a lateral chapel entered from an aisle. A lofty campanile, with walls that batter (or lean inwards), and stories of arcade-windows, stands isolated, at some distance from the facade; this tower being, it is said, of the eleventh

century — imposing, though much maltreated by modern restorers; the arcades, on one side, converted into large windows. On the northern side of the church, high up near the cornice, under an arched canopy with columns, is a colossal statue of Boniface VIII, seated, in full pontificals, with one hand blessing, with the other holding the keys — a figure rude in execution, but of marked character, and reminding of the portrait statue on that Pope's tomb at St. Peter's, by Arnolfo; but as to the authorship of this sculpture, placed in so singular a position on the Anagni Cathedral, I can give no information. The noticeable details in the interior of this church are, — the rich intarsio pavement, the massive pillars and pilasters that support rounded arches, with fantastic animals, coarsely sculptured, above the abacus on some of their otherwise plain capitals; the elevated choir, and high altar under a graceful white marble canopy, with columns, double story of light colonnettes above architraves, and pyramidal roof surmounted by a lantern.

But the most curious, and, no doubt, oldest part, is the dim-lit crypt, divided into three aisles by slight columns, with barbaric capitals, dimensions and orders different; the vaulted roof here resting on stilted arches; three small apses each containing an altar; and the whole extent of walls and vaulting covered with frescoes, now in great part faded where not totally effaced. These quaint pictures are believed (my authority is an intelligent canon of this cathedral) to be of date within the twelfth century. Among the best preserved are: Christ blessing (in the Greek form) with four Apostles; Christ amidst the four Emblems of the Evangelists; the Blessed Virgin amidst female Saints; the Divine Lamb worshipped by the twenty-four Elders; St. Magnus, patron saint of Anagni, a seated figure, in episcopal robes; also groups of apostles, among whom St John appears frequently, and in each instance with a scroll displaying the words, « *In principio erat Verbum* ». Not all, apparently, of the same date, all these frescoes display more or less of rudeness

and quaintness, the outlines of some figures being about half an inch thick; the expression in some heads pleasing; the general style either absolutely barbaric, or giving faint indication of the dawn of a better day in art-history. It would be interesting to confront this series with the wall-paintings lately discovered in the ancient *S. Clemente* at Rome.

In other Italian cities are to be seen examples, somewhat less barbaric than the few extant in Rome, of twelfth-century Sculpture. It is scarcely the dawn, though we might call it the re-awakening, of this Art, that now claims attention.

And the fact of its long depression under Christianity — one of the difficult problems in Art-history, — seems only to be accounted for by the total change in the order of ideas from which antique Sculpture had its inspirations. A destroying shock had been given to the ideal world of the Past; and another intellectual creation was requisite before an Art essentially allied to the mythologic, could ally itself with the Christian, imagination.

The sculptors of the XII century were careful in signing their names to their works, as did the Greeks: and the laudatory lines often seen beneath rude mediaeval attempts, curiously indicate the taste of the time.

In Tuscany seven sculptors of this period are known by name, and by extant works; the ablest among these being Gruamonte of Pisa; and another native of that city, Bonanno, being almost the last representative of the Italo-Byzantine school; the only one among his contemporaries who imitated the Greek religious art. By him are the bronze reliefs, illustrating scriptural subjects, on a lateral door of the Pisan Duomo, also those on the principal door of the Monreale cathedral. By Gruamonte are some small reliefs over church-portals at Pistoia: the three Magi, their journey on horseback, their adoration of the Divine Infant, and their appearance before Herod, on the façade of *S. Andrea* — with the names inscribed « Gruamons », and « Adeodatus », his brother; also

a Last Supper, with the name « Gruamons », over the portal of S. Giovanni Evangelista ; but the dates under these two reliefs, 1162 and 1166, seem cut by modern chiselling. At Pistoja are seen other reliefs over portals, by contemporaries of the above-named: the Saviour, Angels, and Apostles, by Rudolphinus, at S. Bartolommeo ; and, on the pilasters of the doorway at S. Andrea, a group that seems meant for the Salvation, with Angels and palm-trees, by Enricus, last in that company of seven Tuscans.

One of the characteristic examples of Tuscan Art, of this period, is before us in the reliefs, probably by Gruamonte, on a pulpit at S. Michele di Groppoli, an old church in romantic solitude on the summit of a wooded hill, about five miles from Pistoja. The church itself, small but venerable, seems an early example of the Tuscan style. The quaint reliefs on its pulpit, which is supported by columns resting on couchant lions, represent the Nativity, the Flight into Egypt, the Annunciation, and Visitation, with an inscription beneath: « Hoc opus fecit fieri hoc opus Guiscardus pleb (anus) anno Domini mil CLXXXIII ». The figures are rather incised than rounded; being almost flat at the surfaces prominent. A statue of S. Michael trampling on the dragon, and two grotesque heads on a font, in this church, are still more bizarre, and perhaps older, works. A beautiful view of the Pistoja valley is to be enjoyed from the slope beneath the apse of this church, which is officiated by an amiable old pastor, here resident, whose hospitality and attentions I must gratefully remember. Probably the oldest specimen of Christian sculpture at Florence is the Paschal candelabrum, in the Baptistry, with the statue of an Angel at the summit, and small low reliefs of saints and the Evangelic Emblems round the shaft.

At Lucca are several specimens of twelfth-century sculpture, but inferior to those at Pistoja: on the façade of S. Michele, symbolic reliefs; and the statue of that Archangel, with immense bronze wings, also two other Angels, on its summit; over the portal of S. Giovanni, a relief of the Ma-



donna with arms extended, Angels and Apostles; over that of S. Salvatore, a relief representing a banquet (the marriage of Cana?); and over a lateral door of the same church, the infant S. Nicholas bathed in a vessel by two women; a man kneeling before a lamp (the shrine of S. Nicholas?); also lions, with accessorial architecture, and the words inscribed, « *Bi-duano me fecit hoc* »; another relief by the same artist, with his name and the date 1180, being seen on a font at S. Cassiano, near Pisa. The most curious mediaeval sculpture at Lucca is a series of reliefs round a large font at S. Frediano, one of the most ancient and interesting churches in that monumental city: they represent, the Passage of the Red Sea (with figures clad in chain armour); Moses receiving the Law; a miracle of healing by Christ; the penitence and arrest of S. Peter; the Good Shepherd and the Apostles, each standing under an acute arch; beneath these, a rudely cut inscription with the name « *Robertus Magister* », and the mutilated date, M-LI. In better style than these Lucchese examples is the relief of Mary Magdalene washing the Saviour's feet at the banquet, with a Dragon near her (the ejected Demon of Sin), on the pulpit of Volterra cathedral.

The complete alienation from all standards of the correct and beautiful, is displayed in some small reliefs at the Siena cathedral: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, and Christ entering Jerusalem — Mary, in the last but one of those subjects, with a ponderous crown on her head — a series transferred from a parish-church of the XII century at Ponte allo Spino, in the Sienese district. At S. Mustiola, in the village of Torri, about thirteen miles from Siena, are some curious symbolic sculptures, fantastic animals ec., probably coeval with this abbey-church itself, which was consecrated in 1189, and in the cloisters of which (now a private laic residence) we are still more reminded of the mediaeval genius — here finding a really beautiful structure, with graceful arcades, that surprises us as we enter from a modernized exterior, at the extremity of the long narrow street forming the entire village.



The Duomo of Modena has a façade adorned with many reliefs, dating from the XII to the XIV century: those of subjects, among others here, from Genesis, being by an artist whose name, « Wiligelma », is read below, in two laudatory Latin lines — supposed to be the sculptor of Nuremburg, known as Wilhelm of Innsbruck, who was engaged in Italy, and assisted Bonanno at Pisa, in 1155. Other subjects on this façade are from the life of S. Geminianus, Patron Saint of Modena; and in one curious relief of a siege we see, over the head of a warrior, the name « Artus de Bretania » — proof how early was known to Italian readers the legend of our King Arthur. Five basreliefs, the Last Supper being one subject represented, in a chapel of the same cathedral, by Anselmo de Campione, are distinguished by a better style than other sculptures of the same period — the century here in question. To the family of Anselmo belonged five artists, of different generations, natives of that town, Campione, near Lugano, which acquired some note through its art-school in this century.

But the master-piece of the sculpture of the time is an alto-rilievo in the Parma cathedral, executed in 1178 for the pulpit, but now placed on the wall of a chapel, by Benedetto Antelami, who was the son of a notary, and was born at Parma about the middle of this century. Its subject is the Deposition from the Cross, treated with a pathos and solemnity that atone for technical deficiencies; and a finely conceived allegory of unconverted Judaism is expressed in a figure wearing a kind of mitre, with the words above, « Synagoga deponitur », in act of being menaced by a soldier, while impelled towards the cross by an Angel hovering in air. Over the group are inscribed the words of the Centurion: « Vere iste Filius Dei est ». The same sculptor was the architect of the Baptistry, that stands isolated beside the Parma Duomo; but which building, an octagon of six storeys, was not, probably, finished as designed by him. Over its three portals are various symbolic reliefs; one by Antelami, representing a youth seated on a tree, eating a honeycomb, while a terrific dragon

is watching him below — an allegory of the fascinations and perils of Sin; the artist's name inscribed beneath, with the date 1180, expressed in two Latin verses. Both interior and exterior of this building are overloaded with sculptured details and symbols, in defiance of taste and rule. The reliefs over the three doors, besides the above-named, represent: the life of S. John Baptist, with a Madonna and child; the last Judgment (singularly quaint), and the Creation: the planets with their guiding Angels; and a multitude of nondescript accessorial figures. The interior is divided by pilasters into sixteen compartments of three storeys, the two upper formed by arcade galleries. On and above the altar, are reliefs: the Saviour, Angels, and the Baptist — by Benedetto Antelami, whose name, with date 1178, is inscribed near. The faded frescoes of saints, scriptural and legendary subjects, on the walls and vault, are more curious than beautiful.

S. Zenone, Verona, one of the finest examples of Lombardic architecture, was built in its actual form between 1130 and 1178; the original foundation being ascribed to King Pepin, and therefore of the VIII century. Its artistic contents have been neglected; many of the mediaeval frescoes on its walls, left to fade away. But the character of mystic and dreamy solemnity in this old basilica is most impressive. The adjacent cloisters, rebuilt by a Benedictine abbot in 1123, have beautiful arcades; and the lofty square tower, which overlooks them, is said to be a remnant of the palace of Pepin. A clumsy seated statue of S. Zeno with a fishing rod, in red marble, in the interior of this church, displays the barbarism of mediaeval art. Superior qualities distinguish the round window with sculptured figures — personages of different ranks — on the radii, intended to represent the Wheel of Fortune, executed by eight Veronese sculptors of the XI and XII centuries — by one, or more, among whom, was also wrought the baptismal font. But most interesting are the bronze doors, covered with reliefs executed in 1178 by two among that company of artists, Guglielmo

and Niccola da Figarola ; an inscription here giving the name of the former : « Pray God that Guglielmo , who sculptured this work , may be saved eternally. » These curious reliefs illustrate the Old Testament History in all their subjects but one — a figure of S. Zeno in the symbolic act of fishing , said to be more ancient than the rest. And the series is important , because the earliest example of Italian metallurgy ; being wrought in the method called by the Greeks *σπορηλατον* , i. e. raised on bronze plates , which are nailed to wooden valves. The Duomo of Verona , (founded in 1187 , the vaulting raised in 1402 , many parts renewed by Sanmichele , 1534) , has similar details , in its oldest portion , with S. Zenone : a noble façade and porch , with elaborate mouldings and sculptures , the usual symbolic animals , and the peculiar reed-like pilasters of the Lombardic style. The grim statues of Roland and Oliver , in complete armour , near the chief door , are supposed to intend allusion to the origin of this church , as due to Charlemagne. We read in Maffei's « Verona Illustrata » that before the date of that valuable work (1732) , not one writer had supplied any separate account of Christian Antiquities in this grand old city. No Italian centre produced so many artists as did Verona in the darkened ages between the fall of the Longobard kingdom and the dominion of the Scala family , which had its rise , A. D. 1261 , when Mastino I obtained dictatorial authority here.

The reliefs on the façade of the Borgo S. Donino cathedral , and those on the columns of the altar-canopy at S. Mark's , Venice , are also of this period ; the latter (date 1105) illustrating scriptural subjects , and very inferior in conception and style.

Such specimens of painting as are preserved among art-relics of this century in Italian churches , out of Rome , excite painful surprise rather than any other feeling. But several Crucifixions — in the Campo Santo of Pisa ; at S. Chiara , Assisi ; at Spoleto (in SS. Giovanni e Paolo) ; at Sarzana — display the superior Italian , as opposed to the ascetic Greek ,

conception of that subject. Other very rude frescoes are seen at Spoleto, on the ceiling of S. Paolo, an extramural convent, and in the dark, now deserted crypt of S. Ansano -- the latter (most barbaric) referred, however, to the IX century, their subjects, among others, a martyrdom by decapitation, and a mutilated Crucifixion-scene.

A remarkable novelty now appearing is the introduction, in painting, of the Supreme Being, God the Father — exemplified in but one instance, a miniature on a code, of an earlier date, namely, the IX century; though it is not till the XIV century that this unapproachable subject becomes familiar in art (v. Didron, « Iconographie »).

It was in Architecture that the genius of this age most strikingly manifested itself; and such sacred buildings as now rose in different parts of Italy, and in Sicily, mark an important phase in the progress of Christian Civilization.

Almost all the cathedrals and monasteries of Tuscany were raised in times when the social body was rent by civil war or local revolution; and this remarkable fact bears implied evidence to the ascendancy of religious feeling amidst circumstances so unfavourable to that concentrating of capacities and means requisite for great monumental works!

First among Tuscan centres of sacred Art must be placed Pisa. That local church is said by tradition to have been founded by S. Peter, when he visited those shores after his first sojourn at Rome; and it is said that on the site where now stands, about three miles from the city, the fine old basilica of S. Pietro in Grado, built in the ninth century, that Apostle celebrated Mass at an altar raised for his use — on which spot an oratory was dedicated to him by his successor, S. Clement. The first Bishop of this see, according to the same legend, was S. Perinus, a convert consecrated for that office by S. Peter; but history preserves no name of any prelate appointed to the Pisan diocese, earlier than Gaudentius, who sat in the council held at Rome, by Pope Melchiades, A. D. 313.

The eleventh century — especially the period between 1003 and 1089 — was the heroic age of Pisa; though, up to the close of the century subsequent, we have no reliable contemporary records of her *fasti*, save a barbaric Latin poem, or rather chronicle, edited by Muratori (*Rer. It. Script. t. VI*). The first great success won by the Pisan fleet in the wars gallantly carried on by this rising Republic against the Saracens, was in an encounter at the mouth of the Tiber, where the Pisans captured eighteen Moorish galleys laden with booty, the fruit of maraudings in the Roman provinces, A. D. 1003. In the year 1051 Sardinia and Corsica were finally rescued from Saracenic invaders, who had more than once descended upon, and long occupied, those islands. But the greatest victory of the Pisan naval power was achieved, A. D. 1063, in the harbour of Palermo, and also over Saracens, after this Tuscan state had leagued with the Normans against the common foe. Then were the *spolia opima* awarded to the combatants from the city on the Arno, who carried away the chains of the Palermitan harbour, and six vessels laden with objects of Oriental manufacture, silks, woven stuffs, spices, wrought gold, etc. It was on finding herself thus enriched through conquest, that Pisa determined to dedicate her treasures to the noblest purpose; and now was it « decreed with unanimous consent (as a chronicler says) that a splendid temple should be erected, worthy of the Divine Majesty, and also such as to command universal admiration ». The new cathedral was founded above a primitive church, S. Reparata, which had been built, in far remote antiquity, over the ruins of either *thermae* or palace ascribed to the Emperor Hadrian. The works were commenced, probably, in 1063, and completed either in 1092 or 1100. Certain it is that in 1118 the church was solemnly consecrated by Pope Gelasius II, then a fugitive from Rome. Local tradition has assumed that the principal architect was one Busketus (or Boschetto), supposed, but without sufficient grounds, to



have been a Greek, and who is thus mentioned in a quaint epigraph on the façade:

Hujus ab arte viri menia mira vides.

At sua Busketum splendida templa probant,  
Non habet exemplum niveo de marmore templum  
Quod sit Busketi prorsus ut ingenio ».

But another inscription, near the chief portal, assigns to one Rainaldus the credit of, at least, a considerable share in the works; and a passage is cited from the cathedral registers conveying a statement that overthrows all hitherto-received notions on the subject: namely, that one Ildebrando del Giudice was directing architect, under whom Boschetto and four others were employed in subordinate capacities (1). Ricci (*Storia dell'Architettura Italiana*) assumes an earlier origin than do other critics for this architecture, inferring from analogies with the façades of two other conspicuous Pisan churches *S. Michele in Borgo* and *S. Pietro d'Arno*, both finished in 1018. The plan of the Duomo corresponds to that of Roman basilicas, except in features which are indeed important; the Latin cross form, the prolongation of the apse into a spacious choir, the elliptical cupola resting on an octagonal drum, and the triforium, which is boldly defined and graceful. This architecture is among earliest examples of improvement upon the Romanesque; and it seems that the farther we go from Rome, the more are freedom and originality apparent even in development from types which Rome herself created. Criticism might object to much profuse decoration that in no way enters into the constructive plan

(1) « Fu l'anno 1080. Ildebrando del Giudice, Uberto, Leone, Signoretto, Alliato, e Buschetto du Dulichio, che fu architetto: « il capo di detti fu Ildebrando », e gli altri furono ministri e uffiziali dell'opera ». *Pisa Illustrata*, v. i. c. 3 par. 3.



of this church. No fewer than 450 columns, many with fantastic sculptures on their capitals, adorn the entire edifice, 58 being on the façade alone; and it is conjectured that some of those accessorial sculptures may be symbols of Oriental worship, or other idolatries, practised in the Julia Pisana of Roman colonization; or in the islands of Elba, Sardinia, and Giglio, whence many of these columns were brought. A porphyry shaft from Majorca is a trophy of conquest in that island, whence it was brought (1118), together with two others, also of porphyry, now placed beside the chief entrance to the Florence Baptistery, and which were consigned to the Florentines in reward for their having protected Pisa, during the absence of her forces on that campaign. To this shaft on the Pisan façade was attached the superstition (I cannot be sure that it is yet extinct) that whoever looked upon it, should, during that day, be secure against the danger of being betrayed (*non poteva essere tradito*) — a thoroughly mediaeval Italian idea!

The recognizable signs of old age are the glory of a monumental building; and we see with interest the traces of development from the almost barbaric to the highest attainments in sacred art, on and within this church. Five marble statues, at angles of the façade, display characteristics of the deeply-fallen school anterior to the thirteenth century. A Virgin and Child, at the gable-summit, somewhat superior, were probably substituted for another Madonna-statue, of earlier date, that stood in a tabernacle, as seen in a view of this church in the background of a fresco by Antonio Veneziano, in the Campo Santo. The genuine revival of sculpture is represented in this Duomo by the statuettes from the, unfortunately, destroyed pulpit, a masterpiece of Giovanni Pisano; while the later Renaissance is before us in the reliefs of the chief bronze portal, -- the history and mystic emblems of the Blessed Virgin, from designs by Gian Bologna; in the paintings by Ghirlandaio, Beccafumi, Andrea del Sarto, adorning the interior.

The interior is distinguished by an elevation of aim, and grand harmony of effect. Here we see the semicircular forms, with classic details still prevalent. I need not describe what is so well known; my object being to point out the rank due to this celebrated church in ecclesiastical and artistic history, as representing the transition between the early Romanesque and the later mediaeval Italian. The first artwork that arrests the eye as we enter, is the colossal mosaic, on the apsidal vault, of the SAVIOUR enthroned, severe and solemn in aspect, with hair and beard dark, holding a book open at the words, « Ego Lux mundi sum », and attended by the Blessed Virgin and S. John; a group executed in 1290 by the well-known Franciscan mosaicist, Jacopo da Torrita, assisted by Andrea Tafi, Gaddo Gaddi, and (as the registers show) by Cimabue also; the entire figure of the Madonna, however, being by a later Pisan artist, Vicino, of date 1324. After a destructive fire in 1596, this cathedral was restored (1602) at the expense of 85,008 gold ducats; but through that disaster were lost some of its most valued adornments — the pulpit, by Giovanni Pisano, and the chief bronze portals covered with reliefs, by Bonnano of Pisa, date 1180 (4). The flat coffered ceiling of the nave (the

(4) Fortunately were preserved the other bronze doors by the same artist, at the southern transept. On these is a most curious series of reliefs with inscriptions in barbaric Latin, illustrating the Gospel History from the vision of Zacharias to the Ascension; also the death of the Virgin, in which scene, a detail invariably found in earliest representations of it, not the bodily assumption of Mary, but the SAVIOUR receiving her soul in form of a new-born infant, is introduced. On the highest panels, the subjects are, CHRIST enthroned amidst adoring Angels; and Mary, also on a throne, attended by Angels, but whose attitude is not that of worship. The whole composition has analogies with the only other extant work by Bonanno di Pisa — the bronze doors at Monreale. The same Bonanno was employed in building the walls of Pisa, one of the earliest among such fortifications of Italian cities in the Middle Ages; and commenced in 1155.

aisles are vaulted) was then renewed, with profuse gilding and colour, in style more gorgeous than the original. Sixteen columns, and the acute arches under the cupola, were among other details of restoration. The fifteen lateral altars were erected subsequently to 1500, and some from designs attributed to Michael Angelo. Morrona, in his interesting « *Pisa Illustrata* », mentions the disusage of a somewhat fantastic decoration, that used to be displayed at the Assumption festival: a broad zone of rich draperies, studded with gems, and intended to represent the girdle of the Blessed Virgin, which was hung around the whole circumference of the exterior; and which, when at last taken to pieces for the sake of its intrinsic value, was estimated as worth 8000 gold florins. The triennial illumination for the festival of S. Ranieri is still kept up, and is the most beautiful pageant of this city.

The aggregate of Pisan churches supplies proof of the progressive principle in Art under Christian influences. The beautiful Baptistry, in which the circular is substituted for the octagonal plan usually preferred for such buildings, announces a new era in Italian architecture. It is supposed to have been raised above the ruins of a round temple, one of the Pisan buildings attributed to the Emperor Hadrian; and was commenced in 1152 by the architect Diotisalvi (probably of this city), assisted by two Pisan builders. After the works had been finished up to the first or second story, they were suspended, owing to want of funds; but resumed (in, or soon after, the same year) after the citizens had generously imposed a tax on themselves of one gold soldo for each family towards defraying the costs; 24,000 families thus contributing. Ruggero I of Sicily also shared, royally, in the expenses of the sacred work. In the October of 1156, all the columns and pilasters were raised to their places in the interior. An inscription on one of those pilasters: « *MCLIII mense Aug, fundata fuit hec ecclesia* », gives the date according to the ancient Pisan computation, which corresponds to 1152 in modern style; and the name of the architect is read in the line: « *Diotisalvi magister hujus operis* ». Another inscription.

in this interior, with date 1278, may refer to some restoration of that year; and it is supposed that so late as the XIV century were added some of the rich Gothic details, which form a graceful crown of arcades, tabernacles, canopies round the upper part. The pear-shaped cupola is double, and the space between the outer and inner dome so ample as to be divided into twelve considerable chambers. On the minor cupola, that forms the apex, is a bronze statue of S. John the Baptist, attributed to Gian Bologna.

The other celebrated sculptures in this building do not belong to the century here considered; but on the outside are several that present examples of the earliest school of Pisan art, before the renaissance in the XIII century.

Noticeable among these are the small reliefs near two of the three portals: subjects from the life of Our Lord, the Martyrdom of the Baptist, a figure of King David, symbols of the months with epigraphs; also several half-figures of Saints, in high relief, under pointed canopies; and on the upper story of arcades, the twenty-four elders and the Lamb of God. Above the capitals of the 58 columns, on the first story, are animals' heads sculptured in good style. The Virgin and Child, and the two Saints John, are statues attributed to Giovanni Pisano. In the interior, the earlier school is represented by the curiously treated animal and mythologic figures, blent with the foliage on capitals of columns. The large octagonal font of broccatello, with intaglio ornaments, is said to have been used for Baptism by immersion till the XIV century, after which period the rite was transferred to a chapel in the cathedral. At the alternate angles of that font are four minor basins, like baths, in which it has been conjectured that the priests stood whilst they immersed infants in the great vessel; but it is more probable that these minor fonts served for infants; the large one, for adults. Morrona assumes that infants were baptized by immersion in those fonts during the XIII century. Since A. D. 1617 the bap-

tismal rite has taken place in this building, as formerly; but, from thenceforth, in a modern font. On the principal altar stands a tabernacle of marble and alabaster, in which, as is inferred by Mabillon and Martene, the holy Eucharist used to be kept for the Communion given to the newly-baptized.

It is certain that till the XV century traces of the custom of giving the Eucharist to such neophytes, are found in church-history. In the interior of this Baptistery restorations were carried out, and in good style, from 1841 to 1856.

Another remarkable building by the architect Diotisalvi, at Pisa, is the round church, with a campanile, of S. Sepolcro, on which his name is seen in the enigmatic epigraph: « Huius operis Fabricator Deus te salvet nominatur ».

Among the other churches that contribute to the grandly monumental character of this city, *S. Paolo in Ripa d'Arno*, where we see united the acute arch with the Tuscan-Romanesque style, deserves special notice: completed, probably, in 1100, but officiated by the Vallombrosan Order, to whom it was given by the Countess Beatrice (mother of Matilda), from about A. D. 1078. Its finely characterized façade is so similar to that of the Duomo, that some critics conclude the latter to have been copied from it; but if its origin be, as Morrona argues, not earlier than 1100, such cannot have been the case.

Lucca became, at an early period in Christian history, the seat of a Church that rapidly developed in extent and splendour. Legend, eager to find an Apostolic origin for all the conspicuous Italian sees, refers this bishopric also to an immediate disciple of S. Peter, named Paulinus, as founder. The Lucchese Church, before being raised (in 1726) to metropolitan rank, was immediately subject to Rome, alike with all others in Tuscany; and its prelates affixed their signatures to synodal decrees as suffragans of the Pope. Tradition, indeed, assumes the very name of Lucca to be derived from her early illumination by that « lux » whose source is eternal: as ex-



pressed in the quaint verses of the « Dittamondo », by Fazio degli Uberti :

« Ma perchè illuminata dalla fede  
Fu pria ch'altra cittade di Toscana,  
Cangio 'l suo nome, e Lucca se la diede ».

A noticeable record is extant, in statistics drawn up by order of Pope Alexander IV, A. D. 1260, from which we learn that this city then contained 58 churches and 5 monasteries; the suburbs, 22 churches and 6 monasteries; the entire diocese, 526 churches, and 38 monasteries, including the cells of hermits; the ecclesiastical revenues amounting to 120,000 ducats per annum. At present Lucca has eleven parochial and four collegiate churches. S. Frediano, founded A. D. 685, restored, or rebuilt, as we now see it, by its capitular clergy in, or soon after, 1105, is almost the sole church in Italy that still retains features of the Longobardic period, supposed to remain unaltered in its interior, though with the adjunct of new chapels, and an elevated choir — being still a most interesting and singular building.

The type of sacred architecture prevailing at Lucca is Lombardic-Romanesque, more fantastic and barocco than the Pisan; but strikingly characteristic. The cathedral stands on the site of a church founded in the sixth century; and was built, though not in its actual extent, by the zealous bishop Anselm, who was raised to the Papal throne as Alexander II, but retained the Lucchese see after his elevation to such supreme rank. He founded the new cathedral in 1060, and consecrated it himself in 1070; but the church of that period was smaller than the present one by the whole extent of the choir and tribune, added 1308-1320; that section, namely, where the Pointed Style prevails, contrasted with the round-headed arches in the other parts. The façade, where the Pisan type is recognized, was built by the architect Guidetti in 1204, as recorded on a scroll, held by a relief-figure,



among accessories on this church-front: « *Condidit electi tam pulchras* (probably *columnas* understood) *dextra Guidetti, MCCIV* ». The portico, however, with arches of wide span, producing fine contrast of light and shade, was added twenty-nine years later. The sculptures on this façade are interesting, and various. A bas-relief of the Deposition from the Cross, by Niccolo Pisano (date 1233), is invaluable as the earliest performance of the revived art due to that great restorer. Other reliefs and statuettes are comparatively barbaric, but most curious as illustrative of legend and symbolism. Nondescript animals climb or coil around shafts and capitals; on one pilaster we see Adam and Eve; also the Tree of Jesse; on brackets, S. Martin dividing his cloak with the beggar; between the portals, subjects from the life of S. Martin, — in one, the saint celebrating mass at a plain altar, sole objects upon which are the chalice and book, whilst a flame hovers over his glorified head; in another, the saint casting out a devil (4). The twelve months are represented by familiar actions appropriately chosen: as, January, a man seated by a fire; April, a figure holding flowers; June, a reaper; August, a vintage; September, the treading of grapes; October, wine-making; November, ploughing with oxen; December, a man cutting up a swine. In the lofty square campanile, with arcade windows and turrets, we see the type copied in many examples in the Lucchese province. The interior, so different from what the exterior leads one to expect, is grand and impressive; with light from painted windows, solemnly subdued; and a general effect of vastness beyond the actual dimensions, due to majesty of architectural character. In the nave the arches are round, the columns (or rather piers) octagonal, with

(4) Two subjects explained by the lines below:

« *Ignis adest capiti Martino sacra libanti.*

*Demone vexatum salvas, Martine beate* ».

foliated capitals; but the lancet windows, with richly tinted glass, in the choir and transepts, the Gothic tracery of the triforium, one of the finest examples of such feature — at once aerial and *grandiose* — present the Pointed Style in this church. The ribbed vaulting is painted with figures and decorative borders; a rich profusion of art-works, and several fine monuments claim attention — but I must here confine myself to general characteristics. The great festival of this Duomo is the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14), when is exposed its most prized relic, the « Volto Santo », an antique wooden crucifix, said to have been carved by Nicodemus, finished by an angel, and to be a genuine likeness of the Divine Sufferer (1). On this occasion I had opportunity of seeing all the splendours of Lucchese worship, and a pomp of decoration, which, though prejudicial to the purity of architecture, had a richly solemn effect. I shall not forget that day at Lucca, one of the most interesting among those distinguished by sacred celebrations and popular entertainments, in the cycle of Italian fetes. It sufficed to convince me how strong is the fascination still exercised by these anniversary festivals of the Church, notwithstanding all recent vicissitudes.

(1) That relic, the great treasure of the Lucchese cathedral, and which suggested the favourite asseveration of our Plantagenet kings: — by the Saint Vult of Lucca! — is said to have been kept in the mother-church of this city since the eighth century; though, according to one account, first placed in S. Frediano — hence one of the observances on the vigil of this festival: a procession by torchlight, when the Podestà and clergy used to go, for devotions, first to S. Frediano, and thence to the cathedral. There is, I believe, no room to doubt that the antique crucifix was placed in the latter church by Alexander II, at the time of the consecration. It is now enshrined in an octagonal aedicula, gracefully designed, though not in keeping with the building, by Matteo Civitale, date 1484. The figure on the cross is gorgeously dressed, crowned with gold, and decorated with jewelry. Amidst dazzling taper-light, incense, and ornaments, its character, as a wood-carving, cannot be appreciated.

One of the most extraordinary and imposing, however defectively designed, among Italian churches — is at Lucca — M. Michele (called « del Foro »)', founded A. D. 764, and supposed to be of that date, (see Gally Knight), in parts of its extant construction, though it was certainly rebuilt by the Benedictine monks, early established here, in 1142; and the actual façade is the work of the same Guidetti, who raised that of the cathedral. This facade (date 1188) is singularly elaborate in ornament and imaginative symbolism. Four stories of arcades with columns, and the chief portal, are alike adorned with symbolic sculptures, monstrous animals — griffins, centaurs, a syren, etc., — also with inlaid work of coloured marbles, — altogether a most singular creation of mysticism in architecture. A colossal S. Michael, rude but majestic, of white marble, with great bronze wings, and two other angels, at the angles of the gable-summit, add to the striking effect; and the exquisiteness of detail is wonderful. Fergusson denounces this church as « one of the most false and unmeaning buildings of the Middle Ages; » yet is there a certain poetic originality in it, that fascinates. One order of colonnades, on the left wing, was added in 1277. The interior is dim-lighted, simple, and massive. The apse and whole eastern end, more conformable to rules than is the front, were added, as also was the fine campanile, by Paolo Guinigi, lord of Lucca, about 1430. Late restorations of the façade may be commended.

Recent discoveries and restorations at the basilica of S. Ambrose, Milan, revive our interest in that fine example of the Early Lombardic-Romanesque style, brought to its perfection in the XII century, to which period, for the greater part, the actual edifice belongs. But still more interesting than the architectural features of S. Ambrogio are the associations which invite us to consider it as a type, or abstract, of ecclesiastical history at a conspicuous centre (1).

(1) For an account of the discovery, after long [search, of the relics of S. Ambrose, and of other antiquarian treasures at this

Veritable princes of the Church, in secular as well as spiritual relations, were in olden time the Archbishops of Milan, whose revenues, 80,000 sequins per annum, later reduced to 44,000 ducats, are estimated as equivalent, in the XIII century, to ten million Italian lire of modern coin; and whose jurisdiction extended over twenty-two suffragan sees, fourteen territories strewn with towns, castles, villages; two hundred and nine monasteries; the total number of churches within their archdiocese being 2,220. They claimed the exclusive right of crowning, -- in some instances, after prolonged interregnum, even electing — the kings of Italy; and it was by one of these great prelates that the « iron crown », (according to some historians), was for the first time placed on a royal head, when Berengarius, Duke of Friuli, elected king, received that symbol at Pavia, A. D. 888.

Founded, as legends state, by the Apostle Barnabas, A. D. 52, the Milanese Church enjoyed, under the early Christian Emperors, a position so exalted as head of the « Italic » diocese, corresponding to that of the Roman Church as ancient head of the « Urbicarian » (these two dioceses then comprising all Italy), that it is not surprising to find the prelates of the former often resisting the loftier claims of the latter, whilst ignoring, as they did in the most marked manner, every assumed right of the Roman Pontiffs to interfere in their spiritual administration. Italian historians of sympathies decidedly Roman Catholic, as Cesare Cantù and Ughelli, acknowledge that the archbishops of Milan « hardly resigned themselves to the superiority of Rome »; that « their clergy for two centuries (the ninth and tenth), deemed themselves almost separate from the Roman see, pretending that the Church of S. Ambrose was not inferior to that of S. Peter » (Cantù, « Storia degli Italiani »); that « the Milanese Church for two hundred and fifty years paid no obedience to Rome,

church, see De Rossi, « Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana », January and March, 1864.

namely, till 1095 » (Ughelli, « Italia Sacra »); and Moroni, the advocate ex-officio of the Papacy, owns that not till the year 1342 does the series of prelates appointed to this metropolitan see by the Popes, in uninterrupted succession, begin; the last elected by free act of the Chapter, in 1339, Giovanni Visconti, having been set aside by Benedict XII. The primitive freedom of election to this see is best illustrated in the well known story of the elevation of S. Ambrose, even before his baptism, to that high post, and by a method no other than universal suffrage, -- the voting of all the people, with reference to the Emperor alone (Valentinian) for confirmation. At later, and, in respect to Church discipline, corrupt, periods, the imperial investiture became the indispensable form of conferring the rank of this spiritual principedom, according to the system that prevailed till 1093, when it was for the last time exemplified in the case of Arnolfus, third Archbishop of that name.

Early in the eleventh century occurred, under the reign of the Emperor Henry II, a transaction that displays the absolute independence with which these prelates acted. That emperor having appointed a certain priest to the bishopric of Asti, suffragan of Milan, the Archbishop, Arnolfus, refused to consecrate his nominee. The latter repaired to Rome, and induced the reigning Pope to grant him the consecration, without which, of course, no imperial dictum could avail; but the Archbishop, far from acquiescing, convoked a synod, and excommunicated this priest, who not only submitted, but eventually presented himself, penitent and suppliant, at the throne of his justly irritated superior. At the period when the vigorous efforts of Gregory VII were gradually subjecting the entire prelatic body to the Roman see, and causing a reformation (certainly called for, and beneficially carried out by that great pontiff), through the whole Western Church, the Milanese clergy were for the most part married men, and boldly asserted their right to remain so, alleging privileges conceded in a constitution which they ascribed to S. Ambrose.



That they finally and completely yielded in regard to celibacy, is well known; and after this period the once frequent reiteration of their maxim: « The Ambrosian Church ought not to be subject to the laws of the Roman », perhaps for ever ceased. But still more pregnant with consequences was the triumph achieved by Alexander II, and Gregory VII, in imposing the oath of submission to the Papacy upon the successors of S. Ambrose, — one of the signal steps in the progress to the spiritual domination attained by the Popes.

Significant evidence in support of the Roman claim is adduced from a writer of either the ninth or tenth century, who not only acknowledges the supremacy of S. Peter, but is content to assign to the Milanese a rank *second* to the Roman, Church (1). From the same chronicler we may cull valuable notices relevant to the life of the ancient Christians. He describes the visit made by Gajus, second in the Milanese see, to Rome, with object of knowing « the magnificent prince of the Apostles, Peter, colleague of his former master, Barnabas, and conferring, in regard to his preaching, with the most holy Clement and other followers of the Apostles. » On that journey, undertaken in the last year of Nero, the holy man was informed through mysterious intuition of the deaths of SS. Peter and Paul; but he, nevertheless, continued on his way, and, arrived at the imperial city, held converse with S. Clement, « and other vicars of the blessed Apostles », — not, we may observe, even particularising by name Linus, the immediate successor of S. Peter. Still more important are the proofs, here at hand, as to the mode of election to episcopal office in those early times. We read that the same Gajus, appointed to this see after Anatolus, (the disciple so honoured by S. Barnabas), had been designated for that office by his predecessor, but was not the less elected through « the af-

(1) « Post Romanum Pontificem decentissimam Metropolitanæ apicis adepti sunt cathedram, » says this writer in his « De Situ Civitatis Mediolani ». (Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* T. 4; p. 44).



fection of the entire religious people, » (*totius sanctae plebis amore praelectus*). And of the next in order, Castritianus, we read that: « Him did the entire clergy and all the people with one consent desire for their pastor, as most worthy, experienced in diverse controversies, and an able leader in the Christian warfare ».

Another old writer, in a poem referred to about A. D. 740, « *Versus de Mediolano* », dwells, in his praises of his native city, on the splendour of worship, and beauty of sacred music at Milan, but mentions by name no other church than S. Laurentius, (burned down in 1070, rebuilt, and again destroyed by natural decay in 1573; again rebuilt on octagonal plan); though nine other shrines of saints, (no doubt implying churches), are alluded to by him. What « Sant Iago » became for Spain, did S. Ambrose become for the Milanese; and by the thirteenth century his venerable name had been adopted as the watchword of battle, which, on one occasion (1204), put to flight the forces of Cremona, even before any hostile onset had been made. Edifying is the picture of the charities and sanctified heroism of prelates in ancient time at Milan; also that of the constancy shown by both pastor and flock during the Arian persecution. But alas for the first love and purity of this illustrious Church! so declined by the ninth century, that, in 820, Pope Pascal I had to address severe remonstrances to its clergy for their frequent simoniacal proceedings. The Archbishop Fronto, twenty-ninth in succession, obtained his rank by notorious simony, and is said to have been miraculously punished, by the earth opening to engulf him in a tomb, from which his remains could never be withdrawn for Christian re-interment. In 980 Landolph, Lord of Milan, is supposed to have raised himself to its see by like unworthy means, or by violence; eventually provoking a popular tumult that constrained him to fly, still supported by an aristocratic party, among whom he had squandered the benefices of his archdiocese; and with armed aid from whom he overcame the citizens on the battle-field. After

which ignoble victory he became penitent, and, by way of expiation, founded the monastery of S. Celsus for his last resting place. Another simoniacal prelate disgraced this see at the time of the legation sent by Nicholas II, with the charge of denouncing and prohibiting the abuses then prevalent — especially the simony and incontinence of ecclesiastics.

No more commanding feature in the Papal Supremacy, no more convincing explanation of the magic of success in that system, is presented to the student, than the manifest superiority of aims, organization, and ecclesiastical procedure, by which such ascendancy was merited to the degree that it was attained.

Guido, an Archbishop appointed to this See by the Emperor, had given the greatest scandal by his open practice of simony, and notorious worldliness. When he celebrated Mass, the people left the church, so that he might find himself alone at the altar! His Clergy, for the most part, followed his example, purchasing their Orders, from the sub-deaconate up to the priesthood, at fixed prices. At last an energetic deacon, Arialdo, and a patrician, Landolfo, headed a movement for reform; and especially in favour of celibacy. They succeeded in enlisting popular sympathies, but tumult and outrages ensued; revolting cruelties were committed on both sides; Priests used to be dragged from the altar while at Mass; to be assaulted, beaten, threatened with death, in the streets. When the Archbishop convoked a Synod, the building in which the Clergy had met, was besieged by a furious multitude. Nicholas II, in the year 1067, sent S. Peter Damian, and Anselm, bishop of Lucca (afterwards Pope), to investigate, pacify, and attempt reforms. The citizens, apprised of the object of their mission, were indignant at what they deemed an encroachment on their religious liberties. It is supposed that the simoniacal priests now busied themselves in exciting a popular tumult against the Legates. The residence of the latter was surrounded by crowds, fiercely threatening, and raising cries that seem like traditional watch-

words : « The Church of S. Ambrose ought not to be subject to the laws of Rome ! The Pope has no authority over this See ! Why are Papal Legates sent hither ? » The heroic self-possession, and commanding eloquence of S. Peter Damian stilled that tempest, and, probably, saved his own with his colleague's life. He calmed that multitude, and reduced not only the Archbishop but the aggregate Milanese Clergy, to a sense of shame, resulting in repentance, and in resolve that aspired to a worthier future. All assembled in the cathedral, where, after a fervid address from Damian, the Archbishop, the Clergy, and chief citizens united in a solemn vow to co-operate in the work of reform ; after which all joined in a profession of faith drawn up for the occasion, and repeated from the dictation of Arioldo ; this formula commencing with the promise of constancy in that faith « confirmed by the seven Oecumenical Councils, by Apostolic authority, and expressly declared by the most blessed Roman Pontiff ». To complete his task both of judge and peace-maker, S. Peter Damian imposed a regulated penance, more or less severe, on each offender among the Milanese Clergy, from the Archbishop downwards. Thus was the Milanese Church finally subjected — and, under the existing circumstances, for her own best interests — to Rome (v. Capecelatro, « Vita di S. Pietro Damiano »).

But not without tremendous conflict, and victory on a blood-stained arena, not without combating of forces which Nature herself, as well as ecclesiastical interests, had armed for the cause, did the imposed Celibacy of Rome become the law of the Church in Lombardic Italy (1).

(1) « O Deus ! Imperatores Gentilium de Deo vero omnino ignari, non talem legem suis sacerdotibus ediderunt » — is the passionate expression, referring to forced celibacy, of the chronicler who may be best consulted for the details of this controversy (« Mediolan. Hist. » in Muratori, t. IV).

The earliest oratories at Milan were consecrated in private houses; the first by the Bishop Castritianus in a house presented by a wealthy convert, Philippus; and the same prelate is said to have founded, during a pontificate of forty-one years, the first public church, spacious enough not only for all the faithful, but for unbelievers also, to attend when he preached; also two other churches, known as the Portiana and Fausta basilicas, referred by some writers, indeed, to other origin, namely, to two families from whom they were respectively called. Under the first ten Bishops of Milan were built seven other places of worship, three of which, S. Victor, S. Dionysius, and S. Eustorgius, bore the names of prelates, their founders. S. Eustorgio, built in the fourth century, formerly contained the relics of the Magi, or « Three Kings », eventually carried to Cologne by the archbishop of that city, after the capture of Milan by Frederick Barbarossa (1). S. Tecla, mentioned by S. Ambrose as the Basilica Vetus, and later known

(1) An anonymous writer, of either the eleventh or twelfth century, is the first to mention the bestowal of these famous relics, now at Cologne Cathedral, on the Bishop Eustorgius, while he was on an embassy at Constantinople, by a Greek Emperor; and tradition states that, after his return to Milan, about 320, the prelate founded this church, which was rebuilt, and reduced to its present form, rather like an aggregate of several chapels than an architectural unity, by the Dominicans, between A. D. 1218 and 1309, who had here their first establishment at Milan, and their tribunal of Inquisition. In the actual edifice some capitals of columns are, probably, the sole remnant of the original structure. The above-named « anonymous » is the first to assign names to the « Three Kings », — Gaspar, Balthassar, and Melchior, whose supposed relics were removed for safety to a church within the walls, S. Eustorgio being extramural, on the hostile approach of Frederick I, 1161, and finally carried away by the Chancellor Archbishop, Raynald; nothing being left to record their deposit here except an old picture of the transfer, and a plain sarcophagus with inscription in gilt letters, « Sepulchrum trium Magorum ». Recent restorations at S. Eustorgio have been carried out in style conformable with its ancient character.

as « *Ecclesia aestiva*, » is identified by antiquarians as the primitive cathedral, which long continued to hold that rank, even after one of later origin, the *Basilica Nova*, known as « *Ecclesia hyemalis* », (to which were attached two octagonal baptisteries, for the sexes separately), had been admitted to share like honours with the old cathedral. S. Tecla stood, with its antique architecture, till 1548, when it was doomed to demolition by a Spanish Viceroy. Near the site (as supposed) of the *Fausta basilica*, did S. Ambrose found the church he dedicated, either A. D. 386 or 387, to SS. *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, the brother-martyrs, sons of *Vitalis*, another Milanese martyr; and to which he transferred the bodies of those saints from S. Nabor, another ancient church.

This later basilica of the fourth century is first mentioned, by a chronicler, simply as « *ecclesia sua* », namely, that of S. Ambrose, whose remains were here laid, conformably to his desire, together with those of his brother *Satyrus*. Subsequently to the account of the funeral of that sainted prelate, the church now called after him is not mentioned by any historian till A. D. 784, when Benedictine monks were placed in the adjoining monastery, where they enjoyed various privileges, afterwards shared by secular priests, who divided duties with them, and who, after many litigations, secured distinct property in one half of the sacred premises, as also in the oblations here made at altars. After the lapse of five centuries, S. Ambrogio had fallen into such decay as to require the restoration, completed in 868 by the Archbishop *Auspertus*, an energetic prelate, who rebuilt the fortifying walls in ampler circuit, and otherwise contributed to renovate this city after the injuries inflicted during the Gothic and Greek wars. (1)

(1) *Auspertus*, like others among these prelates, held both temporal and spiritual power, and is eulogised in his epitaph, in this church :

« *Effector voti propositique tenax* », etc.



The basilica now dedicated to the three saints so revered at Milan, Ambrose and those brother-martyrs, became the place of sepulture for archbishops, and, occasionally, for sovereigns; here stood the tombs of Valentinian II, Louis II, Lothaire I, and Bernard, King of Italy. Coronations, whenever taking place at Milan, were held within these walls; as, in the first instance, that of Otho I, A. D. 964; and either here or at Pavia did nine « Kings of the Romans » receive the iron crown at the hands of the Milanese Archbishops. It was before that rebuilding, ordered by Aupertus, that his predecessor, Angilbertus, bestowed on S. Ambrose's church that splendid shrine for his relics, which still encases the high altar, though no longer visible except on three great festivals, or with permission on payment of a fee. With a front of solid gold, at the sides and back of silver, gilt and enamelled, the entire surface profusely studded with gems, this exquisite specimen of metallurgy is surrounded by reliefs representing subjects from Evangelic history: the Saviour, the Evangelists, archangels, the principal saints of Milan, and twelve scenes from the life of S. Ambrose, historic and legendary. Ughelli gives the estimate of its value at 30,000 gold solidi, or 80,000 sequins.

As an art-production of the ninth century, it is indeed still more precious than for its intrinsic costliness. The illustrations of the life of S. Ambrose are the most interesting for the testimony they bear to ancient ecclesiastical usages, rites, vestments etc. We here see the simple altar, without tapers or ornaments on its mensa, but only the plain cross, a two-handled chalice, cross-marked, and a scroll, instead of a volume, for either the Liturgy or the Gospels; while, as to costume, we observe the comparative simplicity of pontifical attire in two figures, S. Ambrose and Angilbertus, who

the same lines ascribing to him the erection of the majestic atrium and of the bronze portals encrusted with reliefs :

« Atria vicinas struxit et ante fores ».

offers to the saint a model of this shrine, and receives in reward a jewelled crown (or rather cap); both wearing the tunic, (or alb), chasuble, and long pallium of Greek fashion, but not the mitre.

Another group represents the donor placing a similar, but less precious, ornament on the head of the artist, whose name we read below, « Wolfinus, magister phaber » (sic), and who was apparently Teutonic, though classed with Italian metalurgists by Cicognara (« Storia della Scultura »).

This basilica had become so ruinous by the year 1169, that another restoration, almost a rebuilding, became necessary. This was effected in that same year by the Archbishop Galdinus, a zealous prelate, who died in the pulpit at the cathedral of S. Tecla, whilst preaching against the heretics called Cathari.

Critical research has refuted the long current tradition of the absolute annihilation of Milan, as well as the imaginary details of the ploughshare passed over its ruins, and the salt sown over their entire area, after the conquest by Barbarossa. The city was captured in February, 1162, after a siege of seven months — exaggerated by some writers to the extent of three, four, and even seven years! At first Frederick satisfied himself by ordering the destruction of the gates, and the opening of a breach sufficient to allow his army to march in; also the surrender of all the fortresses, and of thirty standards; the transfer of the *carroccio* (that mediaeval palladium of Italian liberties) to Lodi, and the consignment of four hundred principal citizens as hostages. But soon afterwards, from Pavia, whither he had withdrawn, he sent the stern mandate that the fortifications of Milan should be entirely levelled, and all her inhabitants expelled within eight days. The buildings were, in different parts, fired, and many quarters devastated by the aid, afforded with malignant alacrity, of natives from other Lombardic cities — Pavia, Cremona, Lodi, Como, and Novara. But it seems certain that all the numerous churches were spared; and the ruin that

ensued to one — the cathedral so often mentioned by S. Ambrose — was caused by the overthrow of its lofty tower, naturally a mark for hostile assault, and which in its fall almost destroyed the edifice beneath. In the « *Antichità Lombardiche Milanesi* », published (1792) by the Cistercians of the S. Ambrogio Monastery, are enumerated all the churches that existed before that catastrophe, and remained, with their olden structures mainly preserved, up to the last century: — Santo Sepolcro, S. Celso, S. Satiro, S. Giorgio nel Palazzo, S. Nazaro, S. Eustorgio (?), and the towers alone of S. Lorenzo. The preservation, intact, of that golden shrine at S. Ambrogio, is alone sufficient proof of the restraint upon lawless rapine, in the punishment inflicted upon Milan, A. D. 1162. It was after no long interval that Barbarossa returned to the desolate scene of triumph, in order to attend the rites of Palm Sunday; and on the ensuing Easter to be crowned, within the S. Ambrose basilica, on which occasion its capitular clergy refused to comply with his demand that they should abandon the cause of Alexander III, and embrace that of the Antipope Victor. In consequence, all those secular priests quitted their church and canonries, leaving this sanctuary to the keeping of the monks. After a few years the Milanese were enabled to return, and restore their city (1167), aided by the now friendly populations of Bergamo, Cremona, and Brescia.

As renewed by Archbishop Galdinus, S. Ambrogio forms a link between the Lombardico-Romanesque and the Mediaeval Pointed Style: to the later period belong the façade, with one of the lofty quadrate campanili flanking it, the acute arches under the roof, and the entire vaulting; to the earlier belong the quadrangular atrium, the sculptured bronze portals, one of the two campanili, and, perhaps, the principal portion of the double colonnade between nave and aisles, with gallery destined for females, according to the ancient arrangement; besides other characteristic details of the interior — as the crypt, (modernized, indeed, and with new pillars), the massive baldachino, with porphyry columns, over

the high altar, and the apse, with its mosaics of Byzantine art, ordered by the Abbot Gaudentius, who was nominated to office by Archbishop Angilbertus in 835. The subjects here represented, on a field of gold, are — the SAVIOUR enthroned, holding a book open at the words, « Ego sum lux mundi », a grand and expressive figure; above the throne, the floating forms of the archangels Michael and Gabriel; beside it, SS. Gervasius and Protasius, richly vested, the former crowned; medallions of SS. Satyrus and Marcellina, (brother and sister to S. Ambrose), and S. Candida; eighteen seated figures, supposed to be the suffragan bishops of the province; S. Ambrose celebrating mass, and the same saint attending the funeral of S. Martin at Tours; another mass celebrated by S. Ambrose at a circular altar, without other ornament save a plain cross upon it, and S. Martin as deacon chanting the gospel at an ambon: these last subjects intended to illustrate the legend of S. Ambrose being transported in ecstasy, while at the rites in his cathedral, to attend that funeral at Tours — which story Baronius shows to be untenable. A curious monogram in Gothic letters, beneath the principal compartment of this mosaic, may be read: « Angilberto Karoli Ludovico fecit frater Gaudentius ».

Most important among details of ninth-century architecture in this church, is that atrium, with quadrangle of round arches resting on square piers; a genuine example of the *paradisus*, according to the early basilica-plan; and indeed the most perfect at this day extant in Italy.

In the course of recent works for restoring and embellishing, some frescoes, long hidden beneath stucco, have been discovered on pillars and walls in this church: a Virgin and Child, referred (v. Crowe and Cavalcaselle) to either the eleventh or twelfth century; and (more interesting) the Funeral of S. Satyrus; S. Ambrose and S. Marcellina being introduced as performing the last duty to their brother's remains, — a picture probably of the XV century, found in that chapel of S. Satiro, formerly known as « S. Victor in

coelum aureum », which a learned writer (1) shows to be the actual basilica of Fausta, incorporated with the church built by S. Ambrose. The mosaics in this chapel are referred to the sixth century, and represent S. Victor, holding a cross and a singular monogram, comprising all the letters in the Greek name of our Lord, (engraved in Martigny's « Dictionnaire »); the figures of SS. Ambrose, Maternus, Felix and Nabor, two Moorish martyrs; also the sons of Vitalis. And it is satisfactory to see, among late restorations, the careful cleansing and replacing of this mosaic series.

Among Christian antiquities at Milan we have to consider what may be styled a monument, and one most venerable in character, that Ambrosian Liturgy, now confined to this sole archdiocese, but once, as Durandus reports, in use more extensively even than was the Roman, and till the XVI century retained at Bologna and Capua. The great and good S. Carlo maintained this primitive ritual against all attempts aimed at its suppression. Both that saint and his nephew, the Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, published the Milanese missal with announced intent to preserve the Ambrosian rite unaltered. Referred by some writers to the Apostle Barnabas and to the bishop S. Mirocletus, — to S. Ambrose himself only in part, as the additional antiphons, hymns, and arrangement of psalms — this rite is generally allowed to be, in its main composition, of higher antiquity than the great Saint whose name it bears; and to have been restored, modified, and re-ordered, after this see had revived from the depression suffered under the Longobards. The oldest extant MS. code of this liturgy dates A. D. 1123, written by a librarian of the cathedral, named Beroaldo. The codes of the XV century preserve some formulas embodying traditions now rejected by the juster sense of the Italian Church: as the mass for S. Veronica, with prayers and antiphons implying the admit-

(1) « Ambrosianae Basilicae Monumenta », by the Abbate Puricelli.



ted legend of her miraculously-impressed handkerchief; and in the « *Prefatio* » of another mass, the following bold expression of speculative imaginings — « *O quam gloriosus est dies iste in quo Judas una hora diei refrigerium expectat accipere!* » The entire rite is given in the « *Antichità* » by the Cistercian fathers, in whose learned comments is made the remarkable avowal, with reference to the Elevation of the Eucharist, that « if we desire to ascend to more remote ages, so far from finding that they (the sacred species) were exposed by being lifted up to the adoration of those present, we find that they were, on the contrary, completely concealed from their view ». — A singular usage, locally adopted in the XV century, required the celebrant to kiss both the Host and chalice before elevating them. Among peculiarities still retained, is the « *Confractorium*, » an anthem sung at high Mass whilst the priest breaks the consecrated Host; the pronouncing of the words of consecration aloud; the offering of the sacramental elements by a company of aged men and women, called « *Scuola di S. Ambrogio*, » consisting of ten of both sexes, certain of whom appear at every high Mass, in costume of monastic fashion, and slowly pass up to the sanctuary, (the females not entering the chancel), bearing in silver and glass vessels the bread and wine for sacred use.

Among sculptured symbols on the portals and in the atrium of S. Ambrogio, is a relief of S. Ambrose with a crozier terminating in a serpent's head; which singular object suggests analogy with a relic that attracts notice in this church, a bronze serpent, placed on the summit of a column, once regarded as the very image, or at least made of the material of the image, lifted up by Moses in the wilderness; and as such presented to an archbishop, Arnulph, in 1004, at Constantinople. The antiquarian notion that it is no other than the serpent of Aesculapius, preserved from a temple of that god, over whose ruins this basilica was built, is now exploded; and among associations that attach

to it is the usage of lingering Paganism, existent even till the sixteenth century, when mothers were in the habit of invoking this idol, (for such it had become to the Milanese populace), to cure their children of the disease of worms; a practice finally suppressed by San Carlo, the « acts » of one of whose diocesan visitations refer to it: « Est quaedam superstitio ibi mulierum pro infantibus morbo verminum laborantibus ». The serpent associated with the Cross, as emblematic of the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, had an authorized place, borne in the van of processions, as Allegranza tells us — a writer in whose time it was thus displayed, before the processional cross, at Vicenza; and the cross itself used of old to be emblemized by a serpent, for sanction of which see the words of S. Ambrose: « Imago enim crucis aereus serpens est ». (De Spiritu Sancti. l. iii. c. 9).

Near one of the gates of Milan is to be seen a curious monument of the twelfth century, in a low relief, (date probably 1167), representing the return of the citizens after exile to re-people and restore their capital, led by a monk, here designated as « Frater Iacopus », (who had been instrumental in bringing about the Lombardic League), with a cross-headed banner in his hands; the group approaching a gate, over which is inscribed *Mediolanum*; among accessorial figures, a person in magisterial robes trampling on a strange monster with grinning face and bat's wings, intended, as is supposed for Barbarossa; the subject being explained by lines that assume the decree of fate in the act represented: « Fata vetant ultra procedere, stabimus ergo ». The cities of Cremona, Brescia, and Bergamo, are introduced, with names inscribed, like turreted gateways, in this sculpture, which affords proof how utterly fallen was one art, while another, the architectural, was still so nobly represented as in the Ambrosian basilica (1).

(1) The Porta Romana, on which this curious sculpture was placed, has been taken down; and the reliefs were then transferred to the outer wall of a house above the Naviglio; the figure of Barbarossa being

Historians preserve an anecdote of the generous piety of the Milanese matrons, who brought all their jewels in offering for the cost of rebuilding the church of « Our Lady », shortly after such work had been resolved on by the Archbishop Galdinus; whence we must infer that that church also had been ruined by the German invaders.

Those churches for which is claimed highest antiquity at Milan, have been in part altered since the publication of the *Antichità Lombardiche*. S. Celso, built by S. Ambrose over the tomb of that martyr, restored 1651, now retains, of the antique, its choir and doorway alone, with columns, and symbolic reliefs, said to be of the tenth century. San Sepolcro no longer displays its older architecture in any portion save the towers, of the XI century. S. Nazaro Maggiore, founded by S. Ambrose, and dedicated to the Twelve Apostles, about 382, was burnt down in 1075; afterwards rebuilt on a larger scale, and again enlarged by S. Carlo; being now chiefly interesting for its majestic vestibule, formed by the sepulchral chapel of the Trivulzi, with the fine monuments to that family. S. Giorgio in Palazzo, founded by the Archbishop S. Natalis, A. D. 750, has been twice modernized, inside and outside, within the present century. S. Satiro, founded by Auspertus over his own house, A. D. 869, was rebuilt about 1480, and now retains nothing of its more ancient structure except a chapel off the transept. S. Simpliciano was founded, in plan a Latin cross, by S. Ambrose, as a shrine for the relics of the saint whose name it bears, and also for those of three others, martyrs, who were believed to have given celestial aid to the Milanese forces in the glorious victory of the Lombardic League at Legnano (May 29, 1176); where the beatified spi-

set in the wall near a bridge over the canal; that of his Empress, in a wall of the Archinti palace. The artist's name, Girardus, and the names of two « superstites » (directors) were found on the thickness of the marble. That patriotic monk, Jacopus, of the Order of Crucifers, was commemorated by the gratitude of the citizens in annually sending, — a custom kept up for many ages — a basket of choice viands to the monks of his community at Milan.

rits appeared visibly, in form of three doves, flying from the altar of this church, and perching on the flag-staff of the *carroccio*! The later church, a fine Gothic building, was modernized in 1582, but within recent years has been restored conformably to its original style. S. Vittore al Corpo, rebuilt by the Olivetan monks, represents with modern architecture, on the plan of a Greek cross, the primitive Basilica Portiana, one of the two original cathedrals — the same from which Theodosius was, if not personally repulsed, excluded by S. Ambrose; and which that saint vindicated for his Catholic flock when the attempt was made by the Arians, supported by the Empress Justina, to appropriate it.

In Sicily the period here considered was marked by great events, and by the awakening of energies in various spheres. The Norman churches, founded in that Island soon after its liberation from the Saracens, form as well an epoch in the history of architecture as a connecting link between the Romanesque and the mediaeval Gothic. In western Europe the Constantinian Basilica was the type almost exclusively followed, except at Venice, for eight centuries; but it seems that the Sicilians, even before the Norman conquest, had introduced a variety for the improvement of that primitive Christian style. After the overthrow of the Ostrogothic dominion by the arms of Belisarius, Sicily remained under the Byzantine sceptre, as previously, from A. D. 535 till 827. Then ensued the Saracenic conquest, and the dominion of the Moslem invaders, which was maintained till near the end of the XI century. The taking of Palermo by Robert Guiscard, A. D. 1071, was the first step in that series of victories, which, shortly after that date, but especially between 1088 and 1091, completely overthrew the Saracenic power in this island, and established the Norman kingdom in its place. During the three centuries of the restored Greek sway, Sicilian history is comparatively obscure; but it does not appear that the national life was extinct, or its genius unproductive. Within that period arose many churches and

monasteries on these shores: as the six benedictine abbeys founded by S. Gregory the Great; the cathedrals of Palermo Messina, and (probably) Cefalù. A learned writer on local antiquities, the abbate Gravina, concludes that the pointed arch was first introduced in Sicily, during the Byzantine period, and should therefore be called « Siculan, » instead of « Gothic ». It is more probable, indeed, that a new and scientific style of architecture should [have been invented by a people of awakened intellect, guided by Christian civilization, than by the roving adventurers who won their way with the sword and the Koraun in the first flush of Moslem enthusiasm – or rather, fanaticism. No great monument was left to Sicily by her Saracenic rulers; no evidence of social progress bequeathed by their military despotism; and if they really, as is said, founded 200 or 300 mosques in Palermo alone, the total disappearance of all those buildings justifies no inferences in favour of their architecture or masonry.

If it cannot be proved beyond doubt that any extant example of the pointed style, in Sicily, dates anterior to the Norman conquest, it is alike beyond proof that any architecture founded on that form was introduced, or invented, by the Moslems in this island. What is important, however, to my present subject is, not the precise origin or date of the acute arch, but the religious expression and aesthetic superiority of the eminently Christian style in which that detail forms a leading feature (1).

(1) In early Sicilian examples the pointed arch is not a constructive or vaulting expedient, but simply a mode of adding height to the stilted arcades. In other countries it was adopted as a principle and leading form in architectonic creations: in the south of France at least as early as the X century; becoming more common in southern Europe generally, during the XI century; and at last, in the XII century, establishing itself as the foundation of a totally new style. Such pointed arches as those seen in Sicilian temples were introduced at Jerusalem in the VIII; at Cairo, and probably at



The restoration of the Latin Rite and the Papal jurisdiction in Sicily, was one of the great services rendered by the Normans to that Church which they had already benefited in other ways.

The Christianity of this Island was, through their means, withdrawn from dependence on the Byzantine Patriarchate, and placed under the more enlightened Hierarchy of Rome. In the Siculo-Norman churches there prevailed, originally, a simplicity of arrangement, a concentrating of sacred action, which must have enhanced the effect both of architecture and ritual. The choir and transepts were raised on higher level than the nave, being ascended to by steps; and provided with three apses, in the central of which stood the sole altar that each church contained (1); whilst laterally stood, in the apse on the right, the *diaconicum*, or credence-table for the sacred vessels; in that on the left, the *protasis* for the bread and wine, or whatever offerings might be made by worshippers.

Probably the oldest of the Sicilian churches to be ascribed, in its actual form, though not in its foundation, to the Normans, is S. Giovanni de' Leprosi, a mile from Palermo, which is supposed to have been restored only (as Gravina argues) by Guiscard, to serve for the worship of his own people during the siege of that city. The earliest Sicilian example of the acute arch is seen in the Palatine chapel of Palermo; which oratory, though mentioned in a diploma

Kairovan, in the IX, or X century. It is said that the first example of this arch in Normandy was at the cathedral of Coutances, which was in part the work of English architects, and consecrated in 1056. Some writers state that this form was first introduced in England on the rebuilding of Canterbury cathedral, after the ancient church had been burnt down in 1174 (Schnaase, « Geschichte der bildenden Kunst »).

(1) It seems certain that, during a long time, such was the case, and that each church had but one altar, according to Sicilian usage.

(date 1140) as having been built by Ruggero I, is supposed to have been founded in the VI century, and, after having been converted into a mosque, embellished by the Saracens; finally modified in character by the Normans. The pointed arches supporting its roof are, probably, the principal details due to those later builders. Traces of a lower ceiling, thrown up by the Saracens, are recognisable; and this interior, blending the Norman with the Byzantine, has a rich solemnity of effect, enhanced by the majestic mosaic figures that people its walls. (4) The Palermitan see is said to have been founded by S. Peter. Its primitive cathedral, of the IV century, was rebuilt in 590; was converted into a mosque by the Saracens; reconsecrated for Christian worship in 1071; restored, and for the most part (if not totally) rebuilt, in 1184, by the Archbishop Offamil, an Anglo-Norman, at his own expense. The pointed style here prevails; but much is comparatively modern. The gothic porch was added by another archbishop in 1426; the cupola, the splendid chapel of S. Rosalia, and other details, are of later dates: and in its actual form this cathedral is, for the most part, a building of periods subsequent to the XIII century; being more Gothic than any other Sicilian church. The Saracenic style is best exemplified, at Palermo, in S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, which, with its plain massive masonry and bulbous domes, looks so like a mosque, that Fergusson observes « it would not be out of its place in the streets of Delhi or Cairo » (1) But the finest example of the blending of the Saracenic and Romanesque, with the rich ornamentation in mosaic carried out so effectively by the Siculo-Normans, is S. Maria dell' Ammiraglio, founded by the grand Admiral, under Ruggero I,

(4) Romuald of Salerno says that William I « caused the chapel of S. Peter, which is in the palace, to be adorned with admirable pictures in mosaic; its walls to be encrusted with a variety of precious marbles; and he also copiously enriched it with ornaments of gold and silver, as well as with precious vestments ».

George Rozias of Antioch, and completed in 1143 — a church, unfortunately, injured by the demolition of the central apse, for which has been substituted a modern tribune, and by other tasteless alterations; but still impressive and beautiful. Among the numerous mosaics on these walls, is a group of the Saviour giving a crown to Ruggero I, and the Admiral Rozias kneeling before the Blessed Virgine, who holds a scroll with the inscription, in Greek: « George, first of all princes, raised this edifice to me from its foundations: Son, preserve him from all evil; for Thou only hast power, being God ». The tower of this church had originally a cupola, now lost; and its portal had an ornamentation, also vanished, which an Arabic traveller of the XII century describes as among the greatest marvels of art. Gravina disputes the received tradition, and assumes that the grand Admiral only restored, in this instance, a building of earlier origin.

William I, who left an evil repute indicated in the epithet popularly prefixed to his name, « the Bad », is said by a legend, alike expressive of feeling against him, to have buried a vast treasure under a mountain near Palermo, and caused the course of a stream to be diverted, in order for ever to conceal the spot. But his son and successor, of fairer fame, whose subjects styled him, « William the Good », was apprised by the Blessed Virgin, in a vision, of that deposit, for which he ordered research to be made; and, after his father's ill-gotten wealth had been exhumed, he determined to employ it in erecting a church and monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mother (1). The works were commenced, probably, in 1172; and, ten years afterwards, Alexander III bestowed special privileges on the new monastery in a bull,

(1) An extant diploma of that King attests the religious motives with which he undertook this work, and his conviction that genuine blessings were to be secured to princes and states by the service of God; but makes no mention of any preternatural circumstances.

where his Holiness mentions that « the fame of so grand a structure had already reached the altars of the Vatican ». In 1174 the church was dedicated to « Maria Assumpta »; and within seventeen years from that date, the entire buildings were finished. One hundred Benedictine monks, invited hither from Trinità di Cava, were conducted from Palermo by the King himself (1176), to be established in their cloister here.

The learned Gravina (a Benedictine of this community) advances a new theory, resting on the most minute investigation, as to the date and origin of Monreale. He considers both church and monastery to be restorations of more ancient buildings, which were (he assumes) enlarged and embellished by William II; and the testimony of ancient writers seems corroborative of this opinion. Romuald of Salerno tells us that King Ruggero I caused some hills and woodlands, near Palermo, to be enclosed with walls and towers, and stocked with game, as a royal park for the chase; also trees to be planted, and a supply of water to be brought to this favourite hunting-ground through vast subterranean conduits. Riccardus of San Germano tells us that William II, in gratitude for many blessings, « desired to build himself a house for the glorious Virgin Mother of God, at Monreale; which he enriched, adorned, and enlarged — namely, with possessions, ornaments in gold, mosaic work, and many-coloured precious stones ». Another contemporary, the tourist Ebn Giobair, whose travels are translated from the Arabic by Amari, mentions the several cloisters, near Palermo, « endowed and adorned » — he does not say founded — by William II. Contrasts in style and masonry are pointed out by Gravina in the Monreale buildings. The lower walls of the aisles and of the two towers, as also the entire tribune, are of ruder construction than the rest.

Windows, no longer serviceable, have been walled up; and in the cloisters the arcades are unsuited, being also of inferior style, to the beautiful colonnades on which they rest.

These discrepancies seem to confirm the theory that assigns to Monreale an origin much earlier than the XII century; and the inference of Gravina is, that this may be one of the Benedictine abbeys built before the Saracenic conquest, and left deserted whilst Sicily remained subject to Moslem rulers. Ruggero I may have converted the monastery into a palace, without restoring the ruinous church; which task was accomplished by William II, who perhaps added one of the four principal wings to the habitable building, in order to adapt that palace for the residence of a new community of monks. Gravina finally concludes that in Monreale we see one of the monasteries founded by S. Gregory — no other than that mentioned in his letters by the name « *Lucusianum* » (or, monastery in the grove), which stood in a forest near Palermo, on ground the property of the Saint's mother, a lady of Sicilian birth; and which must have been a conspicuous establishment of its kind, for S. Gregory mentions its abbot, prior, and *cellarius* (butler); also telling of certain monks being sent from hence to give their services to a Sicilian bishop. (*Ep.* 48, l. XI). In 1182 this abbacy was raised by Lucius III to the rank of an archbishopric; the cathedral and cloister were exempted from all interdicts, and invested with privileges of sanctuary to the fullest possible extent. Its prelates, entitled « lord Abbot Archbishops », exercised the third suffrage, as spiritual peers, in the Sicilian parliament.

Notwithstanding tasteless alterations, and injuries through accidental causes or decay, the Monreale church is still one of the most elevated in character, and religious in expression, among all ever raised for Christian worship.

Though the acute arch is a prominent detail, scarcely a single form or leading feature, here before us, can be called strictly « Gothic ». A creative genius, soaring high above the old level of unemancipated art, magnificently announces itself here; although the profoundly mystic feeling of the northern mediaeval architecture is not manifest in this noble



abbey-church. During about two centuries (from the close of the XVI till that of the XVIII), all the injuries that had taste, episcopal vanity, and restless love of novelty could inflict, were lavished on these buildings — see the distressing story of them in Gravina's volumes. The antique portico, probably of the ante-Norman period, which fell into ruin, 1770, was first restored in its original style, but, soon afterwards, rebuilt in modern Doric! In 1658 the ancient ambon, and a chapel below it, were swept away; and one prelate spent 1500 scudi on the white-washing of the characteristically ornamented outer walls!

In 1570; Leandro Alberti (« *Descrizione della Sicilia* ») tells us that « a rich and noble roof formerly covered these aisles, suitable to the rest of the edifice, which is now poorly covered with wood, owing to the negligence and avarice of those to whom this temple has been confided ». The actual roofing is a restoration, with the triangular cope and horizontal beams left visible, but richly decorated in colours and gilding; conformable, no doubt, to the ancient basilica-roofs, which certainly were not like those flat coffered ceilings now seen at Rome. In 1771 the antique high altar gave place to one of silver, modern in style. In 1656 the pavement was renewed, with loss of all the inlaid, or *graffito*, designs — groups, animals, birds, trees etc. — which adorned the ancient flag-stones. More intelligently carried out was a restoration of the mosaics, in 1656, ordered by a Spanish Archbishop of this See.

In 1811, a tremendous fire, caused by a little serving boy, broke out in this church, and destroyed many details of intrinsic value; though not, fortunately, much of the beautiful or antique — except, indeed, in the irreparable injuries done to the splendid tomb of William I (4), and the

(4) The monument, in white marble, to William II was raised in 1575 by an Archbishop named Torres, before whose time the grave of the royal founder had been left unhonoured.

loss of fourteen porphyry columns. Restorations were commenced in 1816, and finished in 1859, at a total outlay of 431,915 ducats; 22,989 ducats being spent on the mosaics, which had not suffered from the fire, but from the consequent exposure while much of the interior was left roofless. One treasure of early art, preserved intact, is the chief bronze door, with forty-two reliefs on the valves, illustrating sacred History, the Old and New Testaments, up to the event of the Ascension: a work of date 1186, by Bonanno of Pisa; the general composition and arrangement similar to those in the same artist's work at Pisa, above noticed. A lateral bronze door is another good specimen of metallurgy by Barisano of Trani, the same artist who executed, in the XII century, the bronze doors of the Trani and Ravello cathedrals.

The mosaics of Monreale, which clothe the interior walls with figures on a ground of gold, are the most complete Epic series, illustrative of the entire history of Revealed Religion, that had hitherto been produced by Art in western Europe. In the acts of Creation is evident the intent to personify the Almighty Author as the God become Man, « by whom all things were made ».

In the central of the three apses is a colossal figure of Christ blessing, and holding the Gospel-book, open at the words (Greek and Latin): « I am the Light of the World; he that followeth me walketh not in darkness »; and the title beneath, in Greek, » The Omnipotent ». In proximity to this awful form, are colossal Archangels, six-winged Cherubim and Seraphim, who stand on fiery wheels, some of which are set with eyes; the Cherubim distinguished by the mystic symbolism of four heads, answering to those of the Evangelic Emblems, for each figure. A head of the youthful Saviour is in the midst of these angelic choirs. The Annunciation, and Mary with the Child, are on another part of the same apse. In the lateral apses are: S. Peter and S. Paul, two colossal seated figures, each holding a book, but with no symbolic object, nor any sign of superiority in one over

the other. The life of Our Lord is illustrated in sixty-eight other compositions. Mary is seen in three other mosaics, besides those on the apse: in one instance with the title, « *Sapientia Dei* »; in another, receiving a model of this church, presented to her by William II, who is clad in royal robes; again, over the chief portal, where she appears with severe matron-aspect, and in nun-like costume; beneath this mosaic being inscribed the lines:

*Sponsa tue prolis, O stella puerpera Solis,  
Pro cunctis ora, sed plus pro Rege labora.*

Numerous figures of Saints and Bishops, and Angels introduced within circles, like the links of a chain, along a frieze, are accessorial to the principal groups. Ecclesiastical costume may here be studied in every detail.

The omission of all those Saints (as S. Jerome) who are not invoked by the Greek Church, has led to the inference that these mosaics are by Byzantine artists; but the long prevalence of the Greek rite in Sicily may account for this, even supposing that only natives had been engaged here. All the inscriptions, by which each subject is explained, are Latin, those in the central apse excepted.

In the partly ruinous monastic buildings the beautiful cloisters are still, fortunately, preserved. A hundred arches are here supported by graceful arcades with light coupled shafts, adorned with arabesque reliefs and inlaid mosaic; the capitals being profusely laden with symbolic figures. scriptural groups, nondescript animals ec., sculptured with elaborate finish. A marble fountain, ornamented in the style of the XII century, still brings water to these cloisters from the conduits of Ruggero I; and is called « *fontana del Re* », from the tradition that William II used to wash his hands in it when a visitor here (as he often was), bent on joining the monks in their devotions.

When I visited Monreale, before the change of government, its inmates numbered thirty-two, monks and novi-

ces; and its revenues were said to be about 2000 sterling per annum. Though fallen from the height of its olden prosperities, it seemed still in a magnificent, however declining, phase of the life proper to those great monastic institutions of Sicily, long exempt from revolutionary tempests, but now alike included under sentence of proscription as are those on the Italian peninsula (1).

### CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTS.

ROME. S. Maria in Trastevere rebuilt, 1139 — mosaics, 1153; S. Clemente, upper church, about 1112; SS. Quattro Coronati rebuilt, 1114; S. Maria in Cosmedin, 1128; S. Croce rebuilt, 1144; S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, 1190; SS. Giovanni e Paolo, portico (?); S. Pudenziana restored; campanili of the above named churches, of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, S. Eustachio, S. Maria in Monticelli, S. Bartolommeo, S. Salvatore alle Coppelle, S. Salvatore in Corte (2); cloisters of S. Lorenzo and SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, both extramural; wall-paintings at S. Sebastiano on the Palatine, and in Chapel of S. Silvestro; Paschal Candelabrum at S. Paul's; antiques in Christian Museum of Vatican (3).

SUBIACO. Major cloister of S. Scolastica.

ANAGNI. Cathedral consecrated, 1167.

SPOLETO. Wall-paintings at S. Paolo, extramural.

PISA. Duomo finished; Baptistery, 1152.

SIENA. Duomo consecrated, 1179.

(1) Gravina, « Duomo di Monreale Illustrata », Palermo, 1859.

(2) The chronology of the Roman campanili is here given as determined by a writer of high authority, Mr J. H. Parker.

(3) See Montault, « Bibliothèque Vaticane », pp. 74, 78, 93, 104, 113, 114.

LUCCA. S. Frediano rebuilt, 1105; façade and Sculptures of S. Michele; sculptures on font of S. Frediano, and over portals of S. Giovanni and S. Salvatore.

PISTOIA. Duomo façade, 1166; reliefs over portals of S. Andrea, S. Bartolommeo, and S. Giovanni Evangelista; pulpit at S. Michele di Groppoli, extramural.

S. GIMIGNANO. Pieve consecrated, 1148 — transepts and vaulting of xv century.

VOLTERRA. Duomo, reliefs on pulpit.

CREMONA. Duomo founded, 1107; sculptures, 1274-1491, and later.

PARMA. Duomo (finished in 1074) consecrated, 1106, restored, 1117; Baptistry, 1179-96; sculpture of Deposition, in Duomo, 1178.

MODENA. Sculptures of cathedral.

BORG SAN DONINO. Duomo consecrated, 1106.

MILAN. S. Ambrogio in part rebuilt 1169; sculptures of Porta Romana.

VERONA. Duomo (founded in 806) façade, 1115, upper part of XV century; S. Zenone, founded in X century, completed, 1178.

PALERMO. Cathedral rebuilt, 1184; Palatine Chapel, 1140; S. Maria dell'Ammiraglio (Marturana), 1143; S. Giovanni degli Eremiti; S. Spirito (extramural) rebuilt, 1178 (1).

MONREALE. Cathedral and Abbey, 1172-92.

MESSINA. Cathedral rebuilt, 1123 — porch and details of XIV century; Nunziata restored, after being used as a mosque, by the Normans.

CEFALU. Cathedral in part rebuilt, 1134-2 -- mosaics of same date.

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(1) The cemetery before this church was the scene of the Massacre, at the « Vespers of Palermo », in 1282.



## VII.

### **The Thirteenth Century.**

WITH the eventful pontificate of Innocent III the Papal power reached its greatest height, both in spiritual and temporal relations. The aims of this celebrated Pope were excellent; his character pure; his talents distinguished; his theories as to the prerogatives of his own office, the most exalted. It was his invariable practice to preside, on three days in every week, at a public consistory — a revived, not now first admitted, usage of the Roman Curia — there to hear pleadings and decide questions referred to him from whatever country. The humblest had access to that highest throne upon earth; and we read of a poor widow, who had scarce language to make her case intelligible, being patiently listened to, till sentence could be given for the redress of her grievances by that righteous judge. A strenuous reformer of his own household, this Pontiff eradicated the venality which had so long been a reproach against the curia. He forbade his officials to exact gifts from foreign prelates, or other ecclesiastics, who came to Rome for preferment. He removed the tables of money-changers from the porticoes of the Lateran palace, where gold or silver vessels, jewelry &c. used to be exchanged for Roman coin. He dismissed the pages and lay servants of his court, appointing clerics alone in their place. His charities were such as became a Christian High Priest. At times 8000 necessitous persons, above the class of mendicants, were maintained by the alms he

used to give in secret. On one occasion he sold all the silver plate of his palace, contented to be thenceforth served in wood or earthenware, for the sake of contributing to the fund of the Crusade. His grief on being informed that bodies of infants used frequently he be dragged out of the Tiber in fishing nets, led him to bethink himself of a remedy in the Foundling Hospital, which he established in connection with another great institution of charity, Santo Spirito, a hospital for all patients of whatever nationality, alike due to the beneficence of Innocent III.

The imperial throne was now disputed by three claimants. The Pope, for some years, refused to recognise the right of Frederick II, his young ward, to that succession which the king's father, the Emperor Henry VI, had endeavoured to secure to him. In 1198 Philip of Suabia, the fifth son of Frederick Barbarossa, had been elected « King of the Romans »; but in 1207 that prince was cut off by assassination, the year after his claim had been sanctioned by Rome. His competitor, Otho of Brunswick, fourth Emperor of that name, now held undisputed sovereignty. The Pope declared himself for Otho, and exerted every means in his power to promote that prince's interests. He had written to the principal Ghibellines, urging them to renounce Philip, and absolving them from their oaths of allegiance to him: but it was a sign of incipient antagonism against such high pretensions of the pontificate, that certain nobles, and even bishops, of the German cities shut their gates to exclude the emissaries bearing those letters; and certain princes declared they would rather elect a fourth Emperor than accept Otho from the hands of the Pope (Cherrier, « Lutte des Papes et des Emperors », v. II, c. 3).

That prince was crowned by Innocent, at S. Peter's, in 1209; on which occasion the Germans were admitted into the Leonine city alone; and after the two potentates had ridden together as far as the gate opening on the Aelian bridge, the Pope, taking leave of the Emperor, advised him to quit the Roman territory on the morrow. Even that

precaution did not ward off the apprehended evil; for before the close of the same day, the soldiery and citizens began to quarrel; and some writers state (perhaps exaggerating) that 4100 of the German horse lost their lives during three days of conflict that ensued. A sedition broke out, headed by the Pierleone family, among the citizens; and the main object now tumultuously demanded from the Pontiff was the restoration of the Senate of fifty-six members.

Since his election, Innocent had incessantly exhorted all Christian nations to a new Crusade; and, full of confidence in the zeal of the faithful, had announced anticipatively to the Christians in the East the succour they might expect from the West. His emissaries offered the largest indulgences to those who should either enter upon the sacred war in person, or contribute to it according to their means. Many nobles, in different countries, took the cross; and especially in France and Flanders were the lists speedily filled through the success of an eloquent priest, Foulques, a simple *curé*, who induced numbers of the barons to follow that example. Whilst thus pre-occupied on the Crusade, Innocent carried out with success his purpose of constraining the French King, Philip Augustus, to re-unite himself with the lawful wife whom he had divorced, and to separate from the woman whom he had married illegally. On the resistance of that monarch his kingdom was laid under interdict, and the terror excited by this extreme measure, over the whole land, at last induced him to yield (1202).

Otho, soon after he had left the Roman territory, refused to fulfil the promise made solemnly at his coronation, of giving up to the Holy See all the states of Matilda; and did not scruple to capture and occupy several cities of the States actually held by the Church. One of his officers was appointed by him to rule the Duchy of Spoleto; the Marquis Obizzo d'Este received from him the investiture of the Anconitan Marches. Within a year after the Pontiff had crowned, he excommunicated, Otho IV; and laid the city of Na-

ples under interdict for having opened its gates to receive him submissively. Emissaries were sent from Rome into Germany to induce the nobles and others to renounce their allegiance, and disown the anathematized Emperor. The claims of Frederick were now preferred, as well by the Pontiff as by the German magnates. That Prince left Palermo to enter on the possession of the Empire, which was disputed by Otho, till after the crushing defeat suffered by the latter (1214) in the battle of Bouvines, fought by the Germans of his party and the French under Philip Augustus.

Frederick II, now proclaimed King of Germany, and crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle (1215), was formally recognised by the Pope, who delayed, however, the bestowal of the imperial crown at Rome on one already so powerful.

Innocent's theory as to his own right absolutely to dispose of the Empire at pleasure is expressed in his instructions, addressed to his Legate in Germany: « It is of the highest importance for the Apostolic See to take care that the state be speedily provided with a chief, seeing that the Empire is known to pertain to her (the holy See) on principle and definitively (« cum imperium noscitur ad eam principaliter et finaliter pertinere »).

Venice had been fixed on as the general meeting-place for the Crusaders. That Republic undertook to furnish ships for the transport of 4,500 knights, and their horses, 9,000 squires, and 20,000 infantry; also to supply fifty manned gallies as her own contingent, and to provision the whole fleet for nine months; all for the stipulated price of 85,000 silver marcs — about 4 1½ millions in modern French money. This treaty was ratified before a vast assemblage in the S. Mark's piazza; and, after solemn rites in that church, the octogenarian Doge, Enrico Dandolo, who was almost blind, announced, amidst the rapture and tears of his numerous hearers, his resolve to take the command of the Venetian vessels in that enterprise. The sequel affords the first striking proof of the decline of that spirit by which the Cru-

sades had once been animated, and the ascendancy of other interests above that idealized cause of the holy warfare. These « soldiers of the cross » never reached Palestine. After they had stopped to besiege and capture Zara, as required of them for the advantage of the Venetian State, Constantinople became the theatre of their efforts and triumphs. They replaced on the Greek imperial throne the blind and imprisoned Isaac Angelus, after a usurper, Alexis, his own brother, had fled; for which services they demanded an indemnity of 200,000 marcs, and a contingent, for the Crusade, of 10,000 marines on Greek ships, with 500 horse. Alexis, the Emperor's son, through whose efforts this intervention had been brought to pass, wrote to the Pope with the promise (quite beyond his power to fulfil) of the submission of the Greek to the Latin Church, and to his Holiness. The indenmity was never fully paid. Discontents among the citizens, and seditions ensued. An ambitious courtier, Alexis Ducas (named Marzufle), headed a revolt, threw the other Alexis into a dungeon, and, soon afterwards, ordered his murder; thereby causing the death of his blind father also; and thus raising himself to the throne. After brief usurpation, Marzufle, the fifth Emperor who reigned at Constantinople during eight mouths, was constrained to fly by night. In his place was elected Theodore Lascaris, whose almost first step was to abandon his danger-beset throne. The Crusaders besieged the city for the second time, and soon entered as victors, 8th April, 1204. All the horrors of pillage, massacre, licentious profanation ensued. It was in vain that the chiefs had enjoined respect for woman; that three bishops had threatened anathemas against all who should sack the church or the convent. Those whose war-cry at the siege had been « Sanctum Sepulchrum! » committed every possible outrage, disgraced themselves by every species of licentiousness, rapine, sacrilege. Incalculable treasures were purloined from S. Sophia, and other splendid churches; and beasts of burden were driven into the sanctuaries, to be laden with the



spoils from shrine and altar. The consecrated eucharistic elements were thrown on the pavement; even the imperial tombs were violated, in order to rob the dead of their rich ornaments !

These *Crusaders* (!) « abandoned themselves (says Hurter) to every species of debauchery ; added insult to cruelty ; made the holy place resound to obscene songs ; and nothing was seen , nothing heard , that could lead any to suppose they were Christians ». The pillage of Relics , most eagerly appropriated , and with every circumstance of violence , secured the most abundant hitherto importation of such sacred objects for the principal churches and monasteries of France and Italy. After the first rage had subsided , the conquerors proceeded to elect , through twelve representatives of the French and Venetian powers , a new Emperor , Baldwin , Count of Flanders and Hainault , who opens the transitory line of Latin Caesars at Constantinople. With the Greek dynasty was also suppressed , at least by official act , the schism of the Byzantine Church ; and a Venetian subdeacon , Morosini , was elected by Venetian Canons , at S. Sophia , to the Patriarchate ; recognised by the Pope , after he had formally disowned that election , and then appointed the same nominee by virtue of his own supreme authority.

Innocent III reprobated the proceedings of the Latin armies ; the deviation of the Crusade from its proper object , and the excesses that had disgraced their victory ; but he could not do otherwise than accept the results , and sanction a conquest so favourable to the interests and extension of his own spiritual sway. In the same eventful year , 1204 , the Pope sent his Legate to crown the King of Bulgaria and Valachia ; and with his own hand crowned Peter II of Aragon at S. Pancrazio on the Janiculan Hill , from which extramural church the Pontiff and King rode to S. Peter's , where the latter laid his crown and sceptre on the high altar , to receive them again from the hands of the former , on condition of a slight annual tribute , to which the King pledged

himself and his successors for ever, by a diploma, finally left by him on the same altar.

Not having hitherto noticed the events of this pontificate in their chronologic order, I must now pass to the year 1208, in which Innocent III took a step of tremendous consequences — the publishing of the Crusade against the Heretics called Albigenses (from Albi, in the department of Tarn), who had become so formidably conspicuous in southern France.

The Heresy which was considered a revival of Manichæism, had, long before the period here in question, struck its roots far and deep, as well in northern and central Italy as in Languedoc. Singular is the fact that, at the time of the highest development of hierarchic power, at the very culminating point in the dogmatic and disciplinary system centred at Rome, such heretical antagonism was maturing till it attained the proportions which provoked this overwhelming onset. Its cause had been advocated in the shadows of ancient cathedrals, and within the walls of luxurious cities; had been listened to with favour in brilliant courts, and embellished in the songs of Troubadours. It numbered among its supporters not only chivalrous princes and high-born ladies, but, in some regions, even mitred abbots and ermine-clad canons. It was brought to England by Flemish merchants or artisans. It crossed Alpine snows; spread over the rich plains and cities of northern Italy; reached the commercial Florence; and did not recoil from the confines of the Papal States; becoming more or less prevalent at Rimini, Faenza; advancing so near to Rome as Viterbo; asserting itself in a chosen stronghold at the rock-built Orvieto, where, during thirty years, the bishop found himself utterly unable to cope with the anathematized foe; and, after that city had been laid under interdict, a vigorous patrician governor, appointed by the Pope with the express duty of expelling, or exterminating, the heretics, fell into their hands, and was murdered — a fate rewarded by his canonization as S. Peter Parentius. At Viterbo

Innocent had in person exerted himself (in 1207) to eradicate the evil by the most stringent laws; and had caused all the houses of heretics and their accomplices to be demolished, never to be rebuilt. Civil disabilities, confiscation, the brand of perpetual infamy, were among the measures now taken by this otherwise humane Pontiff against the heretical sect and their supporters.

Count Raymond VI of Toulouse, who ruled as suzerain over five great provinces, each immediately governed by another Count, in southern France, was the chief ally and protector of the Albigenses. From him did Innocent require the enforcement of the mandate now issued, with the severest prescriptions, against all heretics throughout Raymond's extensive states. His refusal drew down the thunders of the Church, which now proved, like the trumpet of battle, a first signal for warfare. All France took arms in the momentous contest. Ecclesiastical dignitaries headed the troops, and mingled in the action; the Papal Legate (an Abbot) was Captain General of the Crusade; four Archbishops, and ten Bishops (their suffragans) commanded their respective contingents; an Arcdeacon of Paris was the chief engineer. « Never (observes Milman) was war waged, in which ambition, rapacity, implacable cruelty played a greater part ».

But such excesses of evil passion were by no means confined to one side: the orthodox and the heretical retaliated with like violence (4); and we are reminded of the lines in the « *Henriade* », strikingly applicable to this history:

L'un et l'autre parti, cruel également,  
Ainsi que dans le crime sont dans l'égarement.

The final issue was the almost total extirpation of the sectaries, and ruin of the princes who had espoused their cause.

(4) The saying attributed to the Legate at the capture of Bezier: « Slay all; God will know his own! » is not historically certified; but the mere report exhibits the impression received in the public mind.

The memorable interposition of Innocent III in the affairs of England, had commenced before this period. The refusal of King John to recognise, as archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, elected to that see by English Canons at Rome, and approved by the Pope, had provoked the displeasure which finally led to the excommunicating of that King, and the fulminating of the interdict against his realm — in which were consequently suspended all religious administrations except Baptism, Confession, the Communion of the dying, marriages, and the churching of women, which two latter rites might take place in the porch of the closed and silent temple. The pontiff declared the domains of king John a lawful prize for whomsoever could wrest them from his unhallowed hands; after first absolving his subjects from their allegiance. He proceeded to offer the English crown to Philip Augustus, and that King promptly prepared for an invasion with a large armament. Not content with this, Innocent addressed letters to the military chiefs of different countries, inviting them to « take the cross », with promise of the same indulgences as those of the war in Palestine, for hostilities, in the cause declared sacred, against the English King. John averted the tempest by making every concessions required of him. Obedient to the Legate, Pandulph, he resigned his crown into the latter's hands; avowing himself the submissive vassal of the Pope; pledging himself and his successors to the annual tribute of 1000 silver marcs to Rome. (1) The legate, in presence of a great assemblage of barons and ecclesiastics, convoked in the cathedral of London, removed the Interdict from the realm, which that dread penalty had weighed down with its crushing force during six years, three months, and fourteen days. A burst of thanksgivings ensued; and a multitude of aggrieved persons came forward to de-

(1) The silver marc is estimated at about 50 francs, which in the XIII century would have represented about five times as much as at present.

mand of the legate indemnity for losses suffered through the tyrannic acts of the King. On the 23rd March, 1208, in the convent of the Templars at Dover, the reconciled and absolved despot received back from the Legate's hands the royal insignia, which he was thenceforth permitted to possess; his realm being now declared « sacerdotal ».

On one occasion, when John had had the boldness to assert the rational principle that he was only bound to obey the Pope in spiritual things, but in nothing contrary to the rights of his crown, among which was that of instituting bishops, Pandulph replied, « You are bound to obey the Pope in temporal matters also ! » After his absolution, this King took the cross, in hopes of being protected more efficiently under the double shield of a sacred character and of Papal favour. He could not have done more to dispel the illusion of crusading sanctity! Acting from a changed point of view towards him, Innocent now espoused his cause alike against the revolted barons of his kingdom, and against Philip Augustus, whom he commanded to desist from the war but lately undertaken at his invitation. The Magna Charta, accepted by John, was declared null, illicit, disgraceful, iniquitous, by the supreme authority of the Pontiff, as spiritual suzerain of the realm. And the terms in which that celebrated bulwark of English constitutional liberties are reprobated by this energetic High Priest, might suggest the question whether Innocent III — his talents and virtues notwithstanding — may not be responsible to a great degree for the eventual overthrow of Papal power in our country? (1)

In the Autumn of 1215, (11th — 30th November) was held the General Council, reckoning as the twelfth Oecumenical and fourth Lateran, Council, to which all the Prelates of Christendom had been invited more than two years previously.

(1) *Compositionem non solum vilem ac turpem, verum etiam illicitam et iniquam, in nimium diminutionem sui juris pariter et honoris* » — i. e. the rights and honours of the monarch.



This proved the most important, and in its effects perhaps the most influential, among such august assemblies hitherto held. It was attended by 71 Archbishops and Patriarchs, among which latter was the Patriarch of the Maronites, who had recently joined the Latin communion; by more than 800 Abbots and Priors; by, altogether, 2, 283 persons entitled to their places in such assembly: and among the laity were ambassadors from the two Emperors, from the Kings of France, England, Aragon, Hungary, Cyprus, and Jerusalem. In the centre was laid on a gorgeous throne the open book of the Gospels. The deliberations were held in private sessions; the decrees proclaimed in those that were public. Seventy chapters, or Canons, previously drawn up for discussion and acceptance, were read aloud; and the suffrages in regard to each were then collected, from that of the Pope down to that of the humblest priest. At the first session the pressure was such that an Archbishop of Amalfi lost his life, stifled amidst the crowd in the atrium. When all were seated in the Lateran church, the Pontiff opened with an eloquent and affecting discourse on the text: « With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer ». In a full profession of faith, now drawn up, was used, for the first time on such occasion, the term for defining the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, « Transubstantiation ». It was decreed that all the faithful, of both sexes, after attaining years of discretion, should confess their sins to their own pastors at least once a year, perform the penance enjoined by the priest, and receive the Communion at least at Easter; that physicians, before prescribing remedies, should enjoin on their patients to send for the father Confessor. In regard to heretics, the Council ordered confiscation of all their property; and that from all princes should be required the promise, on oath, to expel recusants from their territories; otherwise, such temporal lords were to be excommunicate, their subjects released from allegiance, their States handed over to others. Bishops were required to take means, through depu-

ies, for discovering, and bringing before their judgment-seats, the heretics, and all suspected as such, within their dioceses. It was ordered that all Archbishops should hold provincial synods annually; and to the whole Episcopacy were recommended the duties of preaching, redressing ec. Abbots were forbidden to govern more than one monastery at a time. The recently founded mendicant Friars, Franciscans, also the Crucifers, or Trinitarians, were confirmed; the Dominicans subsequently, though the Council prohibited the instituting of any other Religious Orders.

The Clergy were forbidden to join the amusements of the chase, or public spectacles and games; to wear coloured clothes, or frequent taverns. The sale and advertising of Relics, not sanctioned as genuine by the Pope, was prohibited. Among other points of discipline, it was ordered that the holy Eucharist and the Oil of Chrism should be kept in churches under lock and key; that bans should be published before celebration of matrimony, and clandestine marriages proscribed; that in all cathedrals, and, if possible, in other churches also, should be appointed masters for gratuitously instructing clerics, and other indigent scholars; that in metropolitan churches should be engaged, besides such masters, professors of Theology, to teach the Scriptures and parochial duties. It was prescribed that the four Oriental Patriarchs should receive the pallium from Rome; themselves give it to archbishops in their dependence, after requiring from the latter a profession of faith, and of obedience to the Roman Pontiff. It was decided that all the cities taken from the heretics in France, should be bestowed upon the Count de Montfort, chief leader of the Catholic armies among the French princes engaged in the late war; but the dispossessed Count Raymond of Toulouse was allowed a pension of 300 marcs, and his Countess was permitted to govern certain states, in dutiful dependence on the Church. Those portions of the conquered territory belonging to approved Catholics,

were not comprised in this sentence (1). A primary object of this Council, the Crusade, was well provided for, and most zealously promoted. The Clergy in the aggregate were required to contribute towards its expenses in one twentieth; the Cardinals, in one tenth of their revenues for three years. Tournaments were not to be permitted during that period; during four years all commerce of Christians with Saracens was suspended; and a universal peace, between Christian princes and nations, enjoined. All crusaders were invited to assemble, by the 1st of June in the next year, either at Messina or Brindisi, at one of which cities the Pope purposed to meet them, for superintending the final preparations and giving them his farewell-blessing. Innocent himself contributed to the cause in the amount of 30,000 lire, besides 3000 silver mares, the residue of anterior collections or offerings.

At this Council the English Barons, who had opposed King John, were excommunicated; though several of the fathers present advised in contrary sense. It was decided that, in the new Latin Church of the Greek Empire, doctrine might be taught in whatever language was locally prevalent; but the Latin rite alone celebrated. Shortly after the dispersal of the Council, the Pope was informed of the invasion of England by Prince Louis, and of the disregard for his excommunication on the part not only of the barons, but also the clergy in that kingdom. He again fulminated the anathema against the English priests who had celebrated divine service in spite of his inhibition; also against both Louis and his father, Philip Augustus, after delivering a fervid discourse from the pulpit in denunciation of those hostilities against the King, John, whom he had taken under protection of the Holy See. In the Summer of 1216 the Pontiff set out on a jour-

(1) Shortly afterwards, the Pope received the young Count Raymond, who desired reconciliation, with paternal kindness, and bestowed on him the counties of Provence, Beaucaire, and Venaissin.

ney with the special object of bringing about reconciliation between the Pisan and Genoese Republics, and the Lombardic cities. At Perugia he was taken ill; a tertian fever brought on paralysis fatal to a life already worn out by incessant exertion, and in that city he expired, 46th of July, 1216, in his fifty-sixth year. He was buried in the Perugia cathedral, where no trace of his original tomb remains at this day; but where his bones, mingled with those of Urban IV and Martin IV, who both died in the same city, now lie in a plain sarcophagus, to which all those relics were transferred from the sacristy in 1615. No sculptured memorial, even in Rome — a strange neglect! — has been raised to this illustrious Pontiff. In the life of S. Luitgarda, a contemporary, we are told that, shortly after the Pope's death, that saint saw a vision of his soul pursued by Demons, who scourged him till he took refuge at the foot of the cross, where he implored the prayers of the faithful for his release from Purgatory, and the Divine pardon for three sins, which the biographer, withheld by reverence for such a memory, does not disclose. Perhaps the bearings, or consequences, of some of his public acts, rather than any personal failings chargeable against Innocent III, may have suggested this wild legend. The estimate of his character by contemporaries is more justly conveyed in the eulogium, written soon after his death, by one who was convinced that, had he lived ten years longer, he would have reduced all the world under his spiritual sway, and caused the true faith to extend over all nations (*Memorial. potest. Reg.* in Muratori, t. VIII).

His private virtues, his sustaining sense of duty, his energies in the interests of religion and justice, and the noble sentiments that inform his writings, are a foundation on which rises to our mental regard an individuality distinguished by high qualities that command admiring reverence for the memory of Innocent III (4).

(4) See the masterly and exhaustive work by Hurter, « Innocent III and his Contemporaries ». It is worthy of note that that able

The Chancellor of the Roman Church, Cardinal Cencio Savelli, who had been preceptor to the young Frederick II, was elected, at Perugia, as Honorius III (1246-'27). Soon after he had returned to Rome, this Pontiff crowned Peter de Courtenay, grandson of Louis-le-Gros, and his wife Yolanda, as Emperor and Empress of the East; the rite being held at the S. Lorenzo basilica, instead of S. Peter's, because the latter church was especially destined for the coronation of the western Emperors (1). Honorius at last consented to give the imperial crown to Frederick II, after the latter had promised to consign the states of Matilda to the Pontiff, and pledged himself to go in person on the Crusade in the August of the following year. The imperial army was seen encamped on Monte Malo (now Mario) in November, 1220; there Frederick took the customary oath to respect the liberties of Rome, to guarantee from all injury the persons and properties of the Cardinals, and restore to the Holy See its rightful dominions. On the 22nd November, Frederick and his Queen, Constance of Aragon, made their ingress into the Leonine city, and were crowned at S. Peter's, amidst acclamations. After this rite the altar lights were extinguished; all the priests took their places in the choir with reversed tapers in their hands; and the Pope pronounced solemn anathema against all heretics, as well as those who aided and abetted them, of whatever station or sex. Then were promulgated the « Imperial Constitutions », passed by Frederick at the Pope's request, or-

writer, after dedicating about twenty years to his task, was induced by the aggregate evidence as to the spirit and agency of the Papacy and the Church, brought before his mind in the course of long preparatory studies, to abandon the Calvinistic Protestant for the Roman Catholic communion.

(1) This unfortunate Emperor of the East never even reached his capital in his new character. He fell into an ambuscade whilst traversing Epirus, became the prisoner of Theodore Luscaris, and died in bonds. His wife for a time carried on government at Constantinople, where she died of grief for his fate, in 1219.



dering perpetual exile and loss of property as the punishment of such recusants ; also making provisions, of more humane import, for the protection of agricultural labourers and pilgrims. Before the end of that day's ceremonies the Emperor renewed his vow to set out on the Crusade , and rescue the Holy Land from infidels. Several prelates, more than 400 nobles, and a multitude of German and Sicilian knights took the cross in the Pope's presence. Honorius III. carried ont the policy of his predecessor in taking the part of Henry III, now king of England, against the French invaders, and urging on the continued Crusade against the Albigenses in Languedoc , where Louis VII, the son and successor of Philip Augustus , had engaged in that war at the Pope's request. Honorius created the office of Governor to the patrimony of S. Peter , and conferred it on Jean de Brienne , titular King of Jerusalem , mainly , it seems, for the advantage and maintenance of that absolutely destitute prince. He took the kingdom of Scotland under his special protection ; and had the satisfaction of finding his supremacy owned , as a source of desired benefits, by the Bohemian nation. The delays of Frederick II in undertaking the expedition to Palestine caused an irritation, and a rupture of friendly relations, which were the commencement of the long contest between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen dynasty. Among ecclesiastical steps taken by Honorius III, the approval of the Order of S. Dominic by bull (1216), was the most important.

The Cardinal bishop of Ostia , a cousin of Innocent III, succeeded him , as Gregory IX (1227-41).

Among the pomps of the Papacy, nothing had yet been seen equal to the coronation and « possesso » of this octogenarian Pontiff. The festivities were kept up for several days ; and on the last (Easter Monday), the Pope , after celebrating Mass at S. Peter's , returned to the Lateran, crowned, and vested in robes all stiff with jewels , riding on a richly caparisoned palfrey , the bridle held by the Senator and Urban Prefect , who walked beside him ; the Cardinals and all the

Clergy attending; the Judges and Magistrates, clad in gold brocade, following; a multitude singing hymns, and waving palm-branches, forming the rear of the immense procession. This brilliant dawn was followed by the stormy day of a much agitated pontificate. Gregory twice pronounced solemn anathema against Frederick II, for his neglect to undertake the Crusade, and for certain encroachments on the liberties or rights of the Church. Frederick at last set out on that long delayed campaign, whilst he was still under sentence of excommunication. He was received at Ptolemais, where he had disembarked (September, 1228), with joy and veneration. Thither the Pope sent two Franciscan Friars, bearers of his stern injunctions that none of the faithful should join the counsels, or sit at the table of the Emperor, or render any service to him. The Germans, the Pisans and Genoese, now united under his banner, disregarded these spiritual thunders; but the Clergy, most of the chiefs and nobles in Syria, as well as the English and Lombardic Crusaders, deserted him; and the Templars, alike alienated, declared that it would be an offence against God to communicate with an anathematized prince. Soon afterwards, Frederick received intelligence of the invasion of the Apulian provinces by the forces of the Pope.

Gregory IX not only renewed the example of publishing a Crusade against a Christian Prince, and urging to revolt against a lawful government; but also induced the titular king of Jerusalem, whose daughter was now Frederick's wife, to put himself at the head of an army for invading the Neapolitan states. Frederick had no sooner returned from the East, than he retaliated by crossing the pontific frontier in arms, and occupying several cities, some of which voluntarily submitted, not far from Rome. It was believed that the Pope would be delivered up to him by citizens in his interest. At this emergency Gregory ordered a solemn procession, led by himself from the Lateran to S. Peter's, with the true cross, the skulls of S. Peter and S. Paul borne before

him; the Cardinals and all the Clergy attending. In the Vatican basilica the Pope addressed a multitude of citizens, urging them to arm for his defence, as Crusaders, against the sacrilegious Emperor. This appeal took effect; an enthusiastic devotion to the Papal cause declared itself; a considerable army was organised; and the usual indulgences of a Crusade were promised. Frederick, apprised of what was passing in Rome, withdrew his forces without farther aggressive attempts.

The year 1230 was marked by reconciliation and promise of peace — but illusory, as the event proved. Frederick made overtures for that peace, and accepted terms more advantageous to the Pontiff than to himself; agreed to pay an indemnity of 120,000 crowns for the expenses of the war, as estimated by Gregory himself. In the principal church of San Germano, amidst the assembled prelates and magnates of the Empire, he was absolved by two Cardinal Legates, after which he swore on the Gospel to submit, and give full satisfaction, to the Church; to grant general amnesty, and restore to the Holy See the Anconitan Marches, the Duchy of Spoleto, and other states legally claimed; to restore their confiscated lands to the Templars, the Knights Hospitalers, prelates, monks, and exiles of his kingdom; to exempt ecclesiastics from civil and criminal tribunals, and their property from taxation; to allow all ecclesiastical elections to have henceforth free and canonical course. The interdict was then raised by a Dominican friar, in the name of the Pope. The Emperor and his adherents were again absolved in a chapel near the bridge of Ceprano; after which, a meeting between Frederick and the Pontiff took place at Anagni. Like Barbarossa in presence of Alexander III, the second Frederick cast aside his imperial mantle, prostrated, and kissed the feet of Gregory IX, who raised and blessed him. Three days of hospitalities and friendly conference ensued at Anagni; and public thanksgivings were ordered in the Roman and Neapolitan states. Several castles in the Terra di Lavoro were consigned, according to

this treaty, to the Templars, who garrisoned them as soldiers of the Church.

Gregory IX, who lived to near the age of a hundred, was active in public works, and a benefactor to his capital in various ways. He founded the Lateran Hospital (still admirably kept up); fortified several towns; adorned and enriched the Roman churches; and (what may be regretted by antiquarians) ordered the demolition of vast ruins, probably the palace of Plautius Lateranus, which had encumbered the approaches to the Lateran basilica and pontific residence. The repair and enlargement of the sewers in Rome, was among his not least useful works. He canonized S. Dominic, S. Antony, and S. Elizabeth of Hungary. Towards the Emperor this Pontiff proved implacable, and ever disposed for violent measures; even after the treaty with the Sultan, by which had been obtained the cession of Jerusalem to Frederick II, and the peaceful occupation of the greater part of Palestine by Christians. The stipulation that the mosque of Omar, on the site of the Temple, should be reserved for Moslem worship, was deemed sacrilegious; even the fact of pacific negotiation with the Saracens was an abomination to the bigotry of the age, and reprobated by the Pope. The entry of Frederick into Jerusalem (17th of March, 1229), at the head of his army, with strains of martial music, presents a grand picture to the mental gaze; but mournful is the scene ensuing of his coronation, by his own hand, in the sanctuary of the Holy Sepulchre, without a benediction or Mass to solemnize the occasion; the crown first placed on, and then taken by himself from, an unadorned altar; neither lights, nor sacred symbols, nor incense in the church deserted by the priests; such the unblest coronation of the greatest Christian Prince at the most revered of shrines — a withering example of the power of that Hierarchy, whose curse could thus make itself felt from Rome across Palestine, and blight the successes of the chivalrous sovereign who had restored to Christendom the holiest of cities; had accomplished almost the entire aim of all the Crusades, through a blood-

less victory! Jerusalem was laid under interdict for so long as he should remain there! Not a single religious rite, save those of Moslems in their isolated mosque, could be attended in the holy city during the stay of those most successful Crusaders, the flower of Christian armies, because the Pope remained implacable against their Chief!

After the brief pontificate of Celestine IV, who survived his election less than a month, the see remained vacant from the 18th of November, 1241, till near the end of June, 1243. The Cardinals dispersed, instead of meeting at Anagni, where they had been invited to assemble. Twice within this interregnum did Frederick II invade the Roman provinces with forces that devastated the Campagna, and laid waste, with most of violence, the property of Cardinals and nobles noted for their devotion to the Papal interests. Albano, now governed by one of the former dignitaries, was captured and sacked, with every species of outrage, by the Saracens serving in the imperial army. At the Grotta Ferrata monastery, where Frederick had his head-quarters for a time, two bronze sculptures, adorning fountains, were carried away — an early example of such pillage of art-works. The blame of the prolonged vacancy was laid by the Cardinals on that Emperor — and *vice versa*; but those ecclesiastical princes were certainly, at this period, unpopular among the Romans, who attacked their palaces, pillaged that of Cardinal Colonna, and arrested his person. Louis IX addressed remonstrances to the College for this delay of the election; and the French Bishops declared that, if the Italian cardinals did not speedily discharge their duty, they would themselves elect to the vacant throne. In England prayers were offered up, to appease the wrath of Heaven, at this emergency. At last the sacred College (not more than six or seven persons) met in the Cathedral of Anagni, and agreed as to their choice on the first day.

When Frederick II heard that the Cardinal, one of his trusted allies, Sinibaldo de'Fieschi (of the well known Genoese house) had been elected as Innocent IV (1243-'54), he



exclaimed that he had lost a friend, and should gain an enemy. Nor was he mistaken. In the year 1244 an illusory peace was established between that Emperor and the Pope, by concordat publicly ratified at Rome on Holy Thursday, in presence of Innocent himself, the Emperor of the East, all the Cardinals, prelates, and magistrates, assembled on the piazza of the Lateran; Frederick hereby pledging himself to restore all the territories taken from the Church, all the Roman captives and hostages; and to set out, so soon as possible, on the Crusade. But as the Emperor continued to hold, and did not seem ready to give up, many places in the pontifical states, the Pope determined to leave Rome, under pretext of a proposed interview with Frederick at Terni. He went to Civitacastellana; thence to Sutri, from which town he, soon afterwards, fled by night, disguised as a soldier, with one Cardinal (his nephew) and six servants; the fugitives riding all night so as in the early morning to reach Civitavecchia, where were moored twenty-two armed galleys, supplied by the friendly Genoese. They disembarked at Genoa, a week afterwards, amidst the most brilliant honours prepared for this reception; and, after being detained by illness, the Pontiff set out thence (5th October) for France, travelling by land to Lyons, a city then under the government of its Archbishop. The saintly Louis IX did not favour, because his barons were adverse, a request made to him at a general chapter of the Cistercians, to grant some safer residence within his dominions to the Head of the Church; and an application for this object to the English king, was alike unsuccessful.

On the 28th of June, 1245, was opened at Lyons the General Council, thirteenth among those classed as Oecumenical, though attended by not more than 140 prelates. The Papal encyclica had convoked such assembly for the main purposes of rescuing the Holy Land, aiding the Greek Empire, and adjusting the differences between the Papacy and Frederick II. In this Council the most important proceeding was one of political rather than religious bearings,—the sol-

emn excommunicating of that Emperor, and the sentence passed against him by the Pope of deposition from both the imperial and Sicilian throne, declared to have been provoked by his threefold iniquities : heresy, sacrilege, and connivance with the Saracens. The fulminating of such a decree excited (says Matthew Paris) consternation and horror. It was in vain that the cause of Frederick II was defended, and his conduct justified before the Council, in an eloquent speech by his Chancellor; and the Emperor's subsequent vindication of his policy and orthodoxy in a long address to European powers, was alike disregarded (Pipini, *Chronic.* in Muratori, t. IX).

In this Council was bestowed on the Cardinals, as badge of their dignity, the symbolic Red Hat, which originally used to be worn, not (as now) kept for merely official display; and which, as the Pope informed their Eminences, implied the religious lesson that they should be ready to shed their blood for the Church (4).

In the next year was published a Crusade, openly preached throughout Italy, against the highest living monarch. His subjects, Italian and German, were urged to revolt, and absolved from allegiance to him; but in some German cities these intrigues excited tumult, and Papal emissaries were roughly handled. Louis IX, meeting Innocent soon after the dispersal of the Council, at Cluny, interceded for peace and reconciliation, but in vain. The Pontiff addressed letters to all the barons, prelates, cities, and communes of the Sicilian (or Neapolitan) kingdom, urging them to cast off the yoke of « the new Nero »; and two cardinals were authorized

(4) Female influence had here prevailed. A countess of Flanders is said to have given the first suggestion for some new distinction in the cardinalitial costume by her apologetic complaint to the Pope for having failed to greet a Cardinal, on meeting him in public, with due honours, and having erroneously paid such compliment to a lordly abbot, who had seemed to her the grander personage of the two (Pipini, *Chronic.*).

to levy troops, and carry on war against the Emperor in those southern states; so also was a bishop of Arezzo; but the latter soon fell, a prisoner, into the hands of imperial officials. Certain Neapolitan barons joined the revolt, now kindled over wide extent, and entered into conspiracy not only against the government, but against the life also, of their sovereign. Natural death, however, soon removed Frederick II from the earthly scene. He died (1250) at Fiorentino, near Lucera, and not without the absolution and Sacraments of the Church, given to him by the Archbishop of Palermo (1).

The laws of this Emperor, whose legislation was certainly a reform of preceding systems, and who showed himself in many respects superior to his age, present remarkable expression of the dominant feeling against Heresy, as the greatest of offences. Not by the Church, but by the civil power was capital punishment at last enforced by law in the case of obstinate recusancy. In 1231 commenced the practice of consigning the Italian « Paterini » to the executioner; and in that year was passed an imperial decree that such « ravening wolves, vipers, sons of perdition » should, if convicted by the ecclesiastical courts, and if persistent in damnable error, be condemned by the secular judges, and burnt

(1) His remains lie, in the Palermo cathedral, in a porphyry urn resting on four lions, with a canopy of two storeys, supported by six porphyry columns — a stately tomb, supposed to be one of those brought from Greece to Sicily in the time of Ruggero I; and which, originally placed at Cefalu, was removed thence by Frederick's order for his own monument. In 1781, when all the royal tombs were transferred to their present place in that cathedral, the sarcophagus of Frederick was opened, and his body was seen, almost entire, clad in a tunic of fine linen tissue embroidered with Arabesques and Cufic inscriptions, a dalmatic and chlamys (or cope) of red silk, the latter embroidered with eagles, and fastened by a richly jewelled clasp; with sword and purse hung to a crimson silk girdle; an emerald ring on one hand; silk boots, with spurs, on the feet.

alive before the people; their accomplices to be declared infamous, and incapable of holding office or public employ; none to intercede for convicted heretics under pain of the imperial displeasure. The fires were first kindled in Rome, for such executions, by order of the Senator, who, on the day he entered into office, used to submit himself prospectively to a fine of 300 silver marcs for showing indulgence towards heretics. In France and Germany similar severities were now acted out; and Blanche of Castille, Queen regent during the minority of Louis IX, introduced the Inquisition, for the extermination of the yet surviving Albigenes, into France, 1228.

The Pope, after giving vent to his unbounded joy at the death of Frederick, addressed letters not only to the magnates of the Sicilian kingdom, but also to their wives and mothers, urging to continued revolt against the Suabian dynasty, now represented by Conrad IV, whom a German party recognised as Emperor, and also by Manfred, one of Frederick's illegitimate sons, who held in that kingdom the reins of government during the absence of his brother in Germany. Again were the Italian subjects of Conrad assured that all oaths of allegiance to the Hohenstaufen were null and void. In the German states the Papal support was given to William, Count of Holland, who had been elected Emperor by a faction even before the death of Frederick. As that pretender wanted money for carrying on the war against Conrad IV, the Pope permitted him to levy tithes on church-property; to appropriate the fines paid (a novel system) for emancipation from the vow of the Crusade, and also the funds recently collected in Germany for the cause of Palestine. It is a fact that, for two years previously, those funds had been systematically diverted from their proper destination by Innocent's order (Cherrier, « *Lutte des Papes et des Empereurs de la maison de Suabe* », v. III. p. 299). Such a procedure needs no comment!

After a stay of between five and six years in France, the Pope returned into Italy, proceeding by land along the

« Corniche » coast — a beautiful, but then dangerous and difficult line of travel. Another triumphal reception awaited him at Genoa; but when it became known that he intended to appropriate, in that city, a Dominican convent, and transform it into a strong castle for his relatives, tumult arose, which obliged him to renounce that project. At Milan, whither he next repaired, his arrival was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm. It is said that 200,000 spectators lined the way for more than nine miles beyond the gates. In the pageant appeared 4000 children of aristocratic families, all wearing paper mitres, on which was painted the Pope's effigy; and as he passed, several patricians supported over him a crimson silk, gold-fringed canopy, adorned with garlands of verdure — hence the origin of the *baldacchino*, which became an accessory in all solemn ecclesiastical processions. Similar honours awaited the Pope in other cities; but amidst all these glittering externals, Innocent found that he had won no practical devotedness to his cause; none of the Italian populations, at this time, showed themselves ready to assist the projects of his ambition, which aimed at nothing less than the acquisition of the entire Neapolitan kingdom for the Papal sovereignty! Wherever he went, instead of obtaining the funds requisite for the war, sums of money were demanded of him; and whilst he held open court at the S. Ambrogio monastery, in Milan, the claims for reimbursement of what had already been spent on his behalf, were urged in very troublesome manner, but not satisfied. At Perugia, where the Pope now settled, was published another crusade against Conrad IV, with the usual anathemas and indulgences. When that Prince sent an embassy to offer peace, and protest his amicable dispositions, Innocent replied that he could only regard the son of Frederick as the enemy of the Church; that he admitted neither his claims to the Empire nor to the Sicilian crown; and that the sentence of deposition, passed in the Council, included all the descendants of that Emperor for ever! Again were the Clergy and nobles of



Conrad's States urged to rebel; and a Papal brief assured the citizens of Naples that they were taken under protection by the Holy See; and that the Pope would never concede either royal or any other rights over their city to any Prince, or other individual whomsoever.

The Neapolitans, and other citizens, eventually joined the revolt, with Capua, Aversa, Bari; all declaring that they could not remain under Papal interdict, nor obey a king under the ban of the Church. But Manfred soon subdued, by force of arms, all those disloyal cities, Naples and Capua excepted. The former city, besieged by Conrad, who now commanded in his southern states, was captured, (1253), and subjected to cruel reprisals, notwithstanding the intercession, on behalf of many unfortunate citizens, by the more humane Manfred. The Neapolitan fugitives received every succour from the Pope, who was not incapable of such generosity.

Innocent now adopted the expedient, more feasible than he had found his favourite project to be, of offering the Sicilian Kingdom to a foreign prince, instead of claiming it for the Papal sceptre. He entered into negotiations on this subject with Henry III of England, inviting him to the conquest of those States for either his brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, or his second son, Prince Edmond — an unnatural war for the English King, whose sister, Isabella, had been the beloved wife of Frederick II, and mother to one of his surviving sons. Henry, after persisting in refusal for two years, at last undertook the conquest, on condition that 100,000 tournois lire should be advanced by the Pope; and a Legate was sent to give investiture of the disputed kingdom to the English Prince. In the midst of this struggle Conrad died, aged twenty-six, (1254), leaving an infant son, Conradin, then two years old. The German Magnates sent deputies, entreating the Pontiff not to oppose the lawful succession of an orphan child to his hereditary kingdom; and adding the declaration that his father had desired, on his deathbed, to be reconciled with the Church. A haughty and

frigid answer showed that such appeals were thrown away on Innocent IV.

In 1254 the Pope was almost constrained by force to quit, first, Perugia, and (after four months' sojourn) Assisi also, in consequence of the imperious injunction from the Roman magistracy that he should return to the capital which had seen so little of him since his election.

Whilst he was at Assisi, envoys, sent from Rome, declared to him that the citizens were astonished at seeing him wander about like a vagabond or an exile, and, in the quest after riches, abandoning Rome, his pontifical See, and the flock for whom he would have to render severe account to the supreme Judge. To the Assisians they signified, in the name of the Senator and Roman people, the prohibition ever more to receive within their walls a pontiff « who did not take his title from Lyons, or Perugia, or Anagni, but from the holy See of Rome »; and it was threatened that, unless they speedily obliged Innocent to leave them, their territory should be for ever desolated (v. Matthew Paris). During his pontificate of eleven years and a half, this itinerant successor of S. Peter spent only about 18 months in Rome, and little more than five years in Italy. He at last re-entered Rome, trembling, it is said, with fear; being well aware of what was the natural effect of his long absence, — the alienation of that City from his sway; and the independence won for her municipal authorities. A vigorous Chief Senator, Brancalone of Bologna, had been for about a year at the head of this civic government; had made war against the turbulent barons; had ordered some of them to be hanged from their own windows, and 140 of their castles (many thrown up over classic ruins) to be demolished. He had also projected the total destruction of the Colosseum, as one of the most formidable strongholds of these incorrigible foes to public peace; and it is probable that the demolition of those ruins was actually commenced, though not carried into effect.

The Pope, whatever the feeling towards him, was received with due honours in Rome; but he had soon to seek protection

from the terrible Brancaneone against tumultuous citizens, who demanded large indemnity for the injuries caused to their affairs by his desertion of his sacred post. After a time, he again left, and returned to the more tranquil Perugia. Manfred now offered terms of peace and conciliation so favourable, that even Innocent IV was ready to accept, with apparently benign assent. The young prince assigned to the Pope the guardianship of Conradin (conformably with the wishes of that child's father); declared himself ready to receive his Holiness with proper respect in the Neapolitan States, and to open to him the strongest fortresses of the realm.

Those offers were accepted; the treaty was ratified; Manfred was absolved by the Pope at Anagni; the principality of Taranto, with three other Counties, was bestowed on him for ever, and he was even created Vicar of the Holy See over the Neapolitan states, exclusive of the Terra di Lavoro (or Campania), with revenue of 8000 gold ounces (506,400 francs) per annum. Accompanied by an escort of considerable force, enrolled at Genoa and other Guelfic cities, the Pope proceeded from Anagni to the Neapolitan confines, where, at Ceprano, Manfred met him with all the regards due to the Head of the Church, and led his horse as he rode across the bridge over the Garigliano.

The Pope crossed that frontier, being surrounded by declared enemies of the Suabian dynasty, by returning exiles and malcontents. He proceeded to act like the ruler of the land; sent Legates to demand oaths of allegiance from cities; and with his own hand gave investiture of a principedom to an avowed foe of Manfred. The latter, no longer bound to respect the terms of peace amidst such provocations, fortified himself at Lucera, where a Saracenic colony had been established by Frederick, and where a garrison of Saracens and Germans received him with loyalty. This town he made a centre of warlike operations, and, with the military talents that distinguished him, succeeded in extending his conquests hence over most of the revolted regions. The army of the Papal Legate, now in the field against him, was constrained to dis-

band. The intelligence of this disaster aggravated the last illness of Innocent IV, who died at Naples soon after that defeat had been reported to him (4). Manfred eventually recovered the entire states, and, setting aside the rights of his nephew, caused himself to be crowned at Palermo as King of the Sicilies (1258).

We may give full credit to Innocent IV for the merits and learning, suitable to his high sphere, which Ciaconius and others ascribe to him. His cause seems to have been more popular in Italy than that of the Hohenstaufen, whom he naturally opposed, because dreading the predominance of a house which united the Empire with the most extensive Italian States, and those in proximity to his own.

But such a pontificate, compared with others in the succession to S. Peter's chair, is like the coldly-calculated substitution of a reign of political intrigue and armed violence for that of Charity, Wisdom, and Peace. Probably its moral consequences have not yet passed away, at least among the Italians; and no historic proof could be conveyed more strikingly than in this instance, of the withering effects of the temporal on the spiritual character in the Papacy. •

Soon after Innocent's death, many minds were struck with terror by the report of a vision — a supernatural comment on his reputed avarice, and on the notorious accumulation of riches by this Pope — A monk, on the night that he passed away, beheld his soul imploring pardon before the Divine throne and the Blessed Virgin, until a majestic matron, holding the model of a temple, with « Ecclesia » inscribed in gold upon its front, interposed, and sternly upbraided him for having made God's Church the vilest of slaves, by degrading her into a counting house for money-changers;

(4) He was buried in the Neapolitan cathedral, S. Restituta, whence his tomb was transferred, 1318, to the Duomo built by the Anjou kings; and soon afterwards was raised the monument to him still in its place, with a recumbent statue by Pietro di Stefani.

for having shaken alike the faith and morals of the world ; destroyed Justice, and darkened Truth. After which was heard a still more awful voice, that of the Lord Himself, who said : « Depart, and receive the recompense thou hast deserved ! »

The exorbitant demands of Rome on the property of foreign churches were a notorious scandal of this time, and a cause of irritation fraught with danger to the Papacy. Under Innocent IV this system was carried to its utmost extent. In England the benefices held by foreigners, chiefly Italians, now yielded revenues of 70,000 silver marcs, more than thrice the income of the King (Henry III); and it was usual to exact grants, so much per annum, for Italian convents, from English livings. Honorius III demanded that two prebends in each cathedral, and the appointment of a monk in each conventual church of that kingdom, should be assigned in perpetuity to Rome; but the barons protested against this; and a synod at Westminster registered a contemptuous negative. Innocent IV demanded a canonry for his nephew, a mere boy, from Grostete, bishop of Lincoln; and was furious at the refusal given to him, in admonitory terms, by that worthy prelate. In the reign of John, the Peter-pence, paid by fifteen dioceses in England, yielded 498 pounds, 8 pence per annum, which, of course, must be multiplied many times to find the equivalent in modern money (4).

Another of the Conti family, a Cardinal, the nephew of Gregory IX, was elected at Naples as Alexander IV (1254-64). Carrying out the policy of his predecessor, this Pope's main objects were to oppose the power of Manfred, and prevent

(4) About this time was penned by a Briton the satire published by the Camden society :

Roma, turpitudinis jacens in profundis,  
 Virtutes praeponerat opibus immundis,  
 Vacillantis animi, fluctuans sub undis,  
 Diruit, aedificat mutat quadrata rotundis.



the election of Conradin to the Empire. He threatened to anathematize the German magates, lay and ecclesiastical, who should vote for that young prince; and at Viterbo, on Holy Thursday, he solemnly excommunicated Manfred, as well as all the prelates who had assisted at his coronation. Another crusade was published against the Suabian king, and with aid from Henry III of England, who contributed large sums, in return for which Prince Edmond again received the investiture of the Sicilian kingdom from a Legate.

In this, and other similar Crusades against Christian monarchs, promulgated by the Popes of the XIII century, we see the darkening of the principle by which those consecrated wars had once been, or seemed to be, glorified. But we have now to consider a nobler exercise of the Papal power in stimulating to attack against a most odious despotism, for the true interests of Humanity. Ezzelino da Romano, the most sanguinary tyrant of the Middle Ages in Italy, had been, since the year 1232, exercising a sway over Verona and Padua with such cruelties as win for him a place beside the worst of the Caesars of Pagan Rome. He and his brother, Alberico, were at the head of the Ghibellines in the Veronese Marches; and, notwithstanding the crimes of the former, Innocent IV had made efforts to draw him over to the Guelfic cause, as a desirable ally! Towards the close of the year 1253, Alexander IV addressed the bishops and nobles of Lombardy, Emilia, and the Trevisan Marches, in a circular inviting to coalition for the overthrow of this despot, whom he justly describes as « a son of perdition, a man of blood, the most inhuman among the sons of men, who has usurped a tyrannical power over unhappy populations, has broken all the bonds of human society, all the laws of Evangelical liberty. » The Archbishop of Ravenna was appointed legate and commander of this Crusade in northern Italy; and multitudes enlisted with zeal in a cause that appealed to the sympathies of generous indignation; the same indulgences as for other such wars being largely conceded. Ezzelino was defeated, and taken

prisoner in a decisive battle, a few days after which he died of his wounds, fiercely refusing all aid and sustenance (1259). Alberico, also made prisoner, after the siege of a castle, was cruelly put to death, after witnessing the atrocious butchery of his wife and eight children, — an act that disgraced this campaign, justifiable in itself, though not unattended by horrors of civil war, and outrages in which the innocent suffered with the guilty. Alexander IV followed the policy of his predecessor in refusing peace, and even most favourable offers of accomodation, with Manfred — among others, the terms proposed, before that prince had been crowned, that he (the latter) should hold the Sicilian states as Regent for Conradin, and cede the rich province of Terra di Lavoro for ever to the Papacy — a proposal accepted by a Legate, who had been obliged to capitulate at Foggia, when that city was besieged by Manfred; but which the Pope would not ratify. We now begin to hear of a censorship of literature. A dangerous book, which had made a sensation at this time, the « Introduction to the Eternal Gospel », ascribed to Giovanni of Parma, General of the Franciscans, was burnt by the Pope's own hand; and prohibited under excommunication; nor was this surprising, for the work in question aimed at the substituting of a new religion for the Christian; maintaining that a third Revelation, that of the Holy Spirit, destined to supersede Christianity, as the latter had superseded Judaism, was about to dawn on the world (1). Alexander IV was a learned man, a ready writer, and a great patron of the

(1) As its title imports, this was the intended sequel to another work, the « Eternal Gospel », written, towards the end of the XII century, by a Cistercian Abbot, Joachim of Calabria, author of several other mystic works, Comments on Scripture ec.; and whose « Gospel » had been accepted by many as a species of revelation. That volume was condemned by the Pope in the Lateran Council; but when the author submitted all he had written to the judgment of the Church, Honorius III acquitted him of all charges of heresy.

religious Orders, five congregations of whom he united in one society, henceforth known as Augustinian Hermits.

Not more than nine Cardinals were living at the time of this Pope's death, which took place at Viterbo; and even the small number assembled for the election in that city, were long dissentient before they could choose a successor. They at last bestowed the tiara on a French prelate, external to their own college, Jacques Pantaleon, said to be the son of a cobbler at Troyes, and who, through merits and learning, had successively won his way to, and worthily filled, the offices of archdeacon, bishop of Verdun, and Patriarch of Jerusalem. Urban IV (1264-64), the name he assumed, renewed the Crusade against Manfred; and took a step fraught with still more disastrous consequences to the future of Italy, by offering the Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, and brother to Louis IX. The Papacy, become the author of incalculable public sorrows, after having so long proved a source of blessings and benign influences, seems like a plant of precious virtues, accustomed to shed healing balm — « as fast as the Arabian trees their medicinal gums » — at last converted by some malignant spell into a Upas-tree of death! Charles accepted that fatal offer, after he had secured himself a crown in prospect, instead of, as first proposed, the mere thankless task of conquering a kingdom for the benefit of the Holy See. It was stipulated that he should receive investiture of that kingdom, with reserve, for the Holy See, of Benevento, and an annual tribute, — namely, 8000 gold ounces, and the chinea, or white palfrey. A party among the Romans, hostile to the Pope, now desired to bestow the office of Chief Senator on Manfred; others voted for Peter, Prince of Aragon; but Urban IV, in order to break off the intrigues of the disaffected, assigned that post, by his own authority, to Charles of Anjou; and the contemporary statue of that prince still remains, in the great hall of the Capitol, to commemorate his tenure of the Senatorial office. The Pope prudently reserved to himself the right of

revoking that appointment, The office of sole senator had been, during a time, conferred for but one year; and a restoration of the body of fifty-six members, under Innocent III, had had no enduring result, Manfred invaded the Roman states soon after this fresh provocation; took Sutri, and a few other fortified towns; but was eventually repulsed with defeat by the army of so-called crusaders, who had enlisted in the papal service. Meantime Urban IV resided at Orvieto, where he carried on various public works; built a pontific palace, which still stands, and the church of S. Domenico; also farther benefited that city by reconciling rival factions. A tumult, — excited by his opposition to the project of subjecting another town, on pontific territory, to the Orvieto magistrates — induced, him to quit the latter place; and he repaired, in infirm health, to Perugia, where he died soon after his arrival. At Perugia was elected a French Cardinal, Archbishop of Narbonne, absent at the time, who took the name, Clement IV (1265-68). This person's antecedents had been singular: first, a soldier, afterwards a lawyer, he had married, and become a father; when left a widower, had desired to enter the Carthusian Order, but was withheld by being called to a place in the councils of government under Louis IX (1) A contemporary (Tolomeo of Lucca) says that « the higher he rose in dignity, the more did he progress in sanctity ». So soon as apprised of his election, he set out from France, and travelled through northern Italy in disguise of a mendicant friar, in order to escape the snares apprehended from Manfred. Clement IV showed his superiority to the mistaken enthusiasm of the time by endeavouring to dissuade Louis IX from a new Crusade. In other respects he followed

(1) An extant letter from him to his nephew (v. Ciaconius) conveys his intimation to his relatives that they were to expect neither wealth nor honours in consequence of his election. To his two daughters he gave slight dowries, enabling one to marry in her own station, another to take the veil.

the aggressive policy of his predecessors, both in hostilities against the Hohenstaufen, and in the support of the ambitious projects suggested to Charles of Anjou. The promise of the investiture of the Sicilian kingdom was confirmed to that prince. Forty bishops were denounced, with sentence of degradation, for their adherence to Manfred, their recognized king. By one of his bulls Clement added another pinnacle to the high-towering edifice of Papal supremacy; and went, indeed, farther than any of his predecessors by establishing in that document, as an incontestable principle, that it pertains to the Pope to dispose of all benefices at his pleasure, and even to grant those not vacant by prospectively securing the reversion for whomsoever he may recommend. Hence the system of « Expectative Reserves », against the flagrant abuse of which the Pragmatic sanction of Louis IX provided a check, deemed necessary even by that sainted king. In 1265, Charles of Anjou, after sailing up the Tiber as far as S. Paul's, made his entry into Rome, amidst popular acclamations. Most cruel punishments were inflicted by his order on those who had offended him, during his stay; but he soon set out for the conquest to which he had been invited; and many Italian Guelphs, — 400 Florentines, and 4000 Bolognese — were enrolled under his banner in a war which the Papal sanction was still powerful enough to invest with ideal lustre. Legates, Prelates, mendicant Friars were ordered to preach the new crusade against Manfred. The Pope raised a loan of 400,000 livres on the security of church-property in Rome, for the costs of the enterprise; and commuted the vows of the genuine (the oriental) Crusade into the obligation of fighting in the cause of the invading Prince. It is said that felons, incendiaries, the excommunicated, and suspended priests were among those who benefited by the Papal invitation and indulgences, in this disastrous contest. On the 26th February, 1266, took place the battle of Benevento, in which Manfred was defeated and slain; his corpse being left without Christian sepulture after its recognition. Charles of Anjou did



not scruple to sack Benevento and devastate its territory; for which the Pope severely upbraided him; but the invader was now king of the two Sicilies. In the next year the still faithful adherents of the Hohenstaufen invited the young Conradin to cross the Alps, and claim, in arms, his rightful heritage. He marched by way of Verona and Pisa, at the head of 40,000 horse, an army reduced to not more than about 3,500 when he left Rome.

As he advanced he was commanded by the Pope, under penalty of excommunication and the forfeiture of his rank as king of Jerusalem (the only title recognised by the Pontiff in his case) — to disband his army, and appear before the sacerdotal throne, submissive to his Holiness's decision respecting his interests. His disobedience drew down upon him, and all his partisans, the anathema solemnly pronounced at Viterbo in the Holy Week of 1268; and, at the same time, the sentence depriving him of his titular kingdom. He prosecuted his march, passing by Viterbo; before whose walls he drew out his army in menacing array, witnessed by the Pope and the Cardinals. When those forces had first been seen from the battlements, Clement retired to engage in prayer; but he mounted the walls in time to see them pass; and when the young king and his cousin, the Duke of Austria, were pointed out to him, the Pope uttered the prophetic words. « They are victims letting themselves be led to sacrifice ! » Conrad was honourably received at Rome both by the citizens and by the Senator, Prince Henry of Castile, who met him at the head of 800 Spanish horse, a German company in arms, and many Ghibelline nobles. Galvano Lancia, a kinsman of Manfred, had already taken up his residence in the Lateran palace, and been left there undisturbed, notwithstanding the Pope's remonstrances to the magistrates. The Senator summoned the people to the Capitol, and arrested certain persons, Orsini and Savelli, who were opposed to Conradin. The treasures found at the Lateran and Ostian basilicas, in S. Sabina and other convents, were appropriated by the

young prince without scruple. It seems that at this period the Papacy had no direct power whatever, but that the senatorial office was actually supreme, in Rome. Conradin left that city at the head of an army reduced by the withdrawal of two leaders. In the August of the same year the fate of that unfortunate prince was sealed, and the cause of his dynasty ruined. He was defeated at Tagliacozzo; he thence retreated into the Papal states; tried to escape by sea, and was brought back, to be betrayed to Charles by the perfidious Frangipani at the lone tower of Astura on the coast between Terracina and Porto d'Anzio. Clement IV has been fully vindicated from the grave charge of having counselled the atrocious vengeance, the violation of honour and justice, by which Conradin was brought to death on the scaffold (29th October, 1268).

It has indeed been maintained by a writer of credit (v. « Art de vérifier les Dates »), that that execution took place after the death of Clement, during the vacancy of the Papal chair; though according to other computation, the Pope died exactly a month before the tragic event at Naples; and some writers state that he severely upbraided Charles for that legalized murder.

The vacancy, after Clement's death, lasted for the unprecedented period of three years, *minus* about two months. The Cardinals, being assembled at Viterbo, where Clement died, were for a long time prevented from coming to decision by the Podesta of that city. At last, the votation having commenced, but been tediously prolonged, a sainted Cardinal, Bonaventura, proposed that six of the college should be empowered to act apart from the rest — there were but eleven in all; and the result was the bestowal of the tiara on Tebaldo Visconti, archdeacon of Liege, who was then absent in Palestine. Gregory X (1271–'76) was a virtuous, self-devoting man, who promoted peace and justice. Bent on bringing about church-reforms, and securing aid to the Christian cause in Palestine, he convoked a Council at Lyons, and

set out for France in 1273. On his way he visited Florence, there making his state-entry together with the Anjou king, and the Latin Emperor of the East, Baldwin II. During his sojourn in that city, he had the happiness of seeing effected a reconciliation, for which he had wisely exerted himself, between the Guelphs and Ghibellines. In the then dry bed of the Arno, below the *Ponte delle Grazie*, that oldest of the Florentine bridges, which still stands as originally built in 1237, an immense assemblage, magistrates, clergy, citizens, met to celebrate this peace-making in presence of the beneficent Pontiff.

The fourteenth Oecumenical Council was opened at Lyons in May, 1274, being attended by 500 Bishops, 60 (or 70) Abbots, and about 1000 other ecclesiastics; also by the ambassadors of two Emperors and three kings, and by the king of Aragon in person. Among its more important decrees were those that prescribed the observances for the Papal election, in the regular conclave, a system now first introduced. Such seclusion (conclave, properly so called) had not hitherto been enforced; but the Cardinals, when called on to elect, used daily to unite, at appointed hours, in the Lateran or some other basilica of Rome; or, if any other city were the theatre of the event, in the principal church; the electors returning to their homes, after the votation, each day.

It was now prescribed that they should meet on the tenth day after the death of the Pope, and after nine days dedicated to funereal rites; that the place of assemblage should be strictly guarded by troops; and also (if in Rome) by the Barons; the ambassadors of princes also sharing that duty; that none should enter, except any Cardinals who might not have arrived before their colleagues had met; none be allowed to leave the Conclave, unless in case of illness; that no sort of communication should be held by the Cardinals with the outer world; the offer, or promise, of gifts, or solicitations with a view to gaining votes, being forbidden under pain of excommunication. Any individual, of what-

ever rank or station, might be elected by the requisite majority of two thirds. If the Cardinals had not decided by the third day, they were to be each limited to a single dish of viands at two meals, as daily pittance, for the next five days; and if still dissentient after that interval, to bread, wine, and water. It was decreed that all mendicant friars, who had appeared since the last Lateran Council, should, unless formally approved by Rome, be suppressed; and the Council forbade the holding of fairs, markets, or other profane assemblies, in churches or cemeteries; also (another indication of profanations now more or less common) the overthrowing of images of the Virgin or Saints. On this occasion was proclaimed a reunion (hollow as such reconciliations ever proved) between the Greek and Latin Churches; the fathers of the former (now present) acquiesced in the doctrine of the twofold Procession of the Divine Son, and thrice chanted the « Filioque » in the Credo at the Papal High Mass. (1) The sainted Cardinal Bonaventura died, and was interred with great solemnity, at Lyons, during these sessions; and that light of the mediaeval Church, S. Thomas Aquinas, first of Theologians in the XIII century, died, when on his way to join this Council, at the beautiful Cistercian monastery of Fossanova in the Ferentino province, near the Neapolitan confines; his sudden death giving rise to suspicions of poison, said to have been administered by order of the Anjou King, who wished to prevent his appearance at the Council. After he had started for this, his last, journey from Naples, a Dominican friar, at his convent there, saw in dreams a meeting between Thomas Aquinas and S. Paul, in the

(1) How illusory this reunion, in the actual state of Europe, is apparent from the fact that Constantinople had previously (1261) returned under the dominion of a Greek dynasty, after the phantasm of Latin Empire in the East had endured little more than fifty-seven years. Baldwin II, a fugitive, was now merely titular Emperor, without states, credit, or finances; the reigning autocrat at Constantinople being Michael Palaeologus.

school where the former was teaching theology amidst his scholars, and also prelates, there assembled to hear him. He asked of the Apostle, whether he had understood aright the sense of his Epistles? S. Paul answered that he had expounded them well, so far as they could be comprehended in the present life; but that there was a life beyond, in which their profoundest meanings would become perfectly clear to him. The Apostle then began to draw away the lecturer by his cowl. The friar cried out for help, and awoke; three days afterwards, notice of the death of S. Thomas Aquinas reached that Neapolitan convent (*Ptolem. Hist. Eccles.* XXII, 9).

The king of France, Philip the Hardy, successor to Louis IX, in a meeting with the Pope, shortly after those proceedings at Lyons, conceded to the Papacy the county of Venaissin, which had been added to its territories by gift of Count Raymond of Toulouse, in 1229, but, soon afterwards, restored by Gregory IX to the same donor. Philip, however, reserved to himself one half of the Avignon district.

In 1275 the Pope returned into Italy, but not to Rome. Travelling through the Florentine territories, he desired to avoid that city, because the peace having been broken, and the old Guelph and Ghibelline contest revived, Florence had been laid under interdict — so brief the results of the reconciliation joyously celebrated under Papal auspices! On account of an inundation of the Arno the transit was, however, inevitable; and Florence was now freed from the interdict, merely for the occasion, and as an arrangement of ceremonial, in order that the city honoured by a visit, should receive, at the same time, the blessings, of the Head of the Church. Scarcely had the Pope quitted the gate (that of S. Niccolò), after riding through the streets without alighting, than he revoked the absolving sentence, so as to leave Florence again under the weight of the interdict, which she endured for two years. Gregory X died at Arezzo, where he had established his residence on his return from France; and in the cathedral of which city was erected (about 1277) the



monument to him with a recumbent statue by Margaritone. His sanctified life led to belief in miracles wrought at his tomb; and from A. D. 1345, the anniversary of his death began to be celebrated, lights to be placed on his tomb for that day, in the Arezzo Duomo. He is said to have originated the periodical distributing of alms to paupers at the pontifical palace—as still kept up on the anniversaries of the Papal election and coronation. One of his daily employments was, to wash the feet of a certain number of poor men.

Through his means and influence almost all the Italian states were pacified in this most troubled period of Guelph and Ghibelline discords; and the long interregnum of the western Empire, indirectly caused by the turbulent policy of Innocent IV, was brought to its term by the election (1273) of Rodolph of Hapsburg. The pontificate of Gregory X brought a revival of the higher and purer attributes of the Papacy, commanding the reverence due to its primitive Apostolic character,—not alike asserted by other Popes in the XIII century. Gregory X has not been canonized, though one of his successors, John XXII, was petitioned to render that tribute to his revered memory. The three pontificates which ensued, began and ended between the February of 1276 and May of 1277. Innocent IV was elected at Arezzo; both Adrian V and John XXI (a Portuguese) died at Viterbo, where the latter had been elected; the former having passed away before he had even received priest's orders.

The death of Pope John was caused by an accident: the fall of some buildings, ordered by him at the pontifical palace, which crushed him as he slept, though he survived for a few days. He was a learned man, skilled in medicine; had written treatises on that science, also a book called « *Thesaurus Pauperum* », and another of problems « in the manner of Aristotle ». His only important act, as Pontiff, was the revoking of the constitutions for the observance of Conclave, which had been first suspended by Adrian V. Not to any ascertainable sins of John XXI, but to the profound

superstition of the time must we ascribe the rumour that the Archfiend had caused his death by removing the rafters of the roof above his bed, whilst he was engaged in inditing heresies or theories of magic!

An Orsini Cardinal was elected at Viterbo, after a vacancy of six months, as Nicholas III (1277-'80). This Pope, sagacious, prudent, eloquent, did more than any of his predecessors for consolidating the temporal power of his throne. The Emperor Rodolph, who desired to conciliate him for the sake of a hoped-for absolution from some rash vow of a Crusade, had, as was customary with the German potentates soon after their election, sent his Chancellor to require oaths of allegiance from the Italian cities, inclusive of several claimed by the Papacy. Nicholas III succeeded in inducing Rodolph to renounce all assumed rights over those latter cities, and to recognise the Papal states in their entire extent, from Radicofani to Ceprano, north and south-westward; as also including the Duchy of Spoleto, the Anconitan Marches, and all the territories bestowed by Matilda. A. Protonotary was sent to intimate, in legal form, to the Pope and Cardinals in consistory, this imperial recognition of *de facto* dominion held by the Pontificate; and, soon afterwards, the German Chancellor made surrender to pontific Commissaries of all the provinces hitherto held, or usurped, by the Empire from the Holy See. On the 30th of June, 1278, was drawn up the act so important to the pontific interests, and the terms of which embodied what had been agreed to in an interview between Rodolph and Gregory X at Lausanne. But the imperial recognition did not imply, or lead to, the direct control of the Holy See over its more distant cities and provinces, which comprised several independent Republics, as Bologna, Ancona, Perugia. It does not appear that any immediate political change resulted in those localities. The historians of Bologna, referring to this episode, merely state that their city *gave herself* to the Pope; and two centuries more elapsed before the Pontiffs could exercise absolute power over the

States now officially handed over to them. ( Sismondi , c. XXII.

In 1279 the legate of Nicholas III , Cardinal Latino . became the means of bringing about two reconciliations of highly beneficial consequence : one between the factions of the Ghermei and Lambertazzi at Bologna ; the other between Guelphs and Ghibellines at Florence — which last happy issue the legate had laboured during four months to attain. The exiled Ghibellines were recalled , and reinstated in their lost property. On the piazza before the new Dominican church , S. Maria Novella, were assembled the chief civic representatives , in presence of the Cardinal and Clergy ; the decrees dictated by factious hate, were burnt : and 150 chief citizens of each party interchanged the kiss of peace amidst general rejoicings. After this a new magistracy , the fourteen « Buonomini » , was created ; Guelphs and Ghibellines in equal numbers sharing municipal government in Florence.

Nicholas III saw that it was his interest to check the formidable power of the Anjou king , whom he deprived of the Roman senatorial office ; as also (thus rendering a return for Rodolph's favours) of the Imperial Vicariate in the Lombardic and Tuscan states , which had been abusively bestowed upon Charles by Clement IV.

A storm , provoked by the intolerable tyrannies of that king's government , was now brooding over Sicily ; and in the first preparatory movements of a just revolution , the Pope gave his countenance to the cause of oppressed nationality , now about to rise against the deadly wrongs brought down on the Sicilian states through the policy of less worthy Pontiffs. The fair fame of Nicholas III was tarnished by the weakness of nepotism. So eager was he for the honours of his house that he aimed at obtaining even royal rank for two Orsini , his nephews , aspiring to secure to them crowns in Lombardy and Tuscany. The contemptuous refusal of Charles I to allow his niece to marry one of those Orsini , is said to have been a chief cause of animosity against that king.

Six months of inter-regnum and tumult ensued after the death of this Pope. The Cardinals met at Viterbo, but long delays occurred. Revolt broke out in the city; new magistrates were installed, after the former had been set aside, by the faction favourable to Charles I. The palace where the Cardinals had assembled was violently entered; and, as one chronicler says, a single Cardinal, — according to others, three of the College, deemed adverse to the Anjou, were seized to be thrown into prison. The voters soon elected such a Pope as the king desired — Simon de Brion, a French Cardinal, who now became Martin IV (1281–'85). The first step taken by him was to lay Viterbo under interdict for the violence done to the three Cardinals; after which he immediately set out for Orvieto, there to be consecrated and crowned. This Pope proved precisely such a pliant instrument as Charles I desired. He hurled anathemas whithersoever that despot wished that their weight should be felt. He declared himself the head of the Guelphs, and contributed to revive the contests which his predecessors, true to their high vocation, had laboured to appease. He conferred anew the rank of Roman Senator on Charles; but had soon to experience humiliating failure in his efforts to serve that protector at extreme emergency. The suffering Sicilians sent a bishop and a Dominican friar to demand justice at that pontifical throne where wrongs used to be powerfully redressed in happier times; and in presence of Charles himself, in public consistory at Orvieto, the Pope was urged to take the part of the oppressed against the oppressor. « Have mercy on me, thou son of David, for my daughter is grievously tormented by a Devil! » — was the exordium of an eloquent appeal by the mitred envoy. The result was characteristic of the then dominant spirit in the Curia, and the degradation, through worldliness, of the Papacy as represented by Martin IV. Those emissaries had no sooner left the consistory than they were arrested; and although the bishop escaped by bribing his guards, the unfortunate friar was left to languish, half-starved, in a dungeon. Bhot the Pope and the king were still together at Orvieto,

when intelligence reached them, through the Archbishop of Palermo, of an event which agitated all Europe. On the 31st of March, Easter Tuesday, 1282, whilst the people of the Sicilian capital were assembled, at the hour of Vespers, before the suburban church of S. Spirito, had broken out a revolt against the French, immediately provoked by insult against woman, and leading to a massacre in which 200 perished on that fatal field, and 2000 (according to some accounts, 3000) in Palermo, before the close of that day; about 4000 in the whole island during the ensuing tempest of terrible reprisals against intolerable wrong. Remarkable was it that, amidst the intoxication of triumph through such sanguinary efforts — and at Palermo on the very night of the massacre — the spontaneous impulse of the civic chiefs was, to proclaim a Republic under protection of the Holy See — striking proof of the force of traditionary respects and confidence in the inherent justice of S. Peter's throne, notwithstanding all that the Sicilians had suffered through Papal policy in recent years! The Palermitan banner of the Golden Eagle, for the first time seen quartered with the Papal keys, was unfurled amidst popular acclamations for the « Good Estate and Liberty! » under the auspices of the Church. And other cities followed the example, giving to Martin VI credit for a spirit of generosity which no Pope could have more totally wanted than did he now reigning.

On the following Ascension-day, Martin IV thundered anathemas against the Sicilians; prohibited all Christian powers from giving them support; proclaimed that disobedience in this respect should be punished, in the case of prelates by degradation, in that of princes, or feudal lords, by forfeiture of their states, and by the release of their subjects or vassals from all bonds of allegiance; at the same time declaring null and void all confederations between the Sicilian cities, and calling upon the leaders of the movement instantly to submit to the Anjou despot.



Envoys from Palermo, sent to deprecate the Papal wrath, greeted his Holiness in consistory with the all too solemn appeal, from the Canon of the Mass: *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis!* to which he replied, keeping up the allegoric in this strange but fruitless interview: *Ave Rex Judaeorum! et dabant ei alapam!*

On the 7th of May following, the whole Palermitan population were excommunicated with the usual awful forms of Papal procedure — never, up to the present mediaeval period, more futile than in this instance. In the next November the same anathemas were hurled against the king of Aragon for his act of accepting the proffered Sicilian crown; and again was the dread sentence reiterated against the same monarch when the Pope promulgated a Crusade to deprive him of his hereditary kingdom, with the announcement to Europe that Peter III no longer deserved to reign. — Another kingdom offered, and a foreign invader invited to sieze it, at the Papal arbitration! — Charles of Valois was the prince chosen to despoil the Aragonese of his rightful crown. Many volunteers « took the cross » in this vain effort to divert the march of events too mighty for ecclesiastical decrees, or curses, to alter or annul (4). The sole other important transaction of this pontificate, the siege of Forli, supplies practical proof that direct control was not yet wielded by the Papacy

(4) Amari supplies (document X, in his admirable History of the Sicilian War) a striking expression of the feeling excited by the worldly spirit, the desertion of the cause of the people for that of princes, on the part of the Pontiff. In an [address certainly prepared, about this time, by the Sicilians for an embassy to the Curia, — though not certainly known to have been delivered — Martin IV is thus reprimanded: « You are, — I speak with the highest respect — occupied not in ecclesiastical, but in secular, cares; you give your attention not to the affairs of churches, the causes or election of prelates, but to the complicated affairs of kings, of cities, counts, and barons; you put the accessorial in the place of the principal, the principal in that of the accessorial ».

over its more distant towns and provinces. Martin IV created the rank of Count of Romagna for one of the Anjou king's officers, appointed to command a combined pontific and Neapolitan (or French) army, for the reduction of that town, which had become a chief centre of exiled Ghibellines. Forlì was laid under interdict; all ecclesiastics were commanded to leave its walls; all the property of its inhabitants was confiscated to the pontific treasury. But when the place was at last captured through internal treachery, the gallant defence, kept up even in the streets, drove back the assailants, and wrested the fruit of victory from their hands. Martin IV died at Perugia, where he was for a time honoured as a saint, and miracles were said to have been wrought at his tomb. Writers of the period (see Plotemy of Lucca) ascribe virtues to him; but, through his public acts, he takes his place in History among those who contributed to eclipse the moral light once illumining the Papacy (1). Within the third year after the Palermitan massacre, all the sovereigns who took part in the complicated struggle consequent on that tragedy, were removed by death. The pontificate of Honorius IV, (Giacomo Savelli), elected at Perugia (1285-'87), is little marked by historic events. He was so crippled by gout as to be unable either to stand, or walk, or close his hands; but in him mental vigour rose superior to bodily weakness. He made use of a certain me-

(1) The genius of Pasquinade had already manifested itself among the Romans, as to this day active, in satiric stricture on private lives, or characters. Under Nicholas III appeared a book entitled « Initium Malorum », with the effigies of, and epigrams intended for, each pontiff in succession; and this, it seems, was added to, as one after the other ascended the throne. Martin IV, who is said to have died of a surfeit from his favourite dish, the eels of the Thrasymene lake, had the epitaph assigned to him in these impertinent pages:

Gaudeant anguillae, quod mortuus est homo ille,  
Qui quasi morte reas, excoxiabat eas.

chanism by which he could go through the celebration of mass ; and used to say that , although impotent in the hands and feet , he could yet discharge the duties of his office with the tongue. This learned Pope built the Savelli palace on the Aventine hill , where its ruinous outworks , with turreted walls , now enclose the premises of the S. Sabina convent. His brother , Pandolph Savelli , filled the office of Chief Senator , and , though alike a helpless victim to gout , held the magisterial reins so firmly that he became a terror to thieves and bandits ; « every one (says the Lucchese chronicler , noticing Rome's conditions at this date) was safe in his own house , and the streets were as they used to be in olden time ».

A vacancy of more than ten months ensued after the death of the estimable Honorius. The conclave was held in that same residence on the Aventine. Long disputes divided the electors , till at last , the unhealthy and sultriest season coming on , they suffered in their seclusion ; malaria fever broke out among them ; all fled , except one , the bishop of Palestrina , (a Franciscan) , who remained alone in that desolate palace , and adopted the expedient of lighting large fires in all the rooms , to purify the atmosphere — successfully , as it proved , for the fever spared him. With the Winter , the other electors returned , and again assembled in the Aventine palace ; soon after which reunion they voted unanimously for the same persevering Franciscan Cardinal , who had staid at his post. He twice refused , before he could be prevailed on finally to accept , the tiara , as Nicholas IV (1288-'92). Among political steps taken by this Pope were the intercessions which finally obtained liberty for the captive king of Naples , Charles II , who , at the time of his father's death , was in the power of his opponent , the king of Aragon ; also the efforts to move the European sovereigns to a new Crusade in the East , after the loss of S. Jean d'Acre by the Christians , A. D. 1291 , had revived general interest in that cause. Popular tumults at Rome induced Nicholas to IV choose Rieti for his residence during

a year. At the latter city he crowned the now released king of Naples, and at the same time absolved him from his engagements made on oath with the Aragonese king as conditional to his liberation, and by which Charles II had formally ceded the Sicilian kingdom to James of Aragon, reserving to himself the continental Neapolitan States; and had pledged himself to make his cousin, Charles de Valois, renounce the pretended right to that Spanish kingdom derived, through Papal investiture.

In Romagna broke out revolt, for a time suppressed, but renewed with violence, the shock of which, combined with his grief for the loss of Acre, is said to have caused the death of Nicholas IV. Though not given to nepotism, this Pope yielded to an excess of favouritism for the Colonna family, which drew down reproof and satire. The libellous book, above alluded to, represented him bodily enclosed in a column, nothing but his mitred head being left visible; with the epigram: « Nicholaus Papa IV, confusio, error concitabitur » (1).

He attempted to substitute the Franciscan Missal and Office for those in more ancient use. His restorations of, and the works he ordered in, churches, particularly the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore, near which basilica he resided after his return from Rieti, connect this Pope's name with the history of Art in Rome. When the Cardinals assembled, first in Rome, afterwards at Perugia, for another election, they not only disregarded all observances of Conclave (which were indeed abolished), but gave example of discord, confusion, and prejudicial delay of urgent duty, which scandalized Europe. The king of Naples visited them in the Umbrian city, and urged them — with high words, it seems — to accomplish the

(1) A long metrical epitaph, on the monument raised to him by Sixtus V at S. Maria Maggiore (1574), affirms the suppression of the revolt in Romagna: « Flaminiam in Pontificis iterum ditionem redegit ».

task before them. The interregnum lasted for two years and three months before the tiara was, finally, disposed of in a manner the most extraordinary.

A Cardinal bishop, Latino, reproving his colleagues, proclaimed that a vision had been seen by a holy man, importing the threat that, if they postponed the election for two months longer, they should all be struck dead. Was his, asked another Cardinal, Gaetani, a warning from the hermit Pietro da Morrone? It was; and moreover, as Latino declared, a revelation granted to one whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit had rendered worthy to assume the government of the Church. His words were taken as a suggestion of inspired import. All inquired about that obscure saint. Latino took the lead in voting for him; the other Cardinals followed his example; and the Hermit was elected to the supreme Pontificate!

Pietro da Morrone, a native of the Neapolitan states, had gained repute for sanctity by the ascetic life he had led during forty years in a cell, high up on a mountain near Sulmona in the Abruzzo province, in which retreat he only communicated with the outer world through a narrow window. Though in priest's orders, and known as the founder of an eremite Order, he had no sort of experience in ecclesiastical or other affairs. A deputation of prelates and apostolic notaries presented themselves, kneeling, in the outer cell, where that hermit saw them through the window of his inner chamber; and announced to him his election. Amazed, incredulous, terrified, he also knelt, and (as some writers state) attempted to fly after the truth had been at last made clear to his bewildered mind.

Tolomeo of Lucca, a contemporary, only says that he begged the prelates to pray with him for Divine guidance in the momentous decision; then withdrew from their sight, and soon returned with his answer — prepared in the affirmative with promptness that may surprise us. He soon accepted the proffered tiara. Multitudes flocked presently to that mountain,



attracted by the speedily spread report of this new wonder in the exaltation of lowliness. Among those throngs of all classes came two kings, Charles II of Naples, and his son, who claimed the crown of Hungary. The scene is described to us by an eye-witness, a Cardinal, who tells, in Latin verse, how prelates, priests, monks, nobles toiled up the steep ascent, amidst Summer sultriness, eager to behold and venerate the Hermit Pope (1) The Cardinals invited him to join them at Perugia; but he (or rather those about him) decided otherwise; and they were commanded to meet him at Aquila in Abruzzo Ulterior. Thither he went, riding on an ass, amidst throngs that lined the way; and as he entered Aquila the two kings walked beside him, each holding his bridle. He was crowned at the cathedral in presence, it is said, of 200,000 spectators — (29th of August, 1294) as Celestine V. Whilst he remained in that city, he had daily to show himself at a window of the episcopal palace and bless the assembled throngs. Thence he was led to Naples, where he presently created twelve cardinals — three Neapolitan, and seven French, all devoted to the Anjou interests. This was the first indication of the fact that the harmless old man had become a pliant instrument in the hands of Charles II. He soon convinced those who had elected him of their error in expecting a moral miracle for the benefit of the Papacy. After the untimely death of Cardinal Latino, his supporter and guide, his conduct became more utterly at variance with pontifical proprieties and precedents. He granted such indulgences as were purely ridiculous; and would bestow the same benefice on several persons successively. He shut himself up, inaccessible, during one of the

(1) Hos inter medios cursu conscendere montem  
Gliscebam vates.

Is neque solus eram, sed magnae copia gentis  
Astabat, sperando Patrem jam cernere visu,  
Pontifices, Clerus, Fratres, Comites, Proceresque.

(Card. Jacopus S. Giorgii, in Muratori t. III).

six Lenten seasons with which he had charged his calender, in a cell constructed like that of his mountain-retreat, within the royal palace (now called Castel Nuovo), where he was lodged. It began to be suggested that he ought to abdicate. The king, the local clergy, and citizens desired to prevent this. All the Neapolitan priests, clerics, monks, and several bishops came in procession from the cathedral to the palace, demanding an audience. Celestine appeared, between two prelates, at a window. A bishop spoke, from the ranks of the procession, representing the royal and popular wish that there should be no abdication. One of the bishops at the window replied in words that seemed reassuring. The *Te Deum* was entoned; and the ecclesiastical train moved away rejoicing (see the account by Tolomeo, an eye-witness). That deprecated step was, nevertheless, soon resolved on; and there were those who represented to the perplexed Pontiff that the interests of the Church, even the welfare of his immortal soul, imperatively required that he should resign. Gaetani, the most energetic among the Cardinals, was mainly influential (though there is no proof that he used unfair means) in inducing this innocent plaything of Fortune to quit his false position. On the 13th of December, 1294, after celebrating Mass in the royal chapel, Celestine read in Consistory before all the Cardinals the act of abdication, by which some auditors were moved to tears; laid down his crimson robes and jewelled mitre, and resumed the rough hair-cloth habit of the hermit. He had first, as desired of him, published a constitution declaring the validity of the act by which a Pope might resign the tiara; and had revived also the prescriptions of Conclave, as determined at the Council of Lyons by Gregory X (1).

(1) It is supposed that Dante's lines (« Inferno, » canto III).

. . . . . vidi l'ombra di colui  
Che fece per viltate il gran rifiuto —

refer to this act of Celestine. Such interpretation has been contested; but Petrarch certainly admits it, while vindicating the Pope's cha-

On the vigil of Christmas was elected, as Boniface VIII (1294-1303), the conspicuous Cardinal, Benedetto Gaetani, who had distinguished himself in the legatine Office in various countries, and was reputed the first Canonist of his time. He immediately set out for Rome, though the King, who seems to have dreaded this election, wished him to remain at Naples. In Rome the new Pope was greeted with much honour. Nothing had yet been seen equal to the splendours of the coronation of Boniface VIII. First he assumed a precious mitre; afterwards, a tiara (ordered for the occasion), the cap being a tissue of peacocks' feathers, the diadem flaming with gems; at the apex, a great carbuncle from which hung festoons of rubies and other jewels; this being placed on his head with the formula pronounced by the officiating Cardinal: « Receive the tiara, that thou mayest know thyself to be the Father of Princes and Kings, the Ruler of this world, the Vicar on earth of JESUS CHRIST our Saviour, to whom be glory and honour for ever and ever ». — Such, 1227 years after S. Peter had suffered a malefactor's death at Rome, was the development of the now more than regal powers investing his successor! — After the Papal High Mass at S. Peter's, was formed the grand cavalcade to the Lateran; the Pope wearing his crown, as he rode on a richly caparisoned white horse, which, for some distance, was led by the two Kings, who had followed him from Naples. All the Clergy, Magistrates, Nobles, Military, rode in the vast procession. At the banquet in the Lateran palace, the two Kings, with their crowns on, handed gold and silver dishes to the Pope, waiting on him like lackeys, before they took their places

racter, and holding up his act to admiration. « At the highest summit of human affairs, he (Celestine) thought of his narrow hermit-cell; living in humility at the loftiest place; amidst crowds solitary, amidst riches poor ». (« De Vita Solitaria », l. II, tract. III, c. 18). See Milman, and an interesting note to Longfellow's « Divine Comedy ».

among the Cardinals, though not at the same table with the Supreme Priest. Some writers, (see Wadding) mention things tragically ominous, occurring amidst all these splendours — a terrible tempest that burst over the Lateran piazza, extinguishing all the torches; and a popular tumult that led to collision, bloodshed, and loss of life to more than forty of those who walked in the procession (1).

Meantime the ex-Pope, whose only desire was tranquillity in his former retreat, was conducted by guards towards Rome, but escaped; reached that hermitage, and for a time remained there, till, warned of pursuit, he made another escape as far as to a forest on the Adriatic coast, where he passed a Lenten season with some other hermits dedicated to life such as had been his own choice. Finding himself tracked to that solitude, he endeavoured to cross the Adriatic in an open boat; but being driven back by adverse winds, was seized by emissaries from Rome, who led him first to Anagni, where Boniface then resided, and thence to the prison assigned for him by his unrelenting successor, in the strong fortress of Fumone (2). It was in vain that his guards made him travel by night, with the desire to avoid attention: the whole of his sorrowful journey from the sea-coast proved a triumph, even amid his adversities; for he was continually beset by throngs, eagerly revering as a saint one who had now the additional claim upon pity.

Boniface, apprehending danger from such an unintentional rivalship, placed his captive under custody of thirty-six guards, horse and foot soldiers, in that fortress, where he died after six months of confinement, during which he had been allow-

(1) For all details of this ceremonial and pomp, see the metrical description by the Cardinal Stefaneschi di S. Giorgio, in Muratori, t. III.

(2) The fortress has vanished, but the little town still stands on the terrace-summit of a conical mountain, seen from Anagni; the Pope and the ex-Pope being near neighbours during this captivity.

ed the companionship of two other hermits, his own followers, of the Order called after him, Celestinian. He was buried with full pontifical honours at Ferentino. Boniface ordered his anniversary to be commemorated by the Church; and in 1313 the Hermit Pope was canonized by Clement V (1).

In 1297 commenced the violent hostilities between Boniface VIII and the now powerful Colonna family, who gave the first provocation, and indeed deserved the pontific wrath. Jacopo, a Cardinal of that house, had leagued with five nephews, to defraud his own brothers of their lawful share in the property. The Pope interposed; ordered an equitable apportionment; and deprived that Cardinal of the right to administer the property so misapplied. Sciarra Colonna, one of the accomplice-nephews, thus disappointed, soon avenged himself by seizing, with aid of ruffians on the highway, the private wealth of Boniface, which was great, including 80 loads of gold and silver, -- as those effects were being brought from Anagni to Rome. After an interval, the Pope required the two Colonna Cardinals to open the gates of their principal fortresses, Palestrina and Zagarola, and leave them to be garrisoned by troops in the pontific service. The Cardinals feigned assent; their nephews openly resisted. The hostile family began to spread reports against the validity of Boniface's election, as consequent on a compulsory abdication. The Pope condemned the two Cardinals to the forfeiture of all ecclesiastical rank, unless they should submit before his throne within ten days. The Colonnas responded by a protest from their castle of Lunghezza, on the Campagna, denying that Boniface was lawful Pope,

(4) The Cardinal Stefaneschi tells us that it was believed he had been born in his eremite habit; that celestial bells used, nightly, to awaken him at the hour of his prayers; and that the Saviour Himself had descended from the cross, before which the hermit knelt, to sing psalms with him! Notwithstanding these honours and rumours, it seems evident that the act of Celestine tended to diminish the prestige hitherto attached to the Papacy.



and appealing against him to a General Council; which defiant document they contrived to affix both on the portal and on, or above, the high altar, of S. Peter's. On the next Ascension-day, the Pontiff excommunicated all the Colonnas by bull; confiscating their property, condemning them to exile, and to perpetual exclusion from all offices, benefices, and dignities whatsoever. Boniface now repaired to Orvieto, and ordered the levying of troops; the Colonnas fortified themselves at Palestrina; and in 1277 was taken the extreme measure of publishing a Crusade against them, with the same indulgences as for other holy warfare. A Cardinal Legate was sent to proclaim throughout Italy, as sacred, this contest so strangely elevated into the imaginary honours of crusading enterprise! — first example of an almost private quarrel of the Papacy being thus sanctioned! Many, in different Italian states, enlisted under the pontifical banner in this cause; from Florence, 600, horse and foot; from Orvieto, 200; and we read that women contributed money for the pay of so'diers — a thing that reminds us of recent efforts in the organizing of cosmopolitan Zuaves for the pontifical army.

Perhaps in the desire of counteracting the impression made by these proceedings, among the denounced objects of which were two high-placed Cardinals, Boniface issued, about this time, an edict threatening with infamy those who should wrong, or despoil the property of, other Cardinals; and conceding to all of that college the costume hitherto worn only by those sent as Legates to the courts of sovereigns — that scarlet (*italicè*, « porpora ») so majestic in its flowing amplitude. Nepi, and other fortresses of the Colonnas, were besieged and taken. Palestrina, now alone left to them, but the strongest of their fortified towns, stood a siege for several months, till the four Colonnas, who carried on the defence, were constrained to surrender — whether with or without terms, is uncertain. Those members of the family repaired to Rieti, where the Pope then was, and presented themselves, in rude mourning attire, with cords round

their necks, as penitents before his throne. He received them graciously, and absolved them. But, notwithstanding this apparent reconciliation, Boniface soon charged a bishop of Orvieto with the task of completely annihilating Palestrina, destroying every building of both fortress and town, except the principal church, S. Agapito; after which proceedings, a ploughshare was drawn over the ruins, and salt strewn in the furrows. Palestrina, though eventually rebuilt, cannot be supposed, in its present state, to resemble the feudal town of earlier ages. The antiquarian will not forgive the Papal authorities for destroying (as they are said to have done) the still majestic ruins of the temple of Fortune, famous for its oracle. But, as the actual town stands within its ancient Roman walls, and comprises the remains of the older and more massive cincture, Cyclopean in masonry, we may conclude that the Palestrina so finely conspicuous on its headland at an angle of the mountain-chain south-westward of, and visible from, Rome, still stands where it did before such dire visitation from the wrath of Boniface VIII. After a time, indeed, he relented. The inhabitants, who had been transferred to another town built for them at the foot of the same mountain, were, in the next year, reinstated in the possession of their lost property, henceforth to be held by title of fiefs under the Pontificate.

But the Colonnas, indignant at reprisals beyond what they had reason to expect, again raised the standard of revolt; the war was resumed, till, overwhelmed by superior forces, all the members of that house were finally driven into exile.

Though the canonization of Louis IX (at Orvieto, 1297) had gratified the French king and nation, the relations between Boniface VIII and Philip IV soon became the reverse of amicable. The French Clergy complained of the taxes they had no pay for the support of continual wars; and the Pope issued the bull, « Clericis laicos », prescribing that no ecclesiastics should pay taxes, dues, or subsidies unless

with the consent of the Holy See. The king rejoined by prohibiting the exportation of specie, and all other valuables whatsoever, from France, save with consent of the crown; and proscribing the agents who had been employed in transmitting funds from that kingdom for the benefit of the Roman Curia.

At this time was given signal proof of the extension, now successfully secured, to Papal prerogatives. In 1299 the recently elected Emperor, or king of Germany, Albert of Austria, sent an embassy to obtain *confirmation* from Boniface of the act which had raised him to his throne — a favour at first refused, with sentence declaring his election null; but finally granted, as accorded best with the pontific interests. The persistent efforts of the Popes to destroy national independence in the lately emancipated Sicily, seem like the infatuation of power working against its own cause. James of Aragon, once the accepted king of the Sicilians, was led into a treaty with Charles II, and Charles of Valois, the terms of which had been dictated by Boniface at Anagni. According to this compact the Sicilians were to be abandoned to the hated Anjou, and forced by arms to submit, should other means fail of inducing them. Charles of Valois was to renounce his shadowy pretensions to the Aragonese crown; James was to marry a daughter of the Anjou Charles, and to receive the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, conferred by Papal investiture. But the Sicilians nobly asserted their freedom in spite of despotic treaties; and proclaimed as their new king the young Frederick, brother to the Aragonese, a Prince whom they had already known as the representative of James. It was in vain that the Pope, in an interview with him at Velletri, offered to Frederick, before he had been crowned at Palermo, the bait of marriage with the heiress of the titular Emperor of Constantinople, and pecuniary means for a war against the actually reigning Palaeologos, to obtain the eastern Empire with his bride; Frederick made his decision dependent on the will of the Sicilians, who disconcerted all royal intrigues for sub-

jecting them. Boniface published an admonitory, at S. Peter's, on Ascension-day, condemning the act which had raised Frederick to a throne, commanding him to resign the government of Sicily, and forbidding all nations to confederate with that island-people. Vain, as usual, were these priestly efforts to overwhelm a cause founded in the depths of national life. The resolute Sicilians, alike with their king, set at naught the threatening mandate, and also the solemn censures soon afterwards pronounced against them by the Pope for their disobedience.

Great and critical questions had been aroused, for doubt or contention, between this energetic Pope and contemporary princes. The horizon of Europe was beginning to forebode dangers to the sacerdotal power, when the religious sense of all Latin Christendom was aroused by a new and potent appeal.

On the festival of the Chair of S. Peter (18th of January) 1299, Boniface preached to a great congregation in that Apostle's church, and caused to be read from the richly-draped ambo the bull proclaiming the year of Jubilee, with Plenary Indulgence for all who should visit with devotion the basilicas of S. Peter and S. Paul, on thirty days if residents, on fifteen days if strangers, in Rome, during that « Anno Santo » with which the new century was to be inaugurated. The whole Sicilian nation, and their King Frederick, as also the Colonna family were, by name and expressly, excluded from these spiritual favours; and it was announced that henceforth all centuries to come should open with a year alike consecrated.

The appearance of two Religious Orders, in this century, proved important to the life of the Church, and, eventually, to ecclesiastical literature as well as to sacred art.

In 1170 was born at Calaroga, in Old Castile, Domingo (or Dominic) of the noble Guzman family; before whose birth his mother dreamed that she had brought forth a black and white dog, with a lighted torch in its mouth. The god-

mother of this child of many hopes dreamed that she saw him with a star upon his head — hence that attribute given to him in painting. After studying at the University of Palencia, he was ordained priest, and entered a community of regular Canons. After accompanying his bishop (of the Osma diocese) on a mission to Denmark, he dedicated himself to the task of converting heretics in southern France, where he passed twelve years, whilst was raging the fierce war against the Albigenses, a crusade he assisted by moral, though not by any physical efforts. Being at Rome in 1215, he submitted the project of a new religious order to Innocent III, who desired him to adopt some rule already approved. Returning to France, he obtained a church and convent at Toulouse; and there formed a community, at first not more than about sixteen persons, who followed the rule of Augustinian Canons. In 1216 was published the bull of Honorius III, giving solemn approval to the Dominican Order, which was designated as that of « Friars Preachers ». The Founder, having returned to Rome, settled first at S. Sisto, afterwards in a building granted to him for a convent, pertaining to Pope Honorius's palace on the Aventine; and the office of « master of the sacred (i. e. Papal) palace », was conferred upon him by that Pope, to be thenceforth hereditary in his Order. The first general chapter of the Dominicans was held at Bologna A. D. 1220; and on this occasion Dominic determined that they should rank among mendicant friars. At the time of the second general chapter, 1221, the Order possessed about sixty convents in six different countries. In Bologna the Saint died, 6th of May, 1221, after having, in his last injunctions, menaced Divine displeasure against all who should attempt to encumber his primitively austere Order with the burden of riches. He was canonized by Gregory IX in 1234. Characteristic of the devotional spirit of the time is the vision, narrated in this Saint's legend. Thrice did he see, when at Rome, the Saviour in wrath, and about to hurl three darts against prevailing sins: Pride, Avarice, Sensuality. The



blessed mother interceded, at first in vain, but finally with success, when she declared to the Almighty Judge, that she had secured two servants whose preaching would convert the world; and on this Dominic beheld himself in act of being presented, with one whom he knew not, to the Divine Son by the Mother. Soon afterwards he met S. Francis, and at once recognized him as his companion in that vision. He proposed that their two Orders should be fused into one; but Francis had discrimination to see that, as their callings were different, so also should be their paths. The notion that Dominic was founder of the Inquisition is utterly erroneous. In the « Golden Legend », is given an interesting compendium of his miracles and visions; and Dante (*Paradiso*, canto XII) thus sounds his praises :

Dominic was he called, and him I speak of  
Even as of the husbandman whom Christ  
Elected to his garden to assist Him.  
Envoy and servant sooth he seemed of Christ.

(Tr. by Longfellow).

Giovanni Bernadone (whose name was changed into Francesco), born at Assisi, 1181, set the first example of the adoption of absolute poverty, prescribed to a religious order for ever — the great protest of enthusiastic self-denial against worldliness and luxury in the Church. He was the son of a rich wool-merchant; had been in early life gay and dissipated like his compeers, who called him « the flower of the youth », in Assisi. A captivity of a whole year at Perugia, during some civil war between the neighbouring towns, and a long illness subsequent to his release, afforded opportunities for reflection which led to a total change of his temper, mind, and life. He became eager to spend all he had upon charity; sold his father's horse, and cloth from his warehouse, to give the profits for the repair of a church, S. Damiano.

His father beat him and locked him up; and though a tender mother set him free, often interceding for him, that

father at last brought him before the bishop, in order that he might formally renounce his inheritance, and restore all he had ever received from his harsh parent. Francis not only complied with joy, but stripped himself naked before the Assisian bishop, giving up his clothes with his other property; on which that prelate, moved to tears, covered him his own mantle, and sent for the rude dress of one of his labourers, which Francis now put on. After this he retired into some solitude among the mountains; thence went to Gubbio, and devoted himself to the care of lepers, probably in some hospital. On his second pilgrimage to Rome, he submitted his project for a new Order to the Pope, Innocent III, who, at first, repulsed him, but is said to have been influenced in his favour by a vision in which he saw the Lateran sinking to ruin, and a meanly clad stranger (no other than Francis) supporting it with his shoulders (4). The Pope objected to the principal of obligatory poverty; but was at last induced, by the advice of certain Cardinals, to give approval; and is said to have himself conferred Orders on Francis up to the diaconate, higher than which this candidate was too humble to desire ever to ascend. The Pope also gave him a brief containing the mandate to go forth and preach repentance. With seven disciples, he now settled in a deserted cottage near Assisi; ascetic observances, preaching, missions occupied their time; and presently was drawn up

(4) An early and authentic narration of this is given in the verses inscribed (date 1291), in mosaic letters, on the wall of the aisle behind the tribune of the Lateran church:

Tertius Ecclesiae Pater Innocentius hora  
 In qua se dederat somno, mutare ruina  
 Hanc videt Ecclesiam; mox vir pannosus et asper  
 Despectusque humerum supponens sustinet illam.  
 At Pater evigilans Franciscum prospicit, atque  
 Vere est hic, inquit, quem vidimus, iste ruentem  
 Ecclesiam fidemque feret —

a rule, believed to have been dictated by Francis through inspiration, after he had long fasted on the summit of a mountain. In 1219 was held the first general chapter of Franciscan Mendicant Friars, at (or rather around) an ancient chapel, long abandoned, below the mountain of Assisi; which same chapel, conceded to these friars by its former owners, the Benedictines, was thenceforth known as the Portiuncula. At their first chapter the number of friars, assembled on that spot, was no less than 5000. Soon afterwards Francis went on a mission to the Saracens; and arrived in Egypt whilst the Crusaders were being besieged in Damietta by the Sultan. He was taken before that prince; and offered to go through the fiery ordeal, with any Ulemas or doctors of Islam, to test the truth of the Gospel — a challenge none accepted. In 1233, a bull, approving the Franciscan Order, was published at the Portiuncula by seven bishops, commissioned by Honorius III; also a plenary indulgence, conceded to all who should visit that chapel, devotionally, on the 2nd of August — the *Perdono di S. Francesco*, applied for by devout multitudes, whose number, as gathered on this annual occasion, soon reached the average amount of 100,000. Two years before his death. Francis received the *stigmata*, or five wounds like those of the Saviour, said to have been impressed on his body by the Crucified Lord, appearing to him in likeness of a Seraph bound to a cross, with six flaming wings — this event occurring whilst the saint was in extatic prayer on the mountain of Alvernia, whither he used every year to retire, and spend forty days in devotion. He desired, but in vain, to conceal the mysterious privilege of suffering — for it is said that pain and frequent loss of blood were the consequence of these wounds (1).

(1) S. Bonaventura (see his life of S. Francis) states that he had heard Alexander IV, in a sermon before a large congregation, depose to having seen the stigmas on the saint's body in life; and that more than 50 friars saw them after his death. The biographer thus enthusias-

He died at the Portiuncula convent, after listening to the Passion in the Gospel of S. John, and reciting the cxli psalm, 4th of October, 1226. He desired to be buried in the same field with malefactors, near the place of public execution; and thither, beyond the walls of Assisi, his body was eventually transferred from the intramural church of S. Giorgio. On the once infamous burial field arose, after not many years, one of the most splendid of Italian churches and largest among Italian convents, above the tomb of Francis.

In the Saint's testament, written some time before his death, are words that suggest the inquiry whether the genuine purpose of this holy man has really been carried out, in the aggregate, by the mendicant friars called after him? « We abode willingly (he says) in poor and abandoned churches; we were simple, and submissive to all. — I used to labour with my hands: I desire work; and it is my earnest wish that all the other brethren should apply themselves to some honest occupation; not for the sake of obtaining payment, but in order to set a good example, and avoid idleness. If our work should not be paid for, let us have recourse to the Lord's table, and ask alms from door to door ». As supplementary to this, should be cited the clause of his rule which forbids his friars even to touch money, for whatsoever services offered.

It is truly refreshing, in the midst of a cold and selfish world, to dwell on such an example of self-sacrificing lowliness and all-absorbing love, as shines before us in this individuality, even after we have succeeded in severing pious romance from the true history of the Man Francis. He seems to have lived in an habitual state of extatic feeling, that shed its stream of tenderness over all earthly objects. Passing

tically winds up his eloquent description of this miracle: « Oh, Man most truly Christian; living to the living Christ, dying to the dying Christ, dead to the dead Christ, and who didst study with perfect imitation to conform unto Him! »

through the forest, he would invite the birds to sing with him the praises of the Creator; hearing the chirp of the shrill cicada, he exhorted it to sound laudatory notes to the same purport; but he reproved the ant for being too solicitous as to the future of this life. He sheltered the hare from the hounds in his bosom; and saved the lamb from slaughter by selling his cloak to pay its price. St. Bonaventura says that he was ever occupied either in ascensions of the soul to God, or in descensions to lowliest offices of charity bestowed on mortals. The overflowings of such a heart found vent in poetic utterance; and the rhapsodies of S. Francis in the vernacular Italian are among earliest attempts at poetry in that idiom — perhaps anterior to those amorous canzoni, in which, somewhere between the years 1212-1230, the Emperor Frederick used to sing his loves; and which Tiraboschi supposes to have been the very first metrical compositions in Italian literature.

Francis was canonized by Gregory IX in the church of S. Giorgio, where his remains then lay, A. D. 1228. His followers, in the last century, numbered, throughout Europe, (v. Helyot) about 120,000 friars, inhabiting 7000 convents; and 30,000 nuns, in 9000 convents; the latter owning us their Foundress S. Clare of Assisi, the first female disciple of S. Francis, 1228. Within not many years after his death, his Order divided itself into two distinct sections; on one hand adhering to the strict rule of poverty; on the other abandoning — with singularly rapid transition — that fundamental principle on which he desired that its entire fabric should rest. Innocent IV defined, in 1245, that Franciscans could legally hold property in their own establishments; and hence the distinction between « Observantines », who are professed mendicants, dependent on alms, and « Conventuals », who live upon their own property. The « Tertiaries », or third order, were founded by the Saint for persons of either sex who might desire to pledge themselves to certain devotions and rules of life without entering the cloister.



And in 1527 appeared, with revived austerities, the Capuchins, founded by the Beato Matteo da Bassi, and approved by Paul V, in 1619.

One spectacular novelty due to S. Francis, is the *Presepio*, or group of the Nativity in painted wooden figures, still exhibited in churches of his Order at Christmas. But it was the image of the Infant alone that the Saint introduced, as means of stimulating popular piety, and with which figure held in his arms, he used to preach, sometimes literally in a stable, beside the ox and ass, at that festival. In a certain manner these two religious societies of the XIII century, Franciscans and Dominicans, are connected with the origin of the institution, so formidable in later times, of the Holy Office, or Inquisition. Innocent III commissioned certain communities of both these Orders to inquire into, and report of, the statistics of Heresy; and hence arose a tribunal for procedure against the recusants, which was first established at Toulouse, and, soon afterwards, in other cities of south France.

When on a visit at the famous convent of Laverna, I attended the midnight office on one of the three nights, in every week, that the friars scourge themselves with iron chains during the time they are slowly chanting a *Miserere*, before which the tapers are extinguished. After these devotions they passed through long corridors to the lofty vaulted chapel on the site where S. Francis received the stigmas; and which was built (it is said) twenty years after his death. A grating in the midst of the pavement, and a horizontally laid marble relief of that subject, mark the precise spot where he was praying when the mysterious wounds were inflicted. Around this all the community knelt, each with arms extended, for a long interval of silence that interrupted their chant. An autumnal storm was tossing the pine-woods on that Apennine summit; its mournful wail the only sound now audible; a dim light from five silver lamps (allusive to the Saint's wounds), before the altar, alone dispelling the gloom of the spacious chapel. The worshippers seemed lost in extasy; and at this

moment all the halo of the supernatural, investing the historic S. Francis, seemed a reality to imagination.

Among other Religious Orders of Italian origin, the Celestine, approved by the Pope its founder in 1294, and by Clement V in 1304, as also the Sylvestrine, founded in 1231, were alike in being intended as reforms of the Benedictine Institute. The founder of the Sylvestrines was Silvestro Gozzolino, of Osimo, who, after studying law at Bologna, retired to lead the life of a hermit in a cavern on the Apennines; and the first community of whose followers were settled (1231) in a convent at Fabriano in the Anconitan Marches. Thirteen monasteries were founded by S. Silvestro before his death in 1267. The splendid church of the Annunziata, Florence, is still the principal sanctuary of another Order, founded in 1233 by seven of the aristocratic merchants of that city, who believed they had seen a vision of the Blessed Virgin, and simultaneously agreed to renounce the worldly prospects that shone fair before them; in fulfilment of this vow, retiring to a mountain, about nine miles from Florence, on the summit of which their mother-establishment soon rose amidst primeval woods. Being approved by Alexander IV, in 1255, they took the name, « Servants of Mary », or Servites; and S. Filippo Benizzi (ob. 1285) is revered as their great Saint, though not one of their seven Founders. The original convent, on Monte Senario, is now modernized, and contains only modern art-works; but is remarkable for its fine situation, rising above a dark belt of pines, on its isolated Apennine height, visible from Florence.

In this century many features of ecclesiastical system, some with newly defined prominence, demand our attention. In the developments of Papal Power we have now to notice an important step attained through the recognized principle that bishops could only be judged definitively, and without appeal, by the Roman Pontiff — though, as Fleury observes, (Discours IV) nothing was more common than the opposite practice during the first nine centuries. The false Decretals

attributed to the Pope the exclusive right of translating bishops from one See to another, notwithstanding that several Councils had strictly forbidden such transfer. Up to this time all bishops had ranked above the Roman Cardinals; but one consequence of the extension of the hierarchic power being a proportional increase of dignity to the office of Cardinal Legate, it became not unfrequently the case that an emissary from Rome, himself not higher than the priesthood or diaconate, might exercise absolute control over all the prelates of the land to which he was delegated. We may now consider the Sacramental System in its full development, surrounded by all the bulwarks of theologic learning, all the appeals of ritual and mysterious awfulness. Since the publication of the *Libri Sententiarum* (A. D. 1140) by Peter Lombard, the number Seven had been authoritatively determined for the Christian Sacraments; though earlier writers had differed on this point, several admitting only two ordinances, Baptism and the Eucharist, as truly of that character. The doctrine of the Real Presence attained its highest ritual expression in the splendid festival of Corpus Domini, instituted by Urban IV (1264), and in the added details of observance, earlier introduced (as we have seen) in some countries, but first prescribed for universal practice by Gregory IX, — namely, the ringing of bells at the Elevation, and before the Viaticum, when carried in procession to the sick. That these usages were gradually admitted in other lands, as in Italy, appears from the fact that a Synod in London, A. D. 1281, ordered that the Eucharist should be reserved in a ciborium, within a locked tabernacle; that the species should be renewed every Sunday; that a bell should be rung at the elevation, and all who heard it, whether in the church or outside, kneel. A Council at Wurtzburg, in 1287, ordered that, when the Sacrament was carried to the sick, lights, and the sound of the bell should accompany it; that all should kneel as it passed, and repeat thrice the Pater Noster and Ave Maria. Thus was brought out into palpable

distinctness that leading feature in the Latin Catholic worship — the adoration, or *latria*, of the Host. It was perfectly natural that the admission of a *substantial* Presence, first fixed into an article of faith by the second Nicene Council in 787, and more distinctly announced in the Lateran Council, 1215, should attain its last results in this formal worship paid to the consecrated elements; and whatever may be urged in favour of that opposite Christian practice, which prefers —.

To adore the Invisible, and Him alone —

it is for History to note with due attention the powerful impulse given to devout feeling, and the effect, in stirring depths of the soul, in satisfying demands of boldly enthusiastic faith, that proceeded from such definitions and usages of Catholicism. The bright and beneficent aspects of a Religion are those worthiest to be studied; and the efficiency of doctrine or worship, as means to console sorrow, strengthen weakness, or stimulate the fervor that inspires to self-sacrifice, are more important, in the records of Man and of Thought, than are all the theological considerations which may be advanced for or against the practice or definitions of Churches.

In Confession the immediate exercise of absolving power by the priest was now conveyed in the words « Ego te absolve, » substituted for, « Absolutionem tribuat tibi omnipotens Deus », or some phrase similar, — a change justified by S. Thomas Aquinas. Penance, instead of being regulated according to ancient canons, which bishops alone had the right to modify in particular cases, was now left to the discretion of each father confessor. Another novelty was, the acceptance of money as commutation of penances. From the language of S. Thomas it is evident that Baptism was still most frequently administered with triple immersion of the entire body — « communior et laudabilior », as the great theologian determines of this. The increasing devotion to the Blessed Virgin is

manifest from the introduction into public worship, as ordered by Gregory IX, of the « *Salve Regina* », a composition by the monastic chronicler, Hermann Contractus (ob. 1054); also in the appointment of a new festival in honour of her nativity. A most popular form in which this devotion now expressed itself, was the Rosary, consisting of so many *Aves* and *Patens*, told on beads, for each of the fifteen mysteries proposed therein to meditation — namely, those of Redemption by Christ and of the glories of Mary. — The invention of this form is ascribed to S. Dominic, and to the period during his mission in Languedoc; though some writers suppose that the great Saint only revived, in this mode of praying, an ancient, but formerly less common practice. In order to secure its maintenance, he instituted a « *Confraternity of the Rosary* ». In the XIV century this favourite devotion fell into disuse, owing to the visitations of plague in Europe; but in the century following it was revived by a French Dominican, Alan de la Roche; and in 1573, Gregory XIII, desiring to commemorate the victory of Lepanto, won on the day when all the confraternities of the Rosary formed public processions, instituted a festival, for the first Sunday in October, thenceforth universally observed as « *Feast of the Rosary* » (1). The

(1) The Bollandists question, but Mamacchi (« *Annali dell'ordine dei P. Predicatori* ») vindicates, for S. Dominic, the credit of having invented this devotion. An implement called *beltidum*, which served for counting prayers, is said to have been frequently used in the XI century, and is mentioned so early as A. D. 816 by a council in England. William of Malmesbury says that Godiva, wife of the Count Leofric of Coventry (XI century), « when at the point of death, ordered to have hung round the neck of an image of Mary the circle of gems she had had strung to a cord, and which she used to pass through her fingers, reciting a prayer for each bead, that she might not omit any prayer whilst thus reminded by the touch of those objects ». The use of chaplets is said to have been known in England, as also the custom of hanging them up, for public benefit, against the walls of churches, in the VII century. (Martigny, « *Diction. des Antiq. Chrétiennes* »).



controversy on the question whether Mary had been, or not, conceived without sin, was revived between the Dominicans and Franciscans; the former deciding in the negative, the latter in the affirmative. It is a true that a local festival of the Immaculate Conception had been introduced earlier, about 1140, by the canons of Lyons; but S. Bernard (Ep. 174) wrote to reprove those ecclesiastics for a proceeding objectionable because unauthorized. A « Te Deum, altered so as to apply to the blessed Virgin, was drawn up by S. Bonaventura; and the « Bible of Mary » was produced by Riccardo di S. Lorenzo, a penitentiary priest at Rome.

In the « *Legenda Aurea* », by Jacopo da Voragine, a Dominican, Archbishop of Genoa, 1292-98, we find a true reflection of the religious spirit of these times — the love of marvel and mystery, the monastic ascetism, the excitable imagination; and especially the increasing tendency to rely upon, and have recourse to, the intercession of Saints. The same writer translated the Scriptures into Italian. S. Bonaventura, author of many mystic writings, the mere titles of which are full of significance — the *Itinerary of the Soul to God*, the *Seven Roads to Eternity*, the *Six Wings of the Seraphim* ec. — was assuredly (even if not superior to the superstitious tendencies of his day) one of those who « worshipped at the temple's inner shrine » throughout his pure and pious existence. And this Saint is one of the truly Representative Men in the history of mediaeval Catholicism.

An element of public worship which now attained its almost final form, is the Hymn, to the aggregate of which several learned writers contributed. The many hymns earlier introduced, and familiar, are by different writers from the IV to the XII century — S. Ambrose, Prudentius (by whom are several of the finest), S. Gregory (author of the sublime « *Veni Creator* »), S. Hilary, Fortunatus, Sedulius, Theodulphus, S. Bernard. The most beautiful of hymns to the Virgin, « *Ave Maris Stella* », and the exquisite « *Jesu dulcis*

memoria », are by S. Bernard. The « Veni Sancte Spiritus », one of the noblest devout utterances, is by a king, Robert of France, deceased 1031.

The pathetic « Stabat Mater » is, probably, by Innocent III, though ascribed by some to Jacopone da Todi, a Franciscan poet, who was imprisoned by Boniface VIII for writings that gave offence, and died in 1306. S. Thomas Aquinas contributed the hymns in honour of the Holy Sacrament, « Lauda Sion Salvatorem », « Sacra solemniis », and « Pange lingua gloriosi », the last two stanzas of which latter are sung to this day in all churches at the solemn exposition of the Host. The « Iste confessor » (anonymous) was introduced in honour of S. Francis; and for the commemoration of that Saint's stigmata were composed two hymns, « Crucis Christi mons Alvernae », and « Crucis arma fulgentia », probably by S. Bonaventura. Admirable in the literary, sublime in the religious aspect, these Catholic poems unite the utmost simplicity with the highest dignity; a majestic diction and cadence with devout tenderness and pure enthusiasm; but they are like strains from a lyre that was broken on the decline of the Mediaeval Church; nothing since has been, or probably ever will be, produced equal to them in their sphere (1).

It is difficult to estimate the doctrines of the heretics so numerous in this century; their principles being only made known to us by adversaries the most prejudiced that could be; but it seems sufficiently clear that all agreed in rejecting the Papal supremacy, the exclusive right of the Clergy to expound and define Truth, and the supernatural character, as dependent on priestly interposition (or *ex opere operato*), of the Sacraments. One Gerardo Sagarelli, who had been ex-

(1) A few were added in the XVI century. In 1629 almost all were revised, and their false quantities, or other faults, corrected by Urban VIII. — see Mone, « Hymni Latini Medii Aevi », and Valentiniani, « Hymnodia SS. Patrum ».

elled from a Franciscan convent at Parma, aimed at surpassing S. Francis in his close imitation — rather indeed materialistic caricature, — of the life of the Saviour. He became the patriarch of a sect calling themselves Apostolic Brethren; was for a time tolerated as a harmless fanatic by the bishop of Parma; but at last arrested by the Inquisition; required to recant, and burned alive as a relapsed heretic, (1286). His successor, in theories and pretensions, was Fra Dulcino of Novara, whose opinions are supposed to have partaken still more of the errors imputed to the Paterines. He announced that a new era was opening for Christianity; that he and his followers were the last prophets to appear before the Day of Judgment. He predicted the fall of the Papacy, and a revival of the pure primitive Church. After the destruction of all his followers, he suffered a dreadful death, together with his enthusiastically self-devoting partner, Margarita, who was burned alive at Vercelli in 1307. The sense of sin, and terror of punishment due to it (two emotions now dividing sway over Humanity) were wound up into a passion on the part of multitudes during the latter half of this century. In the same year, 1260, that Peter Valdo, a merchant of Lyons, began to deny transubstantiation, and to explain the New Testament, as he understood it, in the vulgar tongue, there appeared, first at Perugia, and soon afterwards in other Italian cities, the assemblies of Flagellants, who went about two by two, in long processions, scourging themselves till blood flowed, whilst chanting in lugubrious tone the seven penitential psalms ec. Women joined the movement; but had the modesty to confine themselves, whilst they practised alike, to their homes. It was not without fruit of good works, — reconciliation between enemies, charities to the poor; and hence sprung several pious confraternities in Italian towns, for more or less prolonged existence. Two other appearances of Flagellants, in 1334 and 1399, made some sensation by their austerities on a similarly large scale (Villani, l. XI, c. 23).

Three days before the abdication of Celestine V, is said to have occurred an event which has its place in the history both of Legend and of Art: the miraculous transfer to the Italian coast, near Ancona, of the house of the Blessed Virgin from Tersatto, on the Dalmatian coast, whither it had been carried by Angels from Nazareth in 1291; but it had yet to undergo two removals, alike miraculous, in 1295, before its settlement on its present site at Loreto. Not till 1331 do we hear of any church being raised over this house, which, in 1471, was enclosed within a new and more majestic temple founded by Paul II, with the architecture of Giuliano da Majano; and this, in its turn, gave place to the actual basilica, built by Sangallo, and finished in 1567. A grand collegiate church, a fortified town, a system of popular pilgrimages undertaken, several times in each year, by multitudes of the humbler class; magnificent solemnities, and an exquisitely beautiful art-illustration in the sculpture of the XVI century — all these realities have arisen upon that apparently unsubstantial legendary basis. The dates assigned to the several transfers, by angelic agency, of that holy house, do not fall within a period of barbaric ignorance, but one in which were known to the world, or living at least, such Italian celebrities as Dante, Brunetto Latini, Villani, Dino Compagni, such chroniclers as Tolomeo of Lucca, and Ferreto of Vincenza. Not one of these contemporaries mentions the story, or the building; and the learned S. Antoninus, in the XV century, is alike silent on the subject, as are the two ancient biographers of Boniface VIII, Bernardo Guidonis and Amalricus Augerius, into whose theme it would properly have entered. It is possible that, without fraudulent intent, the legend, and the house itself — whether actually removed from foundations at Nazareth, or copied from an Oriental original — may have had origin in a feeling which had birth after the repeated failures of Crusades, and which inspired the wish to transfer into, or at least imitate in, Europe the principal sanctuaries of Palestine — the feeling which led Sixtus V to project the

actual excavating of the Holy Sepulchre *in toto* from its native rock, for its removal to some spot within the Papal States ! (1)

(1) Northcote, « Sanctuaries of the Madonna », gives the most full and interesting account of the « Santa Casa », and the picturesque devotions surrounding it, that could be desired.

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## VIII.

### **Monuments of the Thirteenth Century.**

ON the morning of the Saturday before Palm Sunday, a procession, with torches and veiled crucifix, passes from the Lateran church to the adjacent buildings that comprise a Passionist convent, the Scala Santa, and two chapels dedicated to S. Laurence, one of which is modern; the other being that ancient oratory of the vanished palace, which alone remains of the buildings where resided all the Popes during about a thousand years. — The « Sancta Sanctorum », as it is emphatically called, is an oratory so revered that, except on the few occasions when the Lateran capitular Clergy visit it, as on this day, for special devotion, none are allowed to pass its threshold — women never. Neither Mass nor Vespers are celebrated here. And the peculiar titles to awe-struck reverence, investing this thrice-sacred place, are believed to proceed not only from the precious relics enshrined here — as the sandals of the Saviour, stains of His blood from the Cross ec., but especially from the picture over the altar, said to be an authentic portrait of Our Lord, full-length, begun by S. Luke, and finished by miracle, or by an Angel — hence its traditional name: the « Acheiropoeton », or « picture made without hands ». It is only at certain seasons that this painting is uncovered, and always with the same solemnities as those observed on the vigil of the Holy Week. Whilst the capitular Clergy are kneeling in that dim chapel, psalms and prayers are chanted, incense is burnt,

the « Stabat Mater » is intoned; and two clerics slowly open the gilt valves that fold over that mysterious altar-piece; incense is again offered; and, after a devotional silence, all rise to leave in the same order, singing the « Te Deum ». The impressive and picturesque observance excites an idea of sanctity, investing the scene as with enchanted atmosphere; and the golden inscription along an architrave over the altar, « Non est in toto sanctior orbe locus », seems fit expression of the local claims. But it is as a monument of the XIII century, an example of a style in its leading features genuine Gothic, preserved intact, and therefore almost unique in Roman architecture, that this rich and solemn, though small, chapel of S. Laurence, above the Scala Santa, must here be considered. Its origin is lost in antiquity; but was certainly anterior to the time of Pelagius I (578-90), who deposited here the relics of the Apostles Luke and Andrew. The ancient edifice was restored by Honorius III in 1216; and almost (if not entirely) rebuilt, in 1277, by Nicholas III. To the latter period belong the paintings here seen, but which have been entirely renewed, and can no longer be considered as mediæval: these represent figures of sainted Popes, and subjects from the lives of Apostles and Martyrs, SS. Peter and Paul, Stephen, Laurence, Nicholas, Agnes; also the emblems of the Evangelists on the groined vault. An inscription near the entrance, « Magister Cosmatus fecit hoc opus », tells that the architect of this chapel was one of a family celebrated throughout the XIII century -- probably, the same Deodatus, of that house, whose name is read on the fragment of a marble tabernacle in the Lateran cloisters, and who wrought the altar-canopy at S. Maria in Cosmedin. It appears that the original was larger than the present building, and that it contained three, instead of (as now) but one altar; such larger scale being requisite for the pontifical solemnities that used to take place here: as, on Holy Thursday, the washing of the feet of twelve subdeacons by the Pope, who afterwards performed the same service to

twelve paupers. On various occasions the Pontiff and Cardinals used, all barefooted, to visit this sanctuary, and revere the sacred image, which, at the Assumption festival, was annually carried in procession to S. Maria Maggiore — a usage abolished by Pius V, in 1566, on account of disorders sometimes ensuing in the late hours when the picture was brought back, amidst throngs of people, to its shrine. Over the altar of this chapel extends a closed gallery, supported by porphyry columns, for the relics; and under this gallery is a vault covered with mosaics on gold ground, — their subject, a colossal head of our Lord, distinguished by a certain severe grandeur, within a nimbus, borne by floating figures of six-winged angels. Critics have referred these art-works to the eighth or ninth century, and they certainly do not bear traces of the revival that dawned in later years. The marvellous picture is concealed, save the head alone of the full-length figure, by a silver casing elaborately adorned in relief, the gift of Innocent III; nor is even that head, actually seen, the original, but a copy, painted on linen — probably of that Pope's time, and made by his order. On the silver case are many miniature figures of saints in high relief, besides a decoration like elaborate needlework; and two tiny groups, each surmounted by the device of the Lateran Chapter, a bust of the Saviour between two candelabra, are represented in bas-relief, at the lowest part, on valves which used to be opened, to allow the feet of the figure to be kissed on certain occasions, as at the Assumption festival, when the picture was opened by the Pope, for the above-mentioned procession, which, passing several churches, made the final halt at S. Maria Maggiore. When arrived at S. Maria Nova, near the Forum, that procession stopped, the image being placed on the steps before the church, whilst all the people adored, and chanted *Kyrie eleison* one hundred times; and here, as at another resting place on that progress, the bare feet of the Pope were washed with fragrant waters. Not even in conservative Rome has it

been possible to maintain all the spectacular devotions of old-world popularity.

The different theories as to the Acheiropoeton picture, and the manner in which it reached this City, are stated with naïveté by Moroni (« *Dizion. di Erudizione Eccles.* » article, « *Scala Santa:* ») — i. e. that the Apostles and the Madonna, meeting after the Ascension, resolved to order a portrait of the Crucified, for satisfying the desire of the faithful, and commissioned S. Luke to execute the task; that, after three days' prayer and fasting, such a portrait was drawn in outline by that artist, but, before he had begun to colour, the tints were found to have been filled in by invisible hands; that this picture was brought from Jerusalem to Rome, either by S. Peter, or by Titus, (together with the sacred spoils from the temple); or else expedited hither, in a miraculous voyage of only twenty-four hours, by S. Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, who desired thus to save such a treasure from the outrages of the Iconoclasts; and that, about A. D. 726, Pope Gregory II, apprised of its arrival at the mouth of the Tiber by revelation, proceeded to carry it thence, with due escort, to Rome; since which advent it has remained in the Sancta Sanctorum.

The last time I witnessed the ceremonial of the visit to this chapel, and the opening of the sacred picture, at the sunset-hour of a Summer's day (the Octave of Corpus Domini), the impressive and mystic character of the whole scene appeared to gain heightened effect amidst the gathering shades of evening. Had Rome been iconoclast, she would have forfeited one of her still potent means of acting on the imagination. But this observance, so beautiful, seems, under present circumstances, one of the things that mark her isolation amidst modern Italy — the kingdom in whose capital no religious processions are any more allowed in public, and in whose chief southern city all the Madonna-images and shrines are banished from the streets.

The « Magister Cosmatus, » whose name is read in that Lateran chapel, introduces to us a family, distinguished in successive generations, by whom were maintained at Rome the traditions of the so-called Gothic — a style probably first introduced into this city by the Florentine Arnolfo del Cambio, contemporary of Deodatus and Giovanni Cosmati. Preferring the cusped or pointed arch to the round one, these artists adopted a system of uniting sculpture with architecture, usually confining themselves to certain accessorial works — as the high-altar canopy, the sculptured portal, or monument with statues and reliefs. In and near Rome are extant seventeen epigraphs indicating works by that family. First, in order of date, is the portal of the abbey-church, S. Sabba on the Aventine, by Jacobus, son of Cosmo, and inscribed with the name of the Abbot Johannes, who ordered it, « anno vii. Pontificatus Domini Innocentis III. P. P. » (A. D. 1205) Next in date is one of the finest architectural works pertaining to this school, the façade and atrium of the cathedral of Civita Castellana, around an arch of which is inscribed, « Jacobus civis Romanus cum Cosma filio suo fieri fecit hoc opus anno Dni mccx ». Perhaps next in the series should be placed a marble ambo in the Aracoeli church, now imperfect, with a fragment of the lost epigraph, « Jacobo filio suo »; perhaps originally followed by the name « Cosma », and of about the date 1220. In the cathedral of Anagni, we read on an intarsio pavement the name « Magister Cosmas », besides those of the reigning Pope, Honorius III, and the Bishop, Albertus, 1226; also another epigraph, with the names of Cosmas and his son, Lucas and Jacobus, on the confessional, date about 1231. In the inner cloister of S. Scolastica (Subiaco), built A. D. 1235, we read the names of the same three artists; and also, on an archivolt, that of Jacobus alone — whence we may conclude that, during the erection of the beautiful porticoes here due to their united efforts, the father and elder brother died. An interesting work by Jacobus, second so named in this family, is the marble portal with canopied



niche, above an arch at the now-deserted convent, S. Tommaso in Formis, on the Coelian Hill, near the towering ruins of the Neronian aqueduct and arch of Dolabella. Here the inscription: « Magister Jacobus cum filio suo Cosmato fecit hoc opus », supplies the names of those who wrought both the architecture and mosaic — in the latter art being represented, under the canopy, the Saviour enthroned between a white man and a negro, to the former of whom He benignantly extends the right, to the latter the left hand; in His right being held a blue and red cross, the device of the religious order once established at this convent, Redemptorists or Trinitarians, originally dedicated to the charity of delivering captives from the Moors. Touching is the evidence here conveyed to that high principle ever held by the Church, in recognition of the spiritual equality of all races, and the indefeasible rights of humanity, conformable to the heart-felt belief that in Christ Jesus are united all His worshippers alike, without distinction between bond and free. The epigraph in the Papal chapel evidently refers to the restoration by Nicholas III, in 1277, which would have been the last known work by that Cosmo — grandson to the first artist so named. Deodatus is earlier named in an inscription on the pavement (now set upside down), at S. Jacopo, a small church in Trastevere. The finest extant works by Joannes, of this family, are two monuments: one at S. Maria sopra Minerva, to William Durandus, Bishop of Mende, author of the celebrated « *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* », with a recumbent portrait statue on a marble sarcophagus, guarded by two angels, under a canopy with cusped arch; the background above being occupied by a much faded mosaic of the Virgin and Child. The other monument, at S. Maria Maggiore, is that of Cardinal Consalvi, Bishop of Albano (about 1299); its composition analogous, but the whole treatment greatly superior to that of the former. A recumbent statue, in pontifical vestments, rests on a sarcophagus, and two angels draw aside curtains as if to show us the dead; at the background is a mosaic of Mary enthroned

ed, with the Child, the Apostle Mathias, S. Jerome, and a smaller kneeling figure of Consalvi, in pontifical robes; at the apex, is a tabernacle with cusped arch; and below, the epitaph, « Hoc opus fecit Joannes Magister Cosmae civis Romanus » the artist's record of himself. In the hands of S. Mathias and S. Jerome are scrolls; on that held by the Apostle, the words, « Me tenet ara prior »; on S. Jerome's, « Recubo praesepis ad antrum »; these epigraphs confirming the tradition that the bodies of S. Mathias and S. Jerome repose in this church, while indicating the sites of their tombs. The latter monument so far supasses the former that we might suppose it by a different hand; but in each is gracefully embodied the affecting idea of the guarding of the dead by watchful Angels, who seem touched by holy awe, the natural human feeling before the remains of one revered and beloved. Popular regards have distinguished that tomb at S. Maria Maggiore: no doubt in intended honour to the Blessed Virgin, lamps are kept ever burning, and vases of flowers ranged, before her mosaic image.

The monastery adjoining the Lateran church was the first seat of the Benedictines in Rome, after the demolition of their ancient cloister at Monte Cassino, by Longobardic invaders, in the sixth century. That former establishment was restored by Gregory, III. about 732; but subsequently left to decay and desolation, till rebuilt by Eugenius IV (1431-47), perhaps in every part except the beautiful cloisters, which are certainly not more modern than the thirteenth century. These cloisters present one of the finest examples of the Italian mediaeval style in Rome; their graceful arcades resting on slight shafts, single or coupled, spiral and fluted, some with mosaic inlaid in their channels like flowery wreaths; a rich frieze of coloured marbles being carried round the entire quadrangle, in the midst of which is a pleasant, though neglected, garden. The inscription in mosaic letters on that frieze is, unfortunately, in great part hidden, while the architectural unity is impaired, by unsightly brick buttresses thrown up at intervals to the summit of the buildings that overlook

this silent place. Here have been deposited many curious relics, formerly in the church; also some sculptures of late periods, worthy of observation — as an episcopal throne, with Gothic pinnacles, guardian lions and inlaid marble work, in fragments. Other interesting relics of the century in question, that still remain in this basilica — are, the apse built by Nicholas IV, with the great mosaic on its vault — one of the most admirable for composition and mystic meanings. At the summit is a colossal head of the Saviour amidst floating six-winged seraphim, a work ascribed to the time of Constantine, and said by legends to represent the actual vision of the Redeemer, in the semblance worn by Him on earth, and as here miraculously manifested during the consecration of this church by S. Sylvester, in presence of Constantine. Below that head rises in the midst an ornamented cross, from whose base issue the four rivers of Paradise (4), their waters supplied from a mystic fountain that flows down both sides of the cross, streaming from the beak of the divine Dove, who hovers at the summit. Between those rivers, also under the sacred tree, is seen, in distance, the celestial city with towers and walls of gold; its gate guarded by an archangel wielding a golden sword; a palm-tree rising at the midst, with a phoenix, emblem of the Resurrection, on its branches; stags, representing the neophyte, or the thirst for spiritual waters, and sheep (the faithful) approaching to drink of the mystic rivers. On the same level, beneath the cross, stand several colossal figures — Mary, with one hand on the head of a kneeling Pope, Nicholas IV; S. Peter, with a scroll, (no keys), on which is inscribed « Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi »; S. Paul, also with a scroll, displaying the words, « Salvatorem expectamus Dominum Jesum »; S. John the Baptist; S. John the Evangelist, with a scroll, on which is the exordium to his Gospel, « In principio erat Verbum »;

(4) Or — the sense that seems more profoundly suitable and mystic — the Evangelists, sources of spiritual refreshment and truth.

and S. Andrew, on whose scroll we read, « Tu es Filius Dei Christus »; the name of each figure being inscribed vertically above, except that of Mary, over whose head is the Greek monogram for « Mother of God; » the matron-dignity of her form being accordant with the earliest, so different from later, types in art. Introduced among these saints, but on smaller scale, is S. Francis (almost his first appearance in art), recognizable by his brown habit and the « stigmata »; also S. Antony of Padua. The verdant and flowery plain, on which stand not only the principal personages but several other miniature figures, disporting among flowers, represents the garden of the true Eden; and in front flows the Jordan, on whose waters are swans swimming, and boats rowed by tiny figures — these subordinate details reminding of the classic rather than the Christian. On lower level, between the windows, are the principal prophets, and portraits of two other Franciscan friars, namely, the artists of this mosaic, whose names we read in epigraphs at the extremities: « Jacobus Turriti pictor hoc opus fecit — Fra Jacobus de Camerino socius magistri ». These accessorial figures are treated in a manner so different from the larger group, that we distinguish the work of other hands. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle maintain that the Tuscan Fra Jacobus, author of the mosaics in the tribune of the Baptistery at Florence, cannot be supposed the artist of this great composition, so decidedly superior to all his known works; though we may believe him to have been employed on this apse in 1290, and to have in part renewed the figure of one angel, and the heads of the Madonna, S. Paul, and S. John the Baptist; to have added the figure of the Pope, his employer, and those of the two Friars, chief saints of his own order; also, probably, those of prophets between the windows. The principal composition is indeed attributed to a Tuscan artist of well known name, Gaddo Gaddi.

From the Lateran we may walk along a quiet road, between gardens, to S. Maria Maggiore — of all Rome's ancient basilicas the one that best preserves, together with modern

magnificence, all essential features of the ancient Romanesque. I need not here repeat the well-known and beautiful legend of the founding of this basilica, by Pope Liberius, (352 — 366), after the indicating of its destined site by the preternatural fall of snow, in the month of August, and the vision of the Blessed Virgin, explaining the intent of that miracle, with her similarly conveyed behest, alike to the Pope and to a pious patrician, Joannes. The whole story is illustrated in one of the finest mosaic compositions of the XIII century, on this church's front — a work, lamentable to narrate, in part concealed by the vaulting of the loggia above a portico, an ungraceful addition to the modern façade due to Benedict XIV, 1743. However requisite for the Papal benediction, given here on the 15th of August, no adequate excuse for the mischief done by this unfortunate adjunct, can be found. That interesting mosaic was ordered by two Cardinals, Giacomo and Pietro Colonna, towards the end of the century, and completed (probably by the above named Gaddo Gaddi), about A. D. 1308. In the higher part we see the Saviour, seated on a splendid throne, giving benediction in the Latin form, and holding a book open at the words, « Ego sum lux mundi » — a majestic figure, the countenance severely solemn — the attitude noble. Below are angels supporting the circular nimbus amid which He appears, and others with candelabra, at His feet. Above the throne are the four winged Emblems; laterally to it, the Virgin, of matronly aspect, attired in long blue mantle and veil; SS. Peter and Paul, SS. John the Baptist, Andrew, and Luke — S. Paul (an expressive figure), with the sword; S. Peter displaying on a scroll his confession of Divinity : « Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi ». Below this group are the several scenes of the legend : the Madonna (a half-figure within a nimbus, from which emanate rays) appearing to the Pope in his dream, and alike to the patrician Joannes; also the latter recounting his vision to the crowned pontiff, amidst the ecclesiastical court; lastly, Pope Liberius tracing the foundations of the church



with a wand upon the snow-covered platform, on which surface is the word « congregatio » ; while both the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin appear, within encircling glories, above, and a multitude, priests and laics, stand around. Beneath the principal figure on the throne is the record, « Philip Rusati hoc opus fecit », (this artist being classed among the pupils of the Cosmati school) ; and underneath those lower groups, ascribed to Gaddi, are epigraphs, the first and last partly concealed, describing the subjects illustrative of the legend: « PP. Liberio dicens, fac mihi ecclesiam immote su pagio (sub palatio?) sicut dixit dicat(am) ; quum eadem nocte apparuit Joh. Patricio idem dicens nonis Augusti ; quum Johs. Pat. ivit ad Papam Liberium p. visionem quam viderat ; quum Papa et Johs. Pat. cum Clero Populo Roman. rivend. (revelando?) ex beata vir(gine) » — Noticeable, in regard to that same legend, is the proof of its acceptance by modern belief in two representations, one a gilt sculpture over the altar of the splendid Borghese chapel in this basilica ; another, a relief in the tribune of this church ; as also in the more solemn sanction of ritual, when, on the festival of S. Maria della Neve (5th August), roses descend in symbolic shower from the carved panels of the ceiling, during the high mass and vespers in this basilica.

The mosaics on the apse of S. Maria Maggiore are undoubtedly the work of that Franciscan artist, Torriti, whose name is here seen, with the date 1295 ; and are so inferior to those at the Lateran, that we cannot hesitate to ascribe them to another hand. The religious *sentiment* here manifest is identical, in respect to the worship of the Blessed Virgin, with that expressed in the mosaic at S. Maria in Trastevere. Mary is here placed on the *same* throne with the Saviour, as, to all appearance, His equal, while in the act of being crowned by Him. In His hand is an open book, displaying the same text as that seen at the Trasteverine church, « Veni electa mea et ponam in te thronum meum » ; above extends, from a golden cross, a fan-like nimbus. The ample aureole, like

a globe, within which are enthroned the two principal figures, is studded with stars on a blue ground; and below the throne are the sun and moon, implying that He, who is there seated, was not only the Redeemer, but Creator of our universe. Laterally stand the figures of SS. Peter and Paul, the two S. Johns, SS. Francis and Anthony; also (on smaller scale) a kneeling Pope, Nicholas IV, and the Cardinal Giacomo Colonna, who ordered this work. At the extremities of the group rise trees, whose mazily-interwoven branches fill the whole intervening space, and several birds, known in sacred symbolism, — the phoenix, pelican, and peacock, — are seen amidst their foliage. Along the archivolt extend the branches of two other trees, with small heads of saints, and the holy monogram at the key-stone; the roots of these trees being set in vases, supported by tiny nude figures. Other miniature figures, along the foreground, indicate an attempt to blend the Pagan with the Christian; for besides human forms, birds, and symbolic animals, and a boat, which is just being launched into a river, we here see a river-god and a naiad, each leaning on a classic urn.

Another mosaic series, below the principal group, represents the chief scenes in the life of the Virgin, by Gaddo Gaddi, therefore of later period; their subjects — the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation, and the Transit (or funeral) of Mary, whose soul (according to the usual earlier treatment) appears in the form of an infant, received by the visibly present Redeemer. The acute-arched windows of this apse are all that remains of the Pointed Style in the basilica; this portion, due to Nicholas IV, being fortunately preserved intact.

From the mosaics of the fifth century down to the gorgeous chapels and sculptured tombs of Popes Sixtus V and Paul V, the artistic contents within these walls render S. Maria Maggiore an aggregate of precious monuments to the artistic progress of successive ages.

A plain, rude-looking church is that on one of Rome's most classic sites — the Capitoline S. Maria in Aracoeli,

where the waxwork display of the Presepio, and the recitations on the theme of the Nativity and Incarnation by children, attract such crowds every day from Christmas to the Epiphany. Wadding attributes its origin to Constantine; other writers to S. Gregory the Great; but the first reference to it occurs in the tenth century, when, as alike for about two centuries later, it bore the name of S. Maria in Campidoglio, afterwards changed into S. Maria in Aurocoelo, or Aracoeli, either (as an old writer observes) on account of its distinguished place, « in primo urbis et orbis monte consistit », or from the altar erected on this site by Augustus, and dedicated to the First-born Son of God, « Ara primogeniti Dei »—according to one of those beautiful legends, scarcely less interesting as expressions of religious feeling, than could be the reality of their assumed historic facts.

After the tenth century, the first mention of Aracoeli is in a diploma of the Antipope Anacletus II, conceding the entire Capitoline Mount to the Benedictines, who had already an abbey on this site, which they continued to occupy till 1250, when Innocent IV transferred the property to the Minorite Franciscans, who moved hither from another convent (in Trastevere), then in need of repairs they could not afford to carry out. The Popes having ceded to the Roman Senate a patronage over Aracoeli, this church became the occasional scene of political gatherings, or municipal deliberations. Here were held assemblies for civic affairs; and so recently as 1521, a court of justice, presided over by the Senator, held its sessions within these walls, where a marble throne for that official had permanent place. The now dilapidated staircase that ascends to the front, with 124 steps, was erected, in 1348, with marbles partly taken from the Temple of Quirinus, and at a cost of 5000 florins, defrayed by the offerings made, during a visitation of pestilence, to the antique image of the Madonna, still in this church, over the high altar; the structure having been restored, with some additional steps, in the XVI century. Like the Scala Santa and the steps before S. Peter's, this staircase used to be

ascended by the devout on their knees; a custom preserved till at least as recently as 1722, when Mabillon saw it practised by female devotees. The interior of the church was almost entirely renewed in 1464 by a Cardinal Caraffa; and few artistic details remain on its exterior, except marble reliefs of S. John and S. Matthew, on the front, probably of the XV century; a faded fresco over the central door; also, over the entrance from the Capitoline piazza, a mosaic in Byzantine style of the Virgin and Child, with angels.

But there are noticeable traces on the exterior brickwork of the Gothic type, which has been sedulously effaced, or subjected to every possible alteration — the high lancet windows turned into oblong ones; the wheel windows of the transepts now built up; though the cornices of marble and terra cotta are left still in their place; that eager desire to sweep away the middle ages, so frequently manifest and lamentably carried out in Rome, being here most apparent. Upon entering, a gorgeous and sombre character, a rather barbaric richness, impress one; but we cannot observe without regret the proofs of what this edifice has suffered. The venerable features of the primitive basilica — the enclosed choir, with marble screens, advancing into the nave, the ambones, the high altar, over-canopied by its antique ciborium, were all remorselessly swept away by Paul IV (1564); and even ancient memorials and epitaphs were taken from their places, to be used for repairs of the convent, or for flooring in the nave. The rich old pavement of opus Alexandrinum is partially preserved; what is wanting, repaired in brick, or with monumental slabs, that exhibit half-worn figures in low relief and mediaeval costume; several large discs of porphyry being still in their places, though the finest of these is now in the Capitoline museum. Instead of the ancient ceiling of open rafters, we now see a flat roof of woodwork coloured and gilt, ordered by the Roman municipality, 1571, in token of thanksgiving for the victory of Lepanto, as we learn from an inscription over the central door. The Savelli chapel presents, in its actual conditions, deplorable example

of outrage against sacred antiquity. With isolated altar, and tabernacle supported on columns of Phrygian marble, and adorned by the rich mosaic work so profusely used in the XIII century, it was formerly lighted by Gothic windows, painted with illustrations of the life of S. Francis; between which, and on the lateral walls, were frescoes representing the story of the same saint. With exception of the family monuments, all was demolished by the guardian of this convent in 1727; and of those rich mediaeval details nothing now remains, save the sculptured tombs of Luca Savelli, Senator of Rome, deceased 1266, and his son Pandolfo; the former father, the latter brother, to Pope Honorius IV; also the tomb of the wife of Luca, that Pontiff's mother — the monument of Luca being a remarkable specimen of Gothic and Classic blended together, with a canopy containing a statuette of the Virgin and Child; the basement formed by an antique sarcophagus, with bacchanalian figures and garlands in relief. The Pope's monument, moved hither from S. Peter's, supports the recumbent statue of Honorius IV, an expressive, though now mutilated, figure.

In the north transept is the chapel, under a domed marble canopy, dedicated to S. Helena, and called the « Capella Santa », though formerly known by the title since given to the entire church, S. Maria in Aracoeli; this being on the supposed site of the altar raised by Augustus after he had seen the vision of the Virgin and Child, interpreted by the Sibyl; or, according to another legend, after he had sent an embassy to consult the Delphic Oracle on occasion of the Capitol being struck by a thunderbolt, and had received the response, exciting strange forebodings : —

« Me puer Hebraeus divos Deus ipse gubernans,  
Cedere sede jubet, tristemque redire sub orcum;  
Aris ergo dehinc tacilis abscedito nostris ».

Under the porphyry sarcophagus, here serving at once as an altar and as the tomb of S. Helena, is seen, through a



grating, one of the most ancient altars extant in Rome — small, adorned with inlaid marbles, and reliefs of the Lamb, the Cross, Augustus, and the Sibyl.

A inscription round the architrave of the canopy accredits the first named version of that legend: « Haec quae Aracoeli appell. eodem in loco dedicata creditur in quo virgo Sma. Dei Mater cum Filio suo se Caesari Augusto in aureo circulo e coelo monstrasse perhibet ». But no evidence that critical history can accept, is found to support this beautiful myth. The first historian of note to mention it is Nicephoras (the Byzantine of the XIV century), followed by later writers, as by S. Antoninus. Baronius suggests that Augustus had been convinced, from private study of the Sibylline books, of a great event proximate in the birth of One who should prove the true King of kings, and therefore did he dedicate to the unknown God an altar in a chamber of his palace. There is no proof that any female pretending to the character of Sibyl was contemporary with him. As to the inspired women of ancient time so called, their number is uncertain. Plato mentions only one; Pliny, three; Varro speaks of ten, the number generally assumed by tradition; the most celebrated among Sibyls being that of Cuma, immortalized by Virgil, and said to have lived for seven centuries *before* the landing of Æneas in Italy! The three Sibylline books purchased by Tarquin, perished in the conflagration of the Capitol under Sylla; but subsequently, we are told, were collected in different parts of Greece, by commissioners sent from Rome, all the extant verses referred by local tradition to such oracular source. The Greek Sibylline verses still extant, but which are beyond question spurious, were probably composed in the second century, with a view to convincing Pagans by such testimony to Christian truth. In the *Dies Irae* the Sibyl is cited, in spite of criticism, among divinely inspired ones:

« Teste David cum Sibylla ».

And the Franciscans of Aracoeli, boldly adopting the local legend in its most striking sense, still continue, every

evening, to commemorate the mysterious vision in a chant before this altar, after Complines :

« Stellato hic in circulo,  
Sibillae tunc oraculo,  
Te vidit Rex in Coelo.  
O Mater Christi, dirige  
Nos, et ad bonum erige,  
Pulso maligno telo ».

Innocent III alludes to this legend of the « altar of Heaven » in a sermon preached at Christmas. Martinus Polonus, Suidas, Godfrey of Viterbo are the earliest writers who mention it; and it seems certain that it had become popular in the XII century. As for that later compilation of Sibylline verses, *not* manifestly of Christian origin, and which used to be consulted till the reign of Theodosius, it was destroyed, in orthodox zeal, by the General Stilicho, before his departure for the war against the Goths, A. D. 402 (v. Fabricius, « Bibliotheca Graeca »).

Among the few antiques in the Aracoeli that still remind us of the thirteenth century, are the richly-inlaid marble ambones; that for the Gospel the most beautiful; but neither preserved in their original state, being restorations with ancient material pieced together.

The convent of Aracoeli is one of the largest in Rome, with two cloisters surrounded by arcades. The principal wing of these buildings was originally a Papal palace, founded by Paul III., and communicating by a covered way with the Palazzo di Venezia, built also for Pontifical residence, in 1468, by Paul II. In the inner cloister, of the same date as the church (1252), are low round arches and stunted marble columns, no doubt antique. In the outer cloister, rebuilt in the fourteenth century, are arches, resting on octagon pilasters with foliated capitals, and heavy plain buttresses. How superior the monastic style of the XIII to that of the following century, is evident in these two examples.

*S. Sabba*, on the Aventine, is a church whose origin, certainly most ancient, cannot be determined; but which is known to have existed in the time of S. Gregory, and ranked among the twenty privileged abbacies of Rome, being dedicated to S. Sabas, an abbot of Cappadocia, who died at Jerusalem, A. D. 532, after founding several monasteries. The record of the artist Jacobus dei Cosmati, dated the third year of Innocent. III (1205), on the lintel of the mosaic-inlaid doorway, justifies us in classing this church among monuments of the XIII century. From its origin a Greek monastery, it was assigned by Lucius II, in 1144, to the Benedictines of the Cluny rule. An epigraph near the sacristy mentions a rebuilding either of the cloisters or church, in 1325, by an abbot Joannes; and in 1465 the roof was renewed in woodwork by a cardinal, the nephew of Pius II.

In 1512 the Cistercians of Clairvaux were located here by Julius II; and, some years later, these buildings were given to the Germanic Hungarian College. Amidst gardens and vineyards, approached by a solitary lane between hedgerows, this now-deserted sanctuary has a certain affecting character in its forlornness. Save on Thursdays, when the German students are brought hither by their Jesuit professors to enliven the solitude by their sports and converse, we might never succeed in finding entrance to this quiet retreat of the monks of old.

Within the arched porch through which we pass into an outer court, we read an inscription telling that here stood the house and oratory (called *cella nova*) of S. Sylvia, mother to S. Gregory I, whence the pious matron used daily to send a porridge of legumes to her illustrious son, whilst he inhabited his monastery on the Clivus Scauri, or northern ascent of the Coelian. Within that court formerly stood the cloistral buildings, of which little now remains. The façade is remarkable for its atrium in two stories: the upper with a pillared arcade, probably of the XV century; the lower formerly supported by six porphyry columns, removed by Pius VI to

adorn the Vatican library, where they still stand. The porphyry statuettes of two emperors embracing, supposed either an emblem of the concord between the East and West, or the intended portraits of the co-reigning Constantine II and Constans—a curious example of sculpture in its deep decline, and probably imported by Greek monks from Constantinople—project from two of those ancient columns.

An air of cold desolation strikes us on entering S. Sabba. The rich intarsio pavement is preserved in scarce more than a third of its original area; marble columns, debased Corinthian, divide the nave and aisles; three vaulted apses, and a crypt correspond to details of the ancient basilica-type; above the chancel-arch is a fresco of the Annunciation, that seems of an early Italian school; other faded remnants of painting adorn the attics. In the principal apse are other frescoes, ruder, indeed barbaric, in character: the colossal figure of the SAVIOUR between the Apostle Andrew and the Abbot Sabas; and below these, the Crucifixion, the Madonna, and the twelve Apostles. Examples of the rich marble inlaid work of the XIII century are seen in some fine marble panels (probably from choir-screens) on each side of the high altar; also in a beautifully ornamented disk, with a Greek cross in the midst, over an altar in the crypt.

From this spot a short walk brings us to the old church of *S. Sabina*, in situation alike solitary. The castellated cincture that surrounds the convent and its spacious gardens, is a remnant of the fortifications here raised by the Savelli family, part of whose residence on this site was given by Honorius III to S. Dominic for his then incipient community. The church, founded about A. D. 428, and rebuilt in 824, was consecrated anew, having been restored by Gregory IX, in 1238. Few mediaeval buildings in Rome have been more maltreated than this; and yet there is a quiet solemnity in its aspect, that no despoilers have effaced. In 1586 was swept away the antique chancel with marble screens, and ambones, all of the ninth century; the fine old intar-

sio pavement being at the same time destroyed, as well as almost the entire interior decoration in inlaid marbles and mosaic. Alike have disappeared the mosaic heads of the SAVIOUR and fourteen saints on the chancel-arch, and also the whole upper part of the mosaic, two lower figures of which alone remain, above the portals. It is uncertain when the present lateral entrance was opened, and the ancient one enclosed within the convent, a change that has destroyed the effect of the pillared atrium now converted into an inner vestibule, to the utter detriment of its original character. But one interesting art-work which remains, though not complete, is the great door of cypress wood in panels, with low reliefs of subjects from the Old and New Testament, eighteen still in their places, but several others wanting; among those on the lower ranges, the Annunciation, and the Angels appearing to the Shepherds, the Angel and Zacharias in the Temple, the Magi on their journey, Moses turning the rods into serpents, the Ascent of Elias in the celestial chariot, CHRIST bearing the Cross before Pilate, who washes his hands, the Denial of S. Peter, and the Ascension. We have no record as to the date of these carvings, which the learned Dominican father, Mamachi, supposes more ancient than the VII, but which Agincourt refers to the XIII, century. Their stunted figures and feeble design remind us of earliest attempts in Christian sculpture; but in some instances a superior conception is dimly manifest through poverty of execution. More grace distinguishes the ornamental bordering of vine-leaves and grape clusters, that surround the panels on both valves.

Many legends of S. Dominic are connected with S. Sabina. In the nave is placed one of those rounded black stones (*pietra di paragone*) said to have been either fastened to the feet of martyrs when they were scourged, or hung round their necks when drowned; as to which specimen, here seen, the tradition is, that the Demon threw it at S. Dominic from the roof, whilst he was at prayer on that spot, of course without hurt-



ing him,—a story narrated in verse on a tablet once seen in this church, but eventually (was this in concession to modern intelligence?) removed (1). In the nave is a fine horizontal monument, date 1300, to the seventh General of the Dominicans, Muno da Zamarra, a Spaniard, with his effigy in mosaic under a Gothic canopy. The cloisters (XIII century) are distinguished by a severe simplicity appropriate to their destination; their low marble shafts supporting narrow arches under plain superincumbent buildings — a solemn scene at hours when the dim light harmonises with remembrances of monastic antiquity. The garden-terraces command a view beyond description interesting. On one side grows, and is still fruitful, the orange tree planted by S. Dominic; and in the convent we see the Saint's cell, where hangs an expressive picture of him by Bazzani,—modern, but founded on traditions of his appearance, described as radiantly beautiful.

Another solitary church associated with the history of this Saint, is S. Sisto on the Appian Way, with a convent long deserted on account of *malaria*. This was the first residence of the Dominican Order in Rome; and here did the Founder collect around himself, in the course of a few months, one hundred followers, after having obtained not more than about sixteen before he had settled in Rome. Here too did S. Dominic carry out an integral reform in cloistral life. The Nuns, dispersed over different convents in Rome, had hitherto been living with about as much freedom as the monks; taking part in public processions, and allowed to visit their relatives. Innocent III desired a reform, and ordered a large convent to be built at S. Sisto, for the assembling of all those female communities under stricter rule. That Pope did not live to accomplish his project. Dominic

(1) *Credidit orantem jacto contundere saxo*  
*Sanctum hic Dominicum hostis versutus: at illum*  
*Illaesum Dominus, etc.—Piazza, « Sacre Stazioni ».*

took it up, and persuaded the nuns to forego their former liberties, and to unite in the S. Sisto cloister, after he and his friars had removed to their new convent in a wing of the Papal palace on the Aventine, conceded for their use by Honorius III. The nuns of S. Maria in Trastevere stipulated that they should bring with them their most highly prized possession, a Madonna-picture attributed to S. Luke; and that if this picture should *of itself* (miraculously) return to its former shrine, they also should follow it back to the Transtiberine convent! S. Dominic carried it with his own hands to S. Sisto, attended by two Cardinals and a multitude of people, all bare-footed and with torches in their hands; this procession being ordered at night, on account of the apprehension that the Trastevere citizens might resist such removal of their revered Palladium. The whole episode serves well to bring before us the state of religious feeling in Rome at this period. On the Ash Wednesday of 1208, the collected nuns heard S. Dominic's Mass at S. Sisto, and on the same day witnessed the miracle he performed in the chapter-house by resuscitating a young patrician, Napoleone Orsini, nephew to a Cardinal Stefano, (among those present at the event), who had been killed by a fall from horseback, and been brought into the convent, a bloody corpse, just before that Mass began. A few days afterwards, forty nuns became settled at S. Sisto, after promising, as the Saint enjoined, the complete renunciation of their liberty; never more to leave that threshold. In the actual church remains nothing of the building of that time; and the sole noticeable art-works are some frescoes behind the apse of the tribune, now to be seen only by taper-light, and referred by critics to the latter years of the XIV, or earlier of the next century. The vaulted chapter-house, however, remains with its massive architecture unchanged — a mediaeval structure reminding us of S. Dominic and his times (1).

(1) It has recently been adorned with frescoes and other paintings, illustrating the life of S. Dominic (the most elaborate one repre-

There are few Christian mosaics in which mystic meaning and poetic imagination are more felicitous than in those on the apse of *S. Clemente*, where the Crucifix, and a wide-spreading vine-tree (allusive to His words, Who said, « I am the True Vine, ») spring from the same stem; twelve doves, emblems of the Apostles, being on the cross with the Divine Sufferer; the Mother and S. John beside it; the usual hand extended out of a glory above, with a crown; the four doctors of the Church, also other small figures, men and birds, introduced amidst the mazy vine-foliage; and at the basement, the four mystic river, with stags and peacocks drinking at their streams. The figure of S. Dominic is a modern addition. It seems evident, from characteristics of style, that the other mosaics here, above the apsidal arch and at the spandrils, are more ancient, perhaps by about a century; these latter representing the SAVIOUR in benediction, the four Evangelic emblems, S. Peter and S. Clement, S. Paul and S. Laurence seated; the two Apostles designated by their names, with the Greek « hagios » in Latin letters. The later art-work was ordered (see the Latin inscription below) in 1299, by a Cardinal titular of S. Clemente, nephew to Boniface VIII.; the same who 'also bestowed the beautiful Gothic tabernacle for the holy oils, with a relief representing the donor, presented by S. Dominic to the Virgin and Child — set against the wall near the tribune in this church, an admirable, though but an accessorial, object of mediaeval art.

Turning to other examples of the Art of this period in Rome — we see at *S. Prassede* a fine monument of Cardinal

senting that miracle in presence of the Cardinals, friars, and nuns) by Père Besson, a Dominican artist of much ability and religious feeling, who was commissioned for these works by Father Mullooly, the Prior of S. Clemente, to which latter convent of Irish Dominicans S. Sisto is annexed. The discovery of those long forgotten and concealed paintings behind the modernized tribune, and recent restorations at S. Sisto, are also due to the same estimable superior of S. Clemente.

Anchera, (ob. 1280), with an affectingly expressive statue, recumbent on a marble couch; at *S. Cecilia*, the altar canopy, with date 1286, and the name of the artist, Arnolphus — an example of architecture and sculpture combined, also mosaic ornamentation, with statuettes representing *S. Cecilia*, her affianced husband, *Valerianus*, his brother *Maximus*, and *Pope S. Urban*; at *S. Crisogono*, a mosaic, Byzantine in style, (probably the remnant of a larger composition), that represents the *Virgin and Child* on a gorgeous throne, between *S. James the Elder* and *S. Chrysogonus*, the latter vested as a young warrior; at *S. Maria in Trastevere*, the mosaics on the lower wall of the apse, illustrating the principal events in the life of *Mary*, by *Pietro Cavallini*; also another in which the commissioner, *Bertoldo Stefaneschi*, is represented in act of kneeling before the *Virgin and Child*, between *SS. Peter and Paul*. Remarkable is the treatment of the last scene from the life of the *Blessed Mother*, in which *Cavallini* here represents, *not* the assumption of the body, but the transit of the soul in the form of an infant, received into the arms of the SAVIOUR, Who appears amidst the group of Apostles.

Among good specimens of the architecture of this period is the portico of *S. Giorgio*, with Ionic columns and horizontal architrave, on which is a Gothic inscription, in quaint Leonine verse, informing us that the Cardinal (or Prior) *Stephen*, added this detail (probably the campanile also) to the ancient church — about the middle of the XIII century, as is supposed, though no date is given here; and in the midst of an age so alien to classic influences, a work in which classic feeling thus predominates, is remarkable.

The interior of the almost deserted *S. Giorgio*, rarely now open, affords one among many proofs how little mediæval antiquity is appreciated in modern Rome, and how, following an instinct which we could not analyse without entering into a wide range of theological investigation, this City has been led through steps, fraught with changes affecting her religious life, to a certain negation of her own Past.

In the superb Ostian Basilica were, fortunately, preserved from the flames, in 1823, though not, indeed, uninjured, several mosaics of the XIII, and two following centuries. The principal group among those on the apsidal vault, has an imposing character; and we may here overlook technical defects in the grandeur of conception. This mosaic, ordered by Honorius III. (1216 — 1227,) and finished under the care of the Abbot of S. Paul's, who became Pope as Nicholas III., 1279, represents the SAVIOUR, of nobly benign aspect, blessing with the Greek action; and holding the Gospel-book, open at the words: « Venite Benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum Q. V. P. A. O. M., (i. e. « quod vobis praeparavi ab origine mundi »); on one side SS. Peter and Andrew, on the other, SS. Paul and Luke, all holding scrolls with texts; that held by S. Peter displaying the words, « Tu es Christus, Filius Dei Vivi; » that by S. Paul, « In nomine Jesu omne genu flectetur ec. » Below the SAVIOUR's figure is the kneeling form, ultra-diminutive, of Pope Honorius III., who kisses His foot. On a species of frieze are the other Apostles, amidst whom stands a throne supporting a jewelled cross and the instruments of the Passion, guarded by two Archangels; each Apostle holding a scroll inscribed with a sentence from the « Gloria in excelsis ». Beneath the throne are small kneeling figures of an abbot, with name written, Joannes Gaetani, and a monk: also a group of the Holy Innocents, whose relics are said to have been enshrined in this church. Will it be believed — but such is the fact — that in the restoration of this basilica, that last-named group (diminutive) has been completely hidden by an inappropriate aedicula, with Corinthian columns, now rising above a splendid marble throne (also modern) in the hemicycle! Yet still worse were the former conditions, when almost the whole lower compartment of these mosaics was concealed behind a clumsy wooden construction above an altar!

The mosaics lateral to this apse (and also to the chancel-arch opposite), are of the XIV century. In those of the V



century, above the same arch, on the side towards the nave, we undoubtedly see the very works alluded to by Hadrian I. in his letter to Charlemagne, written against the Iconoclasts; also by Prudentius, when describing the splendours of the Thodosian basilica. (« Peristephanon », hymn xii.)

The Gothic altar-canopy, supported on columns of porphyry with cusped arches, was ordered by an Abbot Bartholomew, in 1285, and is the work of Arnolfo, assisted by one Pietro — the former stated by Vasari to be no other than the celebrated Tuscan architect, who may have supplied the design, but could not himself have executed this work, as he is known to have been engaged in Florence throughout the year in question. At the angles of that canopy are statuettes of SS. Peter and Paul, of another Apostle (or S. Benedict) with a scroll, and an abbot, no doubt meant for the same Bartholomew: on the spandrels are reliefs of an abbot kneeling, with a Gothic model, (intended, no doubt, for this very altar), which he presents to S. Paul; Adam and Eve after the fall, the Deity appearing to them within a nimbus; Cain and Abel with their offerings — a hand, to indicate the present Deity, over the head of Abel; also two crowned kings, (David and Solomon?) each with a scroll. Some quaint lines are read on a tablet above the arch fronting the nave, with the name of the Abbot, and date 1285 — the names of the artist and his assistant being on tablets at other sides.

In the rich adornment of this beautiful baldachino no part has been forgotten: cherub-heads, inlaid figures of stags and peacocks, adoring angels, with censers and holy water, being sculptured on the inner sides.

The ancient S. Paul's suffered much from earthquake, A. D. 801, and on that occasion, probably, lost the ceiling covered with gilt bronze, which Prudentius mentions: « Subdidit et parias fulvis laquearibus columnas »; a detail afterwards replaced by bare unadorned rafters, and finally (in the late restoration) by the flat ceiling of coffered woodwork, profuse-

ly gilt, a roofing certainly *not* seen in primitive Roman basilicas. Even before the restoration of S. Paul's in our own time, the antique had lost much of its pure mediaeval character. Sixtus V removed the inlaid marble ambones and screens of a chancel that advanced into the nave; and also the later-added screen, with twenty porphyry columns, that divided the apse from the transepts, forming a more modern choir.

The restored basilica, with all its blaze of splendour, and its majestic quadruple colonnades, is a monument of the decline of sacred architecture, evincing incapacity in modern Rome to revive either the creations or the spirit of mediaeval Catholicism. We might dwell upon one among many proofs of this hopeless deterioration, in the anomaly of the immense new baldachino on giant columns of Oriental alabaster, *surmounting* the smaller, but far more beautiful structure, over the high altar — both, indeed, splendid, but in their juxtaposition unsuitably contrasted, and mutually destroying each other! Perhaps, in such infelicitous contrivance of two canopies to the same altar, the architects thought not of the *other* contrast here suggested, namely, between the ritual significance of the older and later structures. In this example it is evident that the mediaeval canopy could not have sufficed for the dazzling illuminations of a benediction of the Host, as now ordered; and we see that the ascendancy given to the idea of the Sacrifice above that of the Sacrament, has led to the alteration of essential parts even in the sacred edifice. We might cite proofs and results of this change in the canopy of the XIV century, forming a shrine for relics, above the Lateran high altar; in the still larger one raised by Benedict XIV at S. Maria Maggiore; and the largest of all, that due to Urban VIII, over the high altar of S. Peter's.

The cloisters of S. Paul's, similar to those of the Lateran, present an exquisite example of Roman mediaeval work. Founded by the Abbot Peter of Capua, who held office here

from 1193 to 1208, they were completed by his successor, John V, abbot from 1208 to 1241 (1). Nothing could be more graceful than the fairy shafts of the coupled colonnettes, spiral, fluted, and mosaic-inlaid, that sustain arches, whose narrow span corresponds to those delicate supporters; nothing more richly fantastic than the cornices and bands of mosaic frieze carried above. It is through multiplicity of parts, and harmony preserved amidst variety, that an effect so striking is here attained. Anastasius mentions several monasteries, both for monks and nuns, which clustered round the ancient S. Paul's, as formerly round S. Peter's; and the same writer notices a general repair of these buildings by Gregory III, about 716. The actual monastery, a plain, gloomy pile, with no architectonic features, except in those beautiful cloisters, is the winter-residence of the Cassinese Benedictines, first located here in 1422 by Martin V. The riband of the Garter, and the well-known motto introduced in the shield of this abbacy (device, a hand grasping a sword), remind us that S. Paul's was under the patronage of the kings of England before the Reformation, as the Lateran is still under that of the French, and S. Maria Maggiore under that of the Spanish, crown.

The recent restoration of the extramural *S. Lorenzo* has been carried out by the architect Vespignani, in better style than many such works to which Roman churches have been recently subjected, though not, indeed, without prejudice to olden features. Absolutely Vandalic was the proceeding that sacrificed a lateral porch, with columns and mosaic decoration — by the Cosmati family — in order to give place to a new sacristy!

The history of this basilica is singular. It appears that two churches, both famous from ancient time, existed an-

(1) The chronology of the abbots of S. Paul's (from 936 to 1433) is given from a Vatican MS. in the interesting history of this basilica by Mgr. Nicolai.

terior to the buildings of Honorius III, who added the present nave and aisles, and the portico with Ionic columns. One of these churches, at least as ancient as the fifth century, was enriched by donations from Pope Hilary; and the other is mentioned, as well-known in the VIII century, by Anastasius, who tells us that Hadrian I constructed the *major* basilica to which it was annexed. The church ascribed to Pelagius II appears to have been renewed and amplified, not founded, by that Pope, in the VI century; and afterwards styled *speciosior*, on account of the splendour with which Pelagius invested it. To that « major » basilica, ascribed to Hadrian I, pertains the chancel-arch, (adorned with mosaics of the VI century), which terminated the nave of the primitive church, but finally became an intervening member between that compartment and the presbyterium, after the earlier structure had been converted into the choir of a much larger basilica, under Honorius III, about A. D. 1216. Ciampini, « de Sacris Aedificiis », supposes that the entire presbyterium, with its two stories of classic colonnades, may be ascribed to Hadrian I — being his renovation of Pelagius's church; and that the former Pope effected the change by which this basilica was reversed in plan, so that the sanctuary became eastern, the chief portal western — contrary to the original disposal. Over the inner side of the chancel-arch, are now seen the last two lines alone of a metrical inscription, (given in full by Gruter), to the following effect: « Once a Levite, thou (Laurence) didst endure martyrdom in the flames; justly, therefore, is venerable lustre now restored to thy temple ».

Another metrical epigraph, no more its place (but also given by Gruter), mentions a restoration by Galla Placidia at the request of S. Leo I, in terms identical with those inscribed over the chancel-arch at S. Paul's:

« Gaudet Pontificis studio splendere Leonis  
Placidiae pia mens operis decus omne pate(rni) — ».

and two other lines in which :

« Augustos aditus venerable corpus habebat,  
Hunc , ubi nunc populum largior aura capit — »

may imply , not (as is assumed) that the declivity in the rear had been cut away in order to enlarge this church, but that the whole was reduced, by works in the V century, to lower level, and placed on new foundations, so as to include the tomb of S. Laurence, previously accessible only by descent into the catacombs below. In the course of time (at what period is uncertain), the crypt became almost filled with soil, and the tomb-chapel consequently inaccessible, save on one side. In the actual chancel the antique columns of fluted white marble, with Corinthian capitals elaborately adorned with trophies amidst acanthus leaves, spoils no doubt from classic antiquity, are still in their place, connecting the upper with the lower story. The restoration of the crypt to its original state, and the disencumbering of the sepulchral chapel under the high altar, are the details most praiseworthy in the works lately finished.

The manifest decline of the mosaic art is testified by the small figures on a frieze above the colonnade of the atrium — the Divine Lamb, S. Laurence, a Pope (Honorius III, to whose time these works must be referred), and two female heads, intended, as Ciampini concludes, for S. Cyrilla, a Virgin Martyr of the first century, and her mother, S. Tryphonia — here introduced, probably, 'because their bodies lay in the catacombs below this church.

Considering Art as an illustration to religious ideas, we cannot pass unnoticed the frescoes in the atrium of S. Lorenzo; works classed among those of the Graeco-Italic school, and either of the period of Honorius III, or but little later in the same century. We may begin with those on the right as we enter. A holy hermit was at prayer one night in his cell, when strange noises, like the shouts and tramp of horsemen



passing in tumultuous haste, aroused him to look out of his window, and ask, Who thus disturbed his meditations? We are demons », was the answer : « the Emperor Henry has just expired, and we are bent on taking possession of his soul ». « I conjure thee », said the hermit, « to appear again to me on your return, and announce how ye have fared in this serious undertaking ». The promise being given, that phantom troop swept by ; but the night had not waned before similar noises were again heard by the hermit, and this time with sound of violent knocking at his door. « Now tell me », asked the holy man, « how has it fared with the emperor? », « Desperately ill », replied the same demon, speaking from his point of view : « we came just in time ; the emperor had that moment expired, and we began to assert our claims, when his good Angel appeared, bent upon saving him. Our contention was long ; but at last the angel laid the good and evil deeds of Henry together in a balance, when, to our great joy, we saw that on our side the scale sank visibly to the ground ; but all at once up came that roasted fellow (S. Laurence), with a heavy golden pot in his hand, which he threw into the opposite scale, so that the other was made to kick the beam. We were thus forced to depart in shame and confusion ; and I could only vent my rage on the golden pot, one handle of which I broke off ». After this discourse, the demon-troop vanished ; and the hermit at break of day started for the nearest town, where the Emperor had been residing. On arriving, he learned that Henry II. had expired precisely at the hour he had seen the first apparition, and that a gold chalice, presented by Henry to the church of S. Laurence in that town, had been found to have unaccountably lost one of its handles.

This story is represented in all its acts. We see the Emperor offering a chalice to a priest before an altar. In the ensuing subjects, we see the dead majesty laid on a bier amidst funeral solemnities ; a group of demons contending with a single Angel, whilst a little imp endeavours to trip that ce-

lestial antagonist, who weighs the good and evil deeds in scales, on one of which are the words, « Opera bona quae fecit »; on the other », Opera mala quae fecit ». In the next scene the better cause triumphs through S. Laurence's interposition with the chalice; and again do we see the demons passing through a wild mountain-region before the hermit's cell (1).

On the left wall are frescoes illustrating another legend. About A. D. 1062, lived in the S. Lorenzo monastery a pious sacristan, who used nightly to rise before matins to pray at the altars. While thus engaged one night, he beheld three persons vested as priest, deacon, and subdeacon, followed by a numerous company, and all passing silently up to the high altar, where solemn Mass was celebrated by the priest, a man of lofty stature and venerable aspect; the others most devoutly attending. After gazing, awe-struck, on that scene, the sacristan drew near to him who had acted as deacon, and inquired as to those mysterious personages. « He whom thou seest vested as a priest (was the answer) is the Apostle S. Peter. I am Laurence, who on Wednesday in such a year, the day that our Lord Christ was betrayed and condemned to death, did suffer such great torments for love of Him; and in commemoration of my martyrdom have we all come this morning, to celebrate the rites thou hast witnessed: the subdeacon is the proto-martyr Stephen; the ministers and worshippers are Apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, who have desired thus to honour me in remembrance of my martyrdom; and in order that this solemnity may be known throughout the world, I have desired thou

(1) Henry II (ob. 1024) far from leaving a guilt-stained memory, was a canonized saint, exalted to the honours of the altar by Eugenius III in 1152. He had desired to abdicate and enter a cloister, but was dissuaded by the sensible exhortation of an abbot; and, it is said, made a vow of chastity, though a married man at the time. A somewhat different version of this legend is given by Baronius, an. 1056.

shouldst be witness. When it is day, thou wilt present thyself to the Pope, and enjoin on him, in my name, to repair to this church with his clergy, here to celebrate mass, and grant to the faithful such perpetual indulgences as he may deem fit ». How will they believe in my words, unless I give some sign of the truth of this vision »? asked the sacristan: on which the saint took the cincture he was girt with, and bade him show it in testimony that these things were true. The abbot of S. Lorenzo, being informed of this apparition, and aware that it had been vouchsafed to a holy man, went with his monks to the pontiff (Alexander II), and reported what had been seen and heard. After taking counsel of his cardinals, the Pope set out with a procession for the enjoined observances. On the way was met a funeral train, and, to test the miraculous virtues of the cincture given by S. Laurence, the holy father laid it on the body, which became instantly reanimated upon the bier. Having celebrated Mass, the pontiff conceded an indulgence of forty years to all who, penitent and confessed, should visit either this or any church dedicated to S. Laurence, on whatever Wednesday in the year (Piazza, « Menologia »). In the frescoes before us is a complete illustration of this legend, ending with a vision of Purgatory, above which rises one of the spirits set free by virtue of the Eucharistic sacrifice. The primitive belief in that story, at least the fidelity to observances founded upon it, is still manifest in the pious practice of visiting this basilica on Wednesday mornings, to attend masses for the dead, celebrated before sunrise.

The other frescoes, in the same atrium, illustrate the legend of the transfer of the relics of S. Stephen, originally brought from Jerusalem to Constantinople by the Empress Eudoxia, A. D. 439; and, about 557, obtained by a Papal Legate for Rome. The Empress Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian III, being tormented by a devil, her father, Theodosius II, invited her to Constantinople, that she might be healed by touching the relics of S. Stephen. The demon announced that he would

not leave her unless S. Stephen himself came to Rome; and it was consequently agreed that exchange should be made between the relics of S. Laurence at one city and those of S. Stephen at the other. The latter relics being brought to Rome, the demon was cast out of the empress; and the Greek emissaries were proceeding to remove the body of S. Laurence, when they all fell down as dead; after some hours, however, they were restored through the prayers of Pope Pelagius and his Clergy; but all died *de facto* within ten days; and all the Romans who had counselled the exchange, were struck with frenzy — to be healed, however, after the two martyrs had been quietly laid under the altar of this basilica, in the marble sarcophagus where they still repose.

One of the most interesting churches in the Roman states, still left in its original completeness, is the Cistercian monastery of Casamari, within a few hours' expedition from Frosinone, and but two miles distant from the Neapolitan frontier. Amidst the well-nigh total extinction of all art informed by the Mediaeval spirit in the district of Rome, such a building stands an almost unique example, presenting, in its olden characteristics, a monumental protest against the corruption of taste, and the preference for the sumptuous rather than the nobly beautiful, so deplorably manifest in and around the Papal metropolis.

Casamari takes its name from a villa of Caius Marius, adjacent ruins of which, with reticulated masonry, arcades, and columns of Paestan Doric, remained conspicuous till the earlier years of the last century. An ancient Roman bridge, with one arch, crosses a narrow stream, the Amaseno, close to the cloistral premises; and an aqueduct, supposed to be Roman, still supplies water to the monks. Amongst those classic ruins arose, in the year 4005, a hermitage, where four priests, — who had retired from the neighbouring town of Veroli — led a life of such asceticism as was deemed the summit of Christian perfection, — and here they built a chapel, dedicated to SS. John and Paul. After about thirty years, several

other persons, both of laity and clergy, placed themselves under direction of these hermit-priests, the fame of whose sanctity had become widely spread; and in the sequel was formed a community, under a religious rule borrowed from the Benedictine, and governed by a « prior-abbot », first appointed by the superior of the nearest Benedictine monastery (at Sora, within the Neapolitan frontier); though the monks of Casamari eventually became Cistercians. In 1045 the primitive church, raised by the first hermits, was enlarged; windows of stained glass, and a tower were added. But soon followed the usual vicissitudes, — that phase of monastic history, sooner or later supervening in the annals of almost all such institutions, — decline and disorders. In 1149, Pope Eugenius III, visiting these premises, found them all but deserted, and partly in ruin; the few monks, still on the spot, no longer living in observance of their rule. Wisely, therefore, did that pontiff determine to reform; and well did he choose such an energetic agent as St. Bernard for the task of re-organizing, under an abbot appointed by that Saint himself, after those unworthy subjects had been ejected. In 1181, these cloisters contained more than 300 monks, under the government of an abbot, John, who was sent as legate by Innocent III to France and England; and in 1217 a new church (the one still extant), surpassing the older in magnificence, was consecrated by Honorius III, all the cardinals and Roman Curia assisting, and entertained for the occasion at the monastery, upon whose premises more than 1,000 horses were stalled during this visitation. A few years later, other splendours animated this scene, when imperial guests, Frederick II and his empress received hospitality here, and all the family of the Hohenstaufen were, on this visit, 1221, inscribed among « spiritual children of Casamari ». But days of trial ensued: in 1406 the monks had to fly before the invading Ladislaus, the Neapolitan king; and in 1417 one Jacopo Caldoro, after fortifying these buildings, sustained here a siege, being attacked, not perhaps



without damage to the edifice, by another leader, of the Sforza family. Soon afterwards, the community being now insignificant, and their property in great part held by seculars, the rest ill-administered, Martin V placed both the monastery and its abbatial government *in commendam*; and the first Abbot commendator, no longer bound to residence, was that Pope's nephew, Cardinal Colonna. In 1463, Pius II restored the property to the monks; but in 1472 their superior voluntarily resigned it to Sixtus IV, in lieu of an income of 300 gold florins per annum. So rapidly did this establishment thenceforth decline, that in 1503, a prior and *one* monk were the sole inmates left here. The *cloistral* abbacy, for a time maintained, while the economic administration was exercised by non-resident superiors, was finally suppressed, giving place to a priorate; but in 1663 was restored the ancient dignity of abbot, henceforth elected to preside, not, as formerly, for life, but for eight years. In 1705, the then Abbot, Cardinal Albani, removed the Cistercian community, now reduced to eight individuals, and invited the Trappists to succeed them. That reformed Cistercian order continued to flourish here till the close of the last century, when the storm of revolution burst over these cloisters. In 1799, six of the monks were murdered by the French troops on their march from Naples; all portable valuables were carried away; the contents of the library dispersed; oil-casks and wine-barrels tapped; sacred vessels robbed; the altar-tabernacle was broken open — and all this by soldiers who had been hospitably entertained for three days by their victims! In 1814, the monastery was suppressed by French Government; its premises were let to private families; and its library was transferred to Veroli. But three years subsequently, Pius VII restored Casamari to the Trappist Cistercians; and, in 1850, Pius IX re-endowed it with all its property, hitherto held *in commendam*, under the sole obligation of an annual payment, 1,200 scudi, to the chapter of S. Maria Maggiore. During late years the community here has averaged forty,

including novices and lay brothers. Efforts have been made, but in vain, to recover for their archives a voluminous code, now in the Vatican library, containing all the registered privileges, deeds, and titles of the monastic property, ec. ; the whole compiled, in 1490, by one of the industrious brethren. The dispersed library has been in part restored; but those archives are for ever lost. During the revolution of 1848-9, this community was exempt from serious disturbances; but the last outrage suffered, even from regular troops fighting under the banners of a Catholic government, was, if less sanguinary, not less violent, than any other to which this cloister has been subjected in the stormy past.

It was in January, 1861, that the premises were attacked by troops of the Line and National Guard under pretext of searching for some of the volunteers then fighting for the cause of the deposed Bourbon. The monastery and church were entirely ransacked; everything movable of value, for sacred or profane uses, was carried away; barrels of wine and oil were tapped, so that nothing might be left for the monks; the pharmacy, where good medicines used to be supplied at the cheapest possible rate, was set fire to, all its contents being thus destroyed. The monks, who had saved themselves by flight, returned to find great part of the buildings in flames, which they were able to extinguish with the prompt assistance of about 200 peasants. The father Abbot told me that, after this disaster, they had to provide themselves with everything anew, as if beginning on a fresh foundation. Pius IX generously replaced all the objects sacrilegiously plundered, requisite for the service of the altar, so soon as his Holiness learned their tale of outrageous wrong from that Abbot's lips. But how was it that the Government whose soldiery had inflicted this wrong, took no steps to punish or indemnify? It is true that, shortly before this attack, some of the reactionary volunteers, crossing the frontier, had been harboured for a few days at Casamari; but this was through compulsion; the monks had first refused to receive

them; and had only done so when those importunate guests demanded admission with arms in their hands. Such a story is a terrible illustration of the existing antagonism between the Church and the civil power in Italy.

Casamari stands amidst romantic and peaceful scenery. Before reaching the inhabited and restored part, we pass through two quadrangles of ancient building, one wing of which bears marks of fire on its roofless structure; another now serving as a granary. The modern monastic buildings are utterly insignificant.

After making acquaintance with the « Master of Novices », and being assured of welcome, I was presented to the Father Abbot, a little, fragile, but dignified old man, who received me with courtesy; answering all questions with readiness, and most obligingly conducting me over the premises—cloisters, chapter-house, and church. The cloisters are a genuine and intact specimen of the style prevailing in the XIII century; not, indeed, with the richly-elaborate details of the Ostian or Lateran examples, but severe in simplicity, with triple arcades, light colonnettes, spiral or fluted, single or coupled; a massiveness and solemnity distinguishing this architecture. The chapter house, lighted from those cloisters by narrow acute-arched windows, is divided into three naves by clustering columns with folial capitals, and roofed by a vaulting in bays, with intersecting ribs. Here the monks meet every evening, after vespers, for conference or reading. The church, fortunately preserved alike from despoilers and from pseudo-restoration, is finely harmonious in its general expression of repose, and its majestic proportions. The plan cruciform, with nave and two aisles, transepts and apsidal choir beyond an isolated high altar; the vaulting groined, and in bays. Fourteen acute arches rest on clustering columns, which rise as high as the springings of the vault. An attic, above the arcades, opens in a series of pointed niches, like a simple description of triforium. The fifty-four windows are of five lights, and lancet in form; except those over the chief portal, those in the tribune, and at the transept-extremities, which are lighted

by wheel windows with tracery. The church measures, in its entire length, 269 palms; the transepts, 150 palms; height of interior, 88 palms; and the whole is built in native stone of a pleasing yellowish grey tint. The only objects out of keeping are the high altar and its baldacchino, in the sumptuous modern Italian style, all inlaid with coloured marbles. Six other altars stand in chapels lateral to the transepts; but none in the body of the church, which, therefore, gains in simplicity and breadth of effect. Before the façade extends an atrium with both rounded and acute arches; and its single doorway is adorned with rich mouldings and symbolic reliefs. The abbot mentioned to me several improvements he had projected, as the introduction of stained glass, and the re-opening of several windows long ago built up; but adverse circumstances had frustrated all these good intentions.

The ancient refectory and dormitory are fine examples of Mediaeval style. A spacious hall, divided by seven massive piers, with high stilted arches that support a ribbed vaulting, was the olden refectory, where 300 monks sat at well-spread tables. This interior now serves as a granary. What once was the dormitory, a long low room, under a ribbed and vaulted roof, is utilized as a hay-loft. Another ground-floor story contains the enormous square basements of the piers supporting the arcades in the refectory above. The ancient structures have suffered by the action of fire; and the belfry, one of the best external features of the church, has been deprived of its spire by lightning.

The daily evening service (complines), at which the « *Salve Regina* » is beautifully sung to the organ, in this church, impressed me. But the finest effect of the architecture was that I secured opportunity to enjoy by attending the earliest Mass, before daylight on a Sunday morning; during which rites, at such an hour, a visionary grandeur seemed to invest the dim and sacred pile.

The great basilica of Assisi opens imposingly the series of monuments due to the newly-founded mendicant Friars. Over the destined tomb of S. Francis were commenced, on

the 15th of May, 1228, the works for a church and convent from the designs of a German known as Jacopo Tedesco; after a competition for these buildings, both of church and cloister, had been opened to Italian and foreign architects, alike invited to concur. A Franciscan friar, Filippo Campello, was appointed as assistant architect with that German. Ciconara supposes that this same Jacopo, as to whom nothing else is known, may have been an Italian inhabitant of some Alpine valley, the natives of which regions used, though born within the southern states, to be called « Tedeschi »; and Filippo di Campello is said to have been chief architect of these buildings after Jacopo's death. In the May of 1230 the works had already so far progressed as to allow of the solemn transfer of the saint's body from S. Giorgio; also the holding of a general chapter by his followers, within these walls. The quest for contributions towards the costs of the building, was kept up during 1234. By the year 1230 the whole of this majestic sanctuary, with its two storeys, so different in architectonic expression, rose complete. The third, and lowest story, a crypt, was constructed in 1220, immediately around the recently discovered grave of S. Francis, and after the reinterment of his remains in a sarcophagus set within the solid rock.

To give an adequate idea to one unacquainted with this architecture of the great basilica of Assisi, would be difficult. Neither the Gothic of ultramontane lands, nor that elsewhere seen in Italy, corresponds in character to this two-storied church, — the lower in its principal features severe, even plain, with massive piers instead of colonnades, widely-spanning arches, and such disproportion between length and height that the idea at first conveyed is that of a dim-lit subterranean. Ponderous vaults seem here to confine the spirit in regions of melancholy contemplation, rather than bear it up to the devotion of aspiring hope; and amidst the mysterious gloom within these precincts —

Where awful arches make a noonday night,  
And the dim windows shed a solemn light —



all the profusion of colour, the deep blue tints of the ribbed ceiling, and splendid decorations harmonise with, instead of relieving, that sombre grandeur. But the edifice, in its totality, cannot be appreciated till we visit the upper church, so contrasted with the lower, so aerial, graceful, and brilliant; of a Gothic style farthest removed from gloominess; without aisles or arcades, but comprising nave and transepts of expansive and lofty proportions; pictorial decoration being here applied in the highest degree. Having seen this, we understood the aesthetic intention of the double temple (whether an offspring of Italian or Teutonic genius): in the lower to symbolise the self-abasement and mortification of the seraphic S. Francis — in the upper, the glory and beatitude he aspired, through suffering, to attain.

In such a sanctuary one may imagine with what effect the great celebration of an ascendant Religious Order is attended. Never shall I forget the festival of S. Francis above his tomb. High Mass was sung on the morning of the vigil by a prelate, three other bishops assisting; the choral performance most beautiful; the vocalists attached to this Basilica, superior musicians, being now assisted by others from Rome, accompanied by various instruments. The Credo and Sanctus seemed strains from the song of Seraphim; and, at the elevation, was a sublime burst of clarion music, triumphantly swelling and softly dying away, with effect like that, similarly produced, at the Papal High Mass. At midnight on that Vigil, the church was thrown open for Matins and Lauds, sung with organ music severely solemn: the same prelate officiating; at break of day began the first of the several High Masses, with rich and grand music, by mitred celebrants. Throughout the sacred day, the throngs of worshippers in the sepulchral chapel were so great that it was a conflict to obtain entrance. Popular festivities, characteristic and picturesque, were kept up in the quaint-looking little city throughout the octave. All Assisi seemed in an excitement of gaiety and devotion at this anniversary.

The basilica of S. Francesco is a consecrated museum of mediaeval Art; and the history of the Italian Renaissance is before us on its storied walls. Vasari's conclusions, assigning to Cimabue and Giotto all the principal frescoes in the upper church, are rejected by more discriminating criticism; and it is now admitted that the only undoubted works of Cimabue here, are those in the south transept, and a colossal Madonna and Child, between four Angels, over a lateral altar; that the other frescoes in the transepts (much faded) are by Giunta Pisano (about 1252); that the higher series along the walls of the nave — sixteen subjects from the Old Testament, and eighteen from the New Testament — are by different artists of the school of Cimabue; the lower series — twenty-eight scenes from the life of S. Francis, and SS. Peter and Paul in medallions — also by different hands, those *earlier* in biographic order by inferior masters, the *later* announcing a superiority in which the talent of Giotto reveals itself. The paintings in the compartments of the ribbed vault, which are among the most striking, are also ascribed to a school that borrowed its manner from Cimabue, yet did not absolutely follow him (1). Rumohr recognizes the hand of Spinello Aretino, and that of his son, or pupil, Parri di Spinello, both later than Giotto, though of the same century, in several of the series representing the Assisian Sant's life. Other critics suppose that the mosaist Filippo Ru-

(1) Giovanni Cimabue, the great, though not sole, restorer of sacred Painting in Italy, was of noble family, the Gualtieri, born A. D. 1240; deceased, according to Vasari, in 1300; though on other testimony proved to have been living in 1302. His known works, extant in Italy, are: those at Assisi, and, at Florence, the colossal Madonna and Child, with Angels, in S. Maria Novella; another Madonna at the Belle Arti, formerly at the Vallombrosan church of s. Trinita, S. Cecilia, with eight lateral scenes, episodes from her legend, at the Uffizi (ascribed to him, but doubtful); and at Pisa, the design for the Christ enthroned, a mosaic in the Duomo, probably his last work.

satti, and Gaddo Gaddi (1239-1312), both Florentines, took part in the fresco decorations of this upper church (4). At all events, whilst the art-works in the lower story of this basilica represent the more matured genius of Giotto, and the school of the XIV century, those in the upper form a unique, indeed invaluable record of the genius and transitional phases of Italian Art in the century previous. Grandly characterized are the large figures on the groined vault: Christ blessing; Angels with bright-hued outspread wings, standing on globes; the Evangelists, with their Emblems, each seated on a throne, and inspired for his task by an Angel, who lays a hand on his head; other colossal half-figures, in medallions, of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, S. John, and S. Francis; and the four Latin Doctors, each seated on a lofty chair, and dictating to, or teaching, a monk who sits at lower level opposite — this being one of the first examples of the appearance in Art of these venerable Four Fathers, SS. Gregory, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, henceforth to take their established place, grouped together in painting and sculpture — perhaps in consequence of the heightened importance given to their festivals by Boniface VIII. In the midst of the Doctors, is the figure of the Saviour winged — an uncommon attribute for that Divine Personality. Among the scriptural subjects on the walls of the nave, many are either totally effaced, or so obliterated as to be beyond recognition. We observe in the figure of the Creator the manifest intent to depict the Son, not the Father, in the Godhead who brings the world into being. And in the pictorial history of S. Francis, we see the development of that unbounded devotion, which hesitated not to proclaim what the visionary eye beheld — a mysterious imitation of the life of the Redeemer upon earth in that of the Assisian Saint! Here too is the counterpart to the incredulity of S. Thomas, and its correction, in the group of a disciple

(4) See an interesting chapter on these paintings in the work by Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

examining the stigmas on Francis's body ; and four pictures represent the visions and miracles manifesting his sanctity after his death : his appearance to Gregory IX , to whom he presents a vial of blood from the wound in his side ; his power exerted in arresting the death of a lady, who had never confessed , that she might secure Divine absolution by doing so ; again in saving the life of a wounded man, given up by the doctors ; and in liberating a prisoner confined by order of the Pope. In the sacristy is a portrait of S. Francis, executed (it is said) from memory, by Giunta Pisano : the figure tall, lank, stiff ; the face less pleasing than in another assumed portrait of him at the modernized convent, S. Maria degli Angeli , at the foot of the Assisi mountain.

The first great church raised by the Dominicans is one that shows the preference of the latter , alike with the Franciscan Order , for a severe and truly ecclesiastical style. S. Maria Novella was founded by the Dominicans at Florence in 1278 , the architects being three of their own friars, Sisto, Giovanni, and Ristoro da Campi. According to Vasari , this noble church, an example of the Gothic in its pure simplicity. was finished seventy years after the laying of the first stone ; and the date 1357 is supposed to be that at which the edifice rose complete — the total costs reported as 400,000 gold florins.

The Dominicans had settled in Florence about A. D. 1221 ; at first establishing themselves, for religious and charitable services, in a suburban hermitage. After a time , a small chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, was conceded to them by the Republic ; and on the same site they built, 1220-25, a church and convent destined to give place to the more splendid structures commenced in 1278. It was their system to employ not only their own architects ; but masons , stone-cutters , brick-layers belonging to their Order. The Franciscans, who first appeared in Florence, A. D. 1212 , founded their now truly monumental church, Santa Croce , in 1295. That edifice must be considered as belonging rather to the XIV than to the XIII

century. And so also the glorious Duomo of Florence, S. Maria del Fiore, the first stone of which was laid with solemn ceremonial on the 8th of September, 1298.

Arezzo cathedral is a fine example of the purer Italian Gothic. On this site was founded over the tomb of S. Donatus (patron saint of this diocese,) a primitive church left in its perhaps humble original form till the Emperor Charles II (the Bald), when visiting this city, both recommended, and, bestowing property by diploma, date 876, supplied means for, the erection of a cathedral more spacious and dignified. The new church was consecrated about A. D. 1045, and consigned to certain monks, who had a priory attached to it. But the actual Duomo dates from 1278, — certainly not (as Vasari states) from 1260; for an extant testament, of date 1275, conveys the bequest of twenty soldi towards the costs of the works, provided that the projected cathedral *should ever be built*. The original design is attributed to Jacopo de Lapo, a German; the execution, to Margaritone (1212-1289) (1) A facade was commenced in the XV century, but left unfinished, owing to a visitation of pestilence. The exterior, thus incomplete, is plain, but gains effect from its isolated situation, on the highest ground in the city, elevated on a lofty platform ascended by stairs on each side. Some rich Gothic mouldings and sculptures, near the portals, long in wofully decayed condition, attest the beau-

(1) The *archivio* attached to this church is rich in old documents; and I must gratefully remember the facilities allowed to me for studying them. One, a « deliberation » between the bishop and his chapter, A. D. 1277, important to the history of this building, contains the words: « Quod ipsam interiorem ecclesiam ad cathedralem erectam, quae antea appellabatur eccl. S. Petri, miro a fundamentis opere construendam, et construi, faciamus », etc. In 1283 the bishops of Fiesole and Volterra published indulgences for all who should contribute to the works; and as Giovanni Pisano was invited to prepare the sculptured shrine of S. Donatus in 1286, we may conclude that these buildings were by that time completed, or nearly so.



ty of the designs prepared, but never carried out. A grandeur and majestic harmonies, little indicated by the outside, impress us on entering this church. Never shall I forget my first view of its interior whilst the rays of a setting sun streamed in gem-like hues —

« On marble shrines through rainbow-tinted glass — »

and evening shadows were deepening on the high-hung vault and dim-receding arches! Entering into detail, we here observe that the pointed arch predominates, columns and pilasters alternating; the vaulting is divided into bays, and covered with frescoes illustrative of Old Testament history from the Creation; the high altar is glorified by one of the finest among mediæval sculptures, the storied shrine of S. Donato, a complete biography of that saint in marble, by Giovanni Pisano.

Restorations, begun about two years ago, by the architect Mazzei, whose designs were executed under superintendence of an able engineer, Gazzi, have met with general approval. The elaborate delicacy and ornamental richness of the Italian Gothic seen elsewhere, are not found either at Arezzo or Lucca; but the cathedrals of both cities announce the deepening religious sentiment, and increasing boldness of conception in Italian art.

The cathedral of Siena is like a vase filled with memories of the Past and gems of Genius—a focus in which are concentrated the thoughts and energies of ages; the successive schools of art, advancing from naïve simplicity to developed excellence; the spirit of the Middle Ages and that of the Italian Renaissance, all fused together with effect that baffles criticism. The vicissitudes of this building are manifest in the majestic but unfinished structure, beyond the actual limits — like comparatively modern ruins — which tell of the enlargement, undertaken to be abandoned; and which present features of Gothic and Renaissance combined — an interesting

monument to a transitionary period. As at Orvieto, the concentration of artistic beauties and elaborate ornament is on the marble façade, compared with which the rest of the exterior, except the fine campanile, seems plain. On that façade appears the patriotism as well as piety of those who raised it. In the marble company of saints, on pilaster-summits or panels, all, except those of the Old Testament, are Sienese citizens; and the vigorous colossal forms of animals, on projecting brackets, are devices of Italian cities confederate with Siena. On the highest tympanum is a gilt relief of the Assumption; and below, alike in gilt sculptures, S. Bernardino and S. Catherine, both kneeling. We might consider this church among sanctuaries of the Madonna; for the intent to honour her announces itself on every side. The representation of her Assumption is not only conspicuous on the front, but is the object that first arrests the eye as we enter, in another gilt relief, so placed under the cupola as to hover above the chancel-arch; and on the pavement, near the threshold, we read the line: » Sanctissimum Virginis Templum caste memento ingredi » — reminding us of the olden appellation of Siena, « Sena vetus civitas Virginis »; or of the expressions in one of the devoutly-prefaced contracts of the board of works for this cathedral (*opera del duomo*): « It is decreed, seeing that no government or state can maintain or regulate itself without the aid of the Omnipotent God, and of His most holy Mother, Advocate of this our City », etc. —

The history of this cathedral is associated with that of Siena herself, and so complicated that it is not surprising to find discrepancies in traditions on the subject. The first notice of a church on this site is under date A.D. 1000; and the first list of artists engaged in restoring or embellishing the original Duomo, extends from 1229 to 1236, during which period the building was lengthened. In 1262 was undertaken the new cupola, or the completing of one earlier commenced. Ricci infers that the church existed from about A.D. 947; and we have historic notice of an enlargement begun in 1087, as also

of the consecration, by Pope Alexander III, in 1171. In 1245, Niccolò Pisano, great both as architect and as sculptor, was commissioned to build a new façade; but his work (whether completed or not) was taken down less than forty years afterwards, to give place to another by his son, Giovanni Pisano, commenced in 1284; adorned with statues by Agostino and Agnolo of Siena, 1317; and in 1333 entirely encrusted with marbles. In 1317 was commenced the façade of the baptistery, (no longer used as such, and now known as S. Giovanni), which projects, like a transept, from the northern side, and is a finer, because more pure, example of the Pointed Style than any other portion of the actual buildings; this adjunct having been completed in 1382 by Giacomo di Mino, called Pellicciaio. In 1322 Lorenzo Maitani and three other Sienese architects proposed the erection of a new cathedral, in scale and magnificence surpassing the ancient one. There is no documentary proof that this project was at once adopted; but it is certain that, up to 1333, the general plan of the older buildings had not been altered. In 1339 it was decreed that the body of the church should be built on a larger scale, and with different orientation, so that the *ancient* should become the transepts of the *new* cathedral; and an architect named Lando was invited from Naples to superintend, as he did till his death in 1340. After the raging of the plague, which visited, with more or less severity, almost all Italian cities, 1348-50, the municipal council resolved that, seeing the want of hands to labour, and the immensity of estimated costs, the works for the enlarged Duomo should be abandoned, and that the project should be limited to the embellishment of the old, apart from any undertaking of a new, church. Thenceforth did the works, with such change of purpose, continue uninterrupted till the early years of the XV century. From 1362 to 1397, eight intaglio artists and two painters were engaged in the choir, the painted window of which was finished in 1369; other fine examples of glass-painting, in differ-

ent windows, being by Ambrogio di Bindo, a Camaldulense monk, (ob. 1446). The « Last Supper », in the wheel window of the west end, is of the date 1400. The Prophets, noblest among the statues now on the façade, are the earliest works of Jacopo della Quercia, (about 1405); and the relief-figures, over the three portals, of Sienese « beati », — B. Ambrogio Sansedoni, B. Giovanni Colombini, (founder of the Gesuati Order), and B. Andrea Gallerini — are by Redi, of the XVII century. In 1369 was commenced the celebrated intarsio work of the pavement, in no portions ascribable, as believed, to Duccio, who was not living at that date; and the true « commesso » art, here exemplified in its best attainment, was invented by Beccafumi, (1484-1549), whose beautiful compositions on this pavement are later than 1500. Many admirably designed figures, which are merely incised on the surface, are of the XV, and some of the XIV century; the Cardinal Virtues are of about 1406; the Ten Sibyls, by different artists, were commenced in 1481; the Histories of Joshua and Moses, in 1426; and one group, perhaps unique in the sacred art-range, the Parable of the Mote and the Beam, dramatically represented by two figures, is of date about 1433. On the platform before the chief portals is the consecration of this cathedral, in three groups, date 1451; and external to the entrance of the baptistery, are the events of Birth and Baptism, curious rather than beautiful designs, 1450.

The decree of 1350 was followed by another, in 1357, that the new buildings should be demolished, because then threatened with ruin; and in 1356 the « capo maestro », Domenico d'Agostino, gave it as his opinion, confirmed by other architects, that the proposed demolition of the old church would cost more than 150,000 gold florins, and that more than a century would be required for the building of a new one.

Richly accumulated sculptures and paintings, of different periods, give to this church the character of a sacred

museum; yet is the religiousness of idea and purpose so successfully carried out, that no sense of the unsuitable or profane can enter the mind within these venerable walls. Standing under the hexagonal cupola, which, with its drum surrounded by a Romanesque arcade, and lit by narrow deeply-splayed windows, seems to belong to the oldest buildings, I have observed how strong is the line that separates the newer from the more ancient parts. The Pointed Style is manifestly a superaddition here; and this attempt at amalgamation between the Gothic and Romanesque, interesting however anomalous, is what gives to the Siena Duomo its special importance in the history of Italian architecture.

I believe that Ughelli ( « Italia Sacra » ) is mistaken in finding allusion to the laying of the first stone for some new construction of the interior, A. D. 1300, by the bishop of this See, Raynaldo, in the following lines cut in Gothic letters on the façade :

Annus centenus Romae semper est jubileus;  
Crimina laxantur, cul poenitet ista donantur  
Hic declaravit Bonifacius, et roboravit » —

though the date implied, that year of jubilee 1300, be here unquestionable.

Works are now in progress, and intelligently conducted, for restorations at this cathedral: the statues of prophets and kings, on the front pilasters, have been, where requisite, retouched; also some of the symbolic animals; and two esteemed Sienese artists (Sarrocchi and Maccari) are commissioned to execute statues or busts of twenty-four saints of the Old Testament, for the upper part of that façade already so richly laden with sculptures (1).

(1) Rumohr has entered, with much research, into the history and character of this cathedral; but the latest is, I believe, the best illustrator of Sienese monuments and art: Milanese, « Storia Civile ed Artistica Senese », and « Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese ».



Siena seems an abstract of the Italian Middle Ages, here scarce breathed upon by the spirit of modern times. Eloquent proofs of the domination of Religion in the Past, its elevating presence and all-pervading power, here meet us on every side. The whole architecture and general physiognomy of this picturesque city form a noble evidence to the civilizing influences of the Church, in her association with institutions that assured municipal prosperity as well as rational freedom.

Among the most interesting of minor Italian cities is Pistoia, which possesses great wealth of sacred monuments, well preserved, and of various mediaeval periods. Its cathedral, not one of the most remarkable churches here, but of early origin, was enlarged and embellished according to the designs of Niccolo Pisano, but still retains the ancient form of its façade (date 1166), with stories of arcade galleries and arched atrium, by a well-known Pistoian architect and sculptor, Gruamonte, and his brother Adeodatus, as an inscription, with the names of both, informs us. This church was built in the eleventh century, under the reign of the Countess Matilda, and the greater part is of that period. Ricci shows, indeed, that Niccolo Pisano cannot have altered it farther than by renewing the vaulting and the tribune, which latter was taken down in 1299, to give place to the present choir. The campanile, lofty and imposing, was begun by Niccolo, and finished by his son Giovanni, about 1301.

The interior of this church has been badly modernized, but contains some noticeable art-works, especially that in the chapel of S. James, the celebrated silver shrine (*paliotto*) crowded with miniature reliefs and statuettes; also, above the altar, a tabernacle of the same metal, alike ornamented with statuettes, and architectonic details — the aggregate forming a magnificent specimen of metallurgic art; commenced A. D. 1316, and completed by the labours of many masters during the XIV and XV centuries.

This cathedral is eclipsed by the beautiful baptistery built opposite to it in 1337, the architecture of Andrea Pisano

and Cellino da Nese; a graceful example of the Italian Gothic, in which we observe the increasing use of sculpture for external decoration, and, in the interior, proof (important for the history of Ritual) that the practice was continued, up to the comparatively modern date when *S. Giovanni* was built, of baptizing by immersion.

Among other remarkable churches at Pistoja is *S. Bartolomeo* (founded A. D. 722), with a façade of the twelfth century, among earliest examples of Tuscan Gothic. The thirteenth century is represented by the façade of *S. Salvatore*, (architect, Bonus or Buono, well-known in his day), and by *S. Francesco*, which was probably designed by the Franciscan father-general, Fra Elia, 1265, and built in 1294.

The blended architecture of the XII and XIII centuries is before us in *S. Giovanni Evangelista*, with three stories of blind arcades and pilasters, and the usual Tuscan incrustation of black and white marble courses — an interesting example, praised by Ruskin as « the most graceful and grand piece of Romanesque work in north Italy ».

Generally speaking, the churches of Pistoja are in good condition; no slovenly neglect here offends the eye; and pseudo-restorations have not been so offensively carried out here as elsewhere. *S. Paolo*, an admirable example of the ancient local style, with façade erected when the whole was enlarged in 1136, and singularly archaic statues of the Apostle and Angels over its portal, is one of the churches thoroughly repaired, without being spoilt, in recent years. Those sculptures might be supposed as ancient as the XII century; but Cicognara supplies an inscription, not legible from below, on the basement to the clumsy statue of S. Paul, with the artist's name, « Magister Jacobus, » and the date, 1350. *S. Pietro*, as well as *S. Paolo*, is referred to origin in the VIII century; and in its present state is remarkable for a fine façade, with sculptures ascribed to Pisan architects; date 1263. A characteristic of the Pistoian style is the union of sculpture with architecture, that seems to have been the continually increasing taste at this city.

An aspect of lovely and sheltered repose distinguishes Pistoia in its situation at the foot of the Apennines. Its battlemented walls, towers, and cupolas rise boldly defined against the background of mountains; and when lit by the rays of a setting sun, whilst purple evening-tints rest on those heights, the scene is one of the most fascinating, among those that combine architecture and landscape, to be enjoyed in Italy.

If the evidence to the domination of ideas and of religious convictions be the best title attached to monuments that can recommend them to our regard, assuredly the Duomo of Orvieto must be allowed a high rank among sacred edifices; being, in fact, the grand monumental record of dogmatic teaching as to the Holy Sacrament of the Altar; and the sublime office for Corpus Domini, composed by S. Thomas Aquinas, does not more impressively convey its meanings in orison or hymn, than does this splendid cathedral in the various art-works adorning it — in the very fact, indeed, of its existence.

The picturesque Orvieto, on a lofty plateau surrounded by a cincture of tufa rock, like a natural fortification, one of the most commanding and strongest positions in Italy, was taken by Alaric, on his way to Rome, A. D. 409; was besieged and captured by Odoacer in 476; was garrisoned in the sixth century by Vitiges; but finally wrested from the Ostrogoths, and resubjected to the Greek Empire, by Belisarius, in 568. After having been included in the kingdom founded by the Longobard invaders, it passed into the hands of Charlemagne in consequence of the overthrow of that alien sway in Northern Italy, and was comprised in the donation made by the Frankish conqueror to the Papacy. After that last transfer, this city, however modified may have been the forms, long retained the principles of independent government, with municipal rights founded on ancient custom. In the XII century it had its « Rettore », and consuls, the former usually nominated by the Pope; but these magistrates were superseded in the XIII century by the then more prevalent civic government under a Podestà

and captain of the people — two offices held, in the first instance, by the Bishop of this see and the Bishop of Chiusi, with rather singular blending of sacred and political functions.

Our countryman, Adrian IV, did much in the way of public buildings and improvements for this city. Here resided many other Popes for a time; as Martin IV, Urban IV; and, lastly, the unfortunate Clement VII, whose flight in disguise, after the horrors and miseries of the sack of Rome, and after escaping from his wretched captivity in the S. Angelo castle, forms a well-known episode in that tragic page of sixteenth-century annals.

It was during the sojourn of Urban IV at Orvieto, 1262-4, that a miracle was believed to have taken place at Bolsena, a town in this diocese, which tradition still assumes to have been the suggestive cause that led to the building of the superb Duomo. But a learned ecclesiastic admits, in his history of this cathedral (Della Valle « Storia del Duomo d'Orvieto », Rome, 1791), that its origin is ascribed by some to the desire, on the part of the citizens, to pay honour to the Blessed Virgin, revered as their special patroness. That story of the Bolsena miracle, immortalized by the pencil of Raphael at the Vatican, presents one of the most singular examples of the acceptance, and intensely-felt influences in the popular mind, of the miraculous, admitted without any such proofs or investigations as modern intellect would demand. And the two versions of this same story are essentially different; both being given, yet without any notice of such discrepancy, in the learned work above named. A German Priest, troubled in conscience for having doubted, not (it seems) the doctrine of a *real*, but that of a *carnal* Presence, in the Eucharist, set out for Rome, with the hope of securing the intercession of the chief Apostle, for the solving of his doubts or pardoning of his errors. Resting one day on the shores of the beautiful lake of Bolsena, he celebrated mass in the church of S. Christina (still extant) at that little town; and after the consecration, whilst holding

the sacred Host in his hands, with mind earnestly bent, as was natural, on the mysterious question that had led him to undertake his pilgrimage, beheld blood issuing from the consecrated species, and staining the linen corporals; each stain severally assuming the form of a human head, with features like the « Volto Santo », or supposed portrait of the Saviour! Such is one version; but different indeed are even leading details in the other — namely, that the priest merely let fall some drops of consecrated wine on the corporals, and, when endeavouring to conceal this by folding up the linen, found that the liquid had passed through all the folds, leaving on each a red stain, in circular form like the Host! The rest of the story is given without discrepancies, and is perfectly credible. Too much awe-stricken to consume the Elements, that priest, now for ever cured of scepticism, reverentially reserved both those sacramental species; proceeded to Orvieto, and threw himself at the feet of the Pope, confessing his doubts, and narrating the miracle. Urban IV immediately sent the Bishop of Orvieto to bring thither the Host and the corporals; and himself, with all the local clergy, went in procession to meet the returning prelate, at a bridge some miles distant, where he received the sacred deposit from his hands. Soon afterwards, in 1264, Urban IV published at Orvieto the bull instituting the Corpus Domini festival, and commissioned S. Thomas Aquinas, who was then giving theological lectures in this city, to compose the office and hymns for that day.

But if the Bolsena miracle may have *accelerated*, it did not certainly give the first suggestion for, this important step by Pope Urban. Ecclesiastical decisions and popular feelings had been long preparing the way for this signal triumph, expressed in ritual, of the orthodox over the heterodox cause. The first impulse had proceeded from no other source than the vision of a devout nun, the Beata Giuliana, at Liege, who, in 1208, received, as she thought, a divine mandate to enjoin upon the Church a new festival in honour of the



Holy Eucharist. The Bishop of Liege and his theologians gave earnest heed to her; and in 1215 that prelate instituted the Corpus Domini festival, for his own diocese; but not till 1252 was that observance extended farther, and by a Cardinal Legate, who ordered its adoption throughout the provinces comprised in his legation, namely, the whole of Flanders. In 1260 the then Bishop of Liege petitioned Urban IV to order the universal observance of this festival throughout the Catholic world; and we cannot be surprised at the Pontiff's readiness to follow such suggestion — for it was one of those Liege theologians, who had advised in sense favourable to the Beata Giuliana's counsels, Hugh de Thierry, who now occupied the Papal throne as Urban IV. The bull issued by him is said to have contained a full narrative of the Bolsena miracle; but Della Valle owns that neither he, nor any other who had searched for it in the Vatican archives, had succeeded in finding the original. In other Papal documents, however, the same event is more or less fully stated, as by Clement VI, (1343), by Gregory XI, (1377), by Calixtus III, (1456), and by Sixtus IV, (1477); most circumstantially by Benedict XIV, « De Festis ». In a metrical life of Urban IV, by a contemporary — see Muratori, — the institution of the festival is thus briefly mentioned :

« Sic digne statuit, ut in anno Corporis hujus,  
Tum festum celebre fiat in orbe semel ».

But here we find no allusion to what had happened at Bolsena.

However the Christian feeling of the age may have been disposed to acquiesce and believe at the time of Urban IV, it is remarkable that the new festival either failed to be universally adopted, or soon fell into neglect, as is inferrible from the fact that Durandus, in his « Rationale, » written but twenty-two years after its institution, makes no mention of it. Nor is there reason to believe that this observance, even-

tually invested with such magnificence, took its present place in the cycle of sacred celebrations, till several Pontiffs had revived the ordinance of Urban, and insisted upon the Corpus Domini festival as obligatory — Clement V, at the Council of Vienne, (1341); John XXII, at Avignon; Martin V and Eugenius IV at Rome.

Della Valle admits that the earliest extant monument to the fact of the miracle is the splendid silver reliquary, that contains the Host and Corporals brought from Bolsena, in a chapel of the Orvieto Duomo; this masterpiece of metallurgy, on which are represented in enamel all the details of that story, being the work of Ugolino Vieri, a Sienese artist, in 1338. An interesting, though modern, testimony, is that of Mgr. della Cornea, Bishop of Orvieto, who states (see the Acts of a Provincial Council held here in 1660) that he had himself discovered the sacred Host, not hitherto known to be preserved in the reliquary; that, on touching a spring, he had seen a door fly open, behind which was seen the precious object deposited in a recess, with two silver statuettes of angels kneeling and waving censers before it. The Bishop adds the extraordinary fact, as to which his word is our sole guarantee, that he had exposed it to the ordeal of fire, sustained without injury!

The circumstances amidst which the citizens undertook the building of their superb cathedral, should be borne in mind. Throughout the XIII century Orvieto was the theatre of intestine wars; the Guelph and Ghibelline parties, headed by two powerful families, were preying upon each other, all remorseless in their fratricidal strife. In 1286 the Filippeschi, at the head of the Ghibellines, obtaining the upper hand, expelled all the Guelphs from these walls, and wreaked their vengeance against that adverse party by slaughter, incendiarism, and the demolition of towers and castles. For many years Orvieto was, as we have seen, one of the strongest centres of a formidable Heresy, maintained in defiance of ecclesiastical rule. In the decisive battle of

Montaperti, 1260, when the Florentine Guelphs suffered signal defeat from the allied Ghibellines, so many « Orvietani » fell on the losing side, that, as Sismondi says, their city was left almost deserted in consequence. It needed no small amount of energy and religious zeal to commence, under such pressure of disaster and desolating war, one of the most splendid sanctuaries ever raised for Christian worship.

The undertaking was resolved upon, and voted for by the municipal council, in or shortly before the year 1284; and, as it seems, commenced in 1288, when was formed a *loggia artistica*, or committee of works, with a residence, *casa dell'opera*, near the site chosen. All designs and models had to be submitted to officials of that loggia, in order to be examined by the *camerlingo* and his assessors. The extant documents from the archives of this committee range over dates from 1310 to 1631 (4).

Neither popular devotion nor national munificence failed to bring in contributions. In 1293 the oblations amounted to more than 3,362 lire; in 1323, to 7,836 lire — large sums, considering the relative value of money in those times. In 1344, Pope Clement VI granted an indulgence to all who should visit Orvieto for devotional purposes; which spiritual favours were doubled in an indulgence from Gregory IX, obtainable by all who should assist at the works for this new cathedral. Then were seen citizens of all classes co-operating, besides multitudes of pilgrims, who, after attending religious services, would spend the rest of the day in doing what they could to help the masons, stone-cutters, or other artizans at the sacred building. Persons of good condition carried burdens on their shoulders; and those who could not do rough work, brought drink or food to the labourers, enabling them thus to refresh themselves without leaving the spot. It is one of the proofs how utterly were Sabbatarian notions foreign

(4) All are edited in a carefully written and exhaustive work, « Il Duomo di Orvieto, » by Ludovico Luzi, (Florence, 1866).

to the mediaeval mind, even while religious influences were at the greatest height, that Sundays and other festivals were marked by special activity (in the hours, namely, after the principal rites were over), during the progress of these labours. Companies of artists were sent to seek, and to work, the most suitable marbles at Rome, Siena, and Corneto; and such prepared material used to be brought to Orvieto by buffaloes, or (if from Rome) up the Tiber as for as Orte.

The tradition that assumes the architecture to have been originally designed by Lorenzo Maitani, of Siena, is untenable. It was not till A. D. 1310 that that artist was invited from his native place to accept the post of chief director, « *maestro de'maestri* », for this cathedral-building, and to become resident here, as he did, with the slender salary of twelve gold florins per annum. Two of his designs for the façade — neither, however, exactly carried out — are preserved in the « *casa dell'opera* ». In 1298 the building was so far advanced, that, on the festival of the Assumption, Boniface VIII celebrated mass on a portable altar within the unfinished walls. In 1321 the whole was roofed over with fir-beams, richly adorned with intaglio, and probably with painting also; soon after which the Gothic windows were filled with diaphanous alabaster — a beautiful substitute for glass, still in great part retained. In 1388 was completed a fine organ, by an Augustinian monk, a German, famous for his manufacture of such instruments. Previously had been established in the city a factory, with furnaces, etc., for mosaics, early introduced among the decorations of the façade; a general restoration of all which art-works was undertaken at great expense in 1605. Finally, this glorious Duomo was consecrated by the Cardinal Bishop of the see, 13th of November, 1677.

If this cathedral be surpassed by other examples of the Italian Gothic in architectural completeness or general harmony of effect, its façade stands unrivalled, a sun amidst minor luminaries. No description could do justice to that

pomp of beauty, that concentrated resplendence of art — the noble offering of man's genius, skill, and labour, strained to the utmost during successive ages, to glorify the Eternal in this wondrous structure.

Most celebrated, among the sculptures of different periods on this façade, are the bas-reliefs — complicated compositions with numerous small figures, as to whose origin critics have held various opinions. Marchese (see his history of Dominican Artists) supposes the greater number to be by Guglielmo Agnelli, a Dominican lay-brother, the pupil of Niccolo Pisano, and who was engaged at Orvieto for some time prior to 1304. But it is certain that several other sculptors also worked here; and the generally received view ascribes those reliefs, respectively, to Arnolfo of Florence, Giovanni Pisano, and the three sculptors of Siena, Agostino, Agnolo, and Goro di Gregorio. The statue of the Madonna and Child, seated under a pavilion above the chief portal, is ascribed to Andrea Pisano; the angels in bronze, lifting the curtains of that pavilion, to Maitaini; the twelve prophets, statues in niches, beside the great wheel window, to Agostino and Agnolo; the Apostles, above the same window, to later and inferior sculptors.

We might spend days, weeks, months in studying the exquisitely elaborated reliefs, among the most precious works of the XIV century, that adorn the flat pilasters on this church-front. These may be divided into four principal series or sacred cycles: the Creation, the Prophecies, the Gospel, the Resurrection and Last Judgment; or, as otherwise designated, Creation, Prophecy, Fulfilment, and Judgment (see Perkins, « Tuscan Sculptors »). In 1370 no fewer than fifteen sculptors, and nine wood-carvers and joiners, with eight assistants, were engaged here. Beginning with the most beautiful, the Creation, which comprises the story of Adam and Eve in Paradise, as also after the Fall, till the death of Abel, we observe the leading idea, so long dominant in art, which identifies the Divine Son with the Divine Father, and con-



templates in the Creator the Saviour, here distinguished by the benign beauty accepted by almost all art-traditions for the Person of the Incarnate. Remarkable also is the conspicuous place here assigned to Angelic beings, as spectators attendant on every act of Deity in relation to man; nor could any forms be more lovely than those winged Angels, floating in graceful movement, with an expression of tender and sad earnestness —

« The star-like sorrow of immortal eyes » —

as if in pitying presentiment of all the woes in store for the descendants of those exiles from Paradise.

The conception of the Prophecy series (as we may call it) is singularly imaginative. At the basement-level we see Abraham, reclining on a hill-side, and gazing up to the future, represented by the heroes and events of Old Testament history — Kings and Judges, Deborah and Judith, the Acts of Moses, the Vision of Ezekiel, Belshazzar's Feast, Heliodorus in the Temple; besides which, to complete the round of the prophetic vision seen by the Patriarch, his own tomb, an open coffin containing his skeleton, is exposed to view; and at the highest level, the New, succeeding to the Old Covenant, is represented by three subjects alone — the Angel appearing to Zacharias, the Crucifixion, and the Saviour enthroned in glory.

The Gospel series contains many fine compositions. At the basement-level is a figure of Jacob reclining, as does that of Abraham, and alike looking up into the future — above whom are represented all the principal scenes in the Evangelical history, from the Annunciation to the appearance of the Risen Lord to Mary Magdalene; laterally, the twelve Prophets, whose figures terminate the groups on each side.

The complicated reliefs of the Resurrection and Jugment have given rise to many dissentient theories. Vasari, Lanzi, and Agincourt attribute them to Niccolo Pisano; Cicognara and

Luzi, to Giovanni Pisano. Here, as in Michael Angelo's famous picture, the element of horror predominates. There is, indeed, much grace in several figures of the beatified; but the ghastly varieties of anguish and punishment, the fantastic forms of the Demon tormentors, make such impression, that the beautiful is eclipsed by the terrible, the graceful by the grotesque. Even the figure of the Redeemer, within an elliptic nimbus, is deficient in the majesty that the subject requires. In one detail, however, we see progress — namely, the absence of monstrosity from the figure of Satan, which, though coiled around by huge serpents, is strictly *human* = a finer conception, certainly, than that in Niccolo Pisano's relief on the pulpit of the Siena Duomo, where the Evil One is a monstrous cross between the human and bestial.

The mosaics on this façade are of unequal merit, but in general effect rich and harmonious. As now before us, they are mostly restorations, ordered by the Papal government since the time of Pius VII, and (as I am glad to report) still in progress, now that Orvieto belongs to the Italian Kingdom. The few early compositions still preserved intact, are—the Assumption, date 1366, with name inscribed, « Joannes, » probably Giovanni Leonardelli, a friar, whose engagements here are known from the record-books; also the figures of Isaiah and Nahum, with date 1355. The Baptism of our LORD, by Nebbia, with two figures designed by the sculptor Scalza, is of date 1581. The Coronation of Mary, on the highest of the triangular tympana, by the Roman mosaists Cocchi and Castellani, is a copy, finished in 1838, from a picture by the Sienese artist, Sano di Pietro (about 1449). The vicissitudes of this last mosaic, the most conspicuous here, are relevant to the history of religious tendencies. Originally it was not the Virgin's Coronation, but the Resurrection of CHRIST, that occupied such distinguished place. In 1714 that earlier work was removed, and another substituted, the Assumption, from an indifferent picture by Lanfranco; but at last, with

better taste indeed, the mosaic from the picture by the eminently devotional Sienese artist was raised where it now strikingly announces the intent to glorify the Blessed Virgin.

In the chapel of the *Santissimo Corporale* stands, above the altar, that precious silver reliquary containing the consecrated Host from Bolsena; its weight in solid silver being 400 lbs., its measurement, in metres, 1.38 by 0.73. Its front is intended to represent that of this cathedral; and beside the recess containing the relics are twelve enamel miniatures, illustrating the whole story of that famous miracle, also the Last Supper and the Passion. — On one of the Gothic tympana is the figure of the SAVIOUR, with sceptre and globe, and also with the unusual attribute of *wings*, suggested by the designation of the Messiah, « Angel of the Covenant, » in the prophecies of Malachi. Around the walls of this chapel is a remarkable series of frescoes, lately restored = in great part (I believe) wholly repainted, = a most curious, though not beautiful, illustration of dogma. These might be called the Transubstantiation-series. Their artist was Ugolino di Prete Ilario, (elsewhere little known), assisted in this task by two others, Domenico di Meo, and Fra Giovanni Leonardelli; these paintings having been completed in 1363. We here see, in all its acts, the story of the Bolsena miracle, and the transfer of the sacred objects to Orvieto; copied by the fresco painters from the enamels on the reliquary. Various miracles and visions, tending to illustrate the same sacramental doctrine considered as triumphantly vindicated by the event at Bolsena, are also represented. Twice do we see the visible transformation of the Host, at mass, into an Infant holding a cross; once in the hand of the priest at the elevation; again, actually walking upon the altar during that rite!

Other subjects, here admitted as sacramental in mystic reference or hidden meaning, are — the gathering of manna; the meeting between Abraham and Melchisedek; that Patriarch entertaining the three Angels; the Angel appearing

to Elias; Elias ascending Mount Horeb; the Last Supper; the Crucifixion; the Vision of CHRIST in the Apocalypse; also, in a class purely legendary, S. Paul kneeling before an altar, on which are the sacramental elements; S. Augustine beholding a vision of the SAVIOUR with the chalice and Host; S. Thomas Aquinas kneeling before the crucifix that spoke to him; also a singular allegory of Faith overcoming the world, the flesh, and the Devil—a warrior on a white horse passing over the prostrate and naked body of a woman, while aiming a dart at a demon, who lurks in distance. Besides these groups are introduced, accessorially, all the Fathers and Doctors whose writings maintain the Roman Church's doctrine of the Real Presence.

By the same artist, Ilario, and six other assistants, was painted the fresco series covering the walls and vault of the choir—the legend of Joachim and Anna, the Life and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, each with a clause of the Credo on a scroll; Doctors, and Pontiffs; compositions in many parts faded, nor yet restored.

In the chapel of the Madonna are more celebrated artworks. Fra Giovanni Angelico was engaged, in 1447, to adorn its vault with frescoes illustrating the Last Judgment; being assisted by Benozzo Gozzoli, he commenced without delay; but, after finishing two pictures on this vault, the Saviour amidst adoring Angels, and the Company of Prophets, he quitted Orvieto, never to return (1). In 1499, Luca Signorelli finished, after less than a year's labour, the beautiful groups of the Beatified, Martyrs, and Apostles, that pertain to the same great argument opened by Angelico; and at the beginning of the year 1500, the former artist offered to undertake the paintings on the walls—subjects, the

(1) The works here before us were finished within the interval from the 15th of June to the 18th of September, 1447; after which date the artist returned to Rome, to complete his paintings already commenced in the Vatican.

story of Antichrist and the Resurrection, — which were first exhibited, probably in completeness, on the feast of the Assumption, 1502. In Angelico's part of this series, the Saviour in Judgment is a sublime figure, and though in an attitude that seems to menace the wicked, not without a benignant beauty — different indeed from the stern and repulsive aspect of the Judge in Michael Angelo's picture, where the attitude of this chief figure is almost copied by the later artist from Fra Giovanni.

And beautiful indeed, whilst embodying a lofty ideal of their themes, are the other groups on this vault, due to the pencils of Gozzoli and Signorelli — the « Casta Virginum Chorus », the « Doctorum sapiens Ordo », and Angels with the instruments of the Passion. I need not attempt to criticise Signorelli's masterpiece; but confine myself to observing the theological bearings of these celebrated pictures. The conception of the Antichrist seems to unite the personality of a wily, fair-spoken heresiarch with that of a sanguinary innovator, offering death or conversion, like Mohammed; and it is remarkable that the aspect of the arch-deceiver rather resembles the type commonly given in art to our Lord, as if with intent to depict the last great defection from faith as founded on a delusive semblance, not a declared antagonism, to Christianity. Among the victims of a massacre, which appears to have been just perpetrated, we see the body of a young monk with cloven skull; and elsewhere, in accessorial groups, ecclesiastics are seen consulting the Scriptures or other orthodox writings, evidently with the intent to refute the false teacher, but nowhere prominent among his deluded disciples. Herein we have proof that the artist's mind was not possessed by any idea analogous to the theories already broached in his time, and carried to the last consequences by early Protestants. Before the end of the fifteenth century, severe strictures had been passed, and darkest imputations made, against the Roman Curia. The throne of S. Peter was now filled by Alexander VI; the



Christian world was palpitating in anticipation of a great religious movement, necessitated by great abuses. Yet no attempt is there, in the remarkable art-works here before us, to brand the Pope or the Roman Church with complicity in the cause, or identity with the person, of Antichrist. It is satisfactory to see also, in these pictures, how art emancipates itself from mediaeval tradition in rejecting the grotesque.

Though justly classed with examples of the Italian Gothic, the Orvieto cathedral presents many inconsistencies in details alien to that style; and the interior is altogether disappointing. The round predominates over the pointed arch, the latter being seen in the lancet windows and the transept alone. A triforium, with tri-cusped arches, not, however, carried round the whole interior, is a fine feature. The lateral chapels are out of keeping; even the high altar is insignificant. Some decorative paintings, carried along the walls of the aisles, are in second-rate *coulisse* style; and the roof of plain wood-work, with naked rafters, added in 1828, is utterly unsuitable. Many admirable modern sculptures are within these walls — particularly those by Scalza, (an Orvietan, (1532—1617): a « Pietà » group, statues of S. Sebastian and S. Matthew; the latter, a finely expressive figure, being the artist's own portrait. Scalza was one of those truly great masters only to be appreciated in the works bequeathed to their native cities.

Never can I forget one view I enjoyed of this cathedral. Early on an Autumn morning I left Orvieto to travel by *vettura* southwards. The valley that surrounds the isolated height where the city stands, on the plateau above her rock-fortifications, was filled with dense mist, like a rolling sea of white waves; nothing of town, towers, or rocks was visible through that autumnal veil; but there, all radiant in the morning sun, rose, as if on an aerial island, the glorious façade, its marbles and pinnacles, mosaics, and sculptures glittering in solitary resplendence under the eye of Heaven!

Another monumental testimony to the credit and honours won by the lowly Order of S. Francis, is before us in the magnificent basilica of S. Anthony at Padua. That Saint, though known as the « Anthony of Padua », was born at Lisbon, 1195, entered the Franciscan Order at Coimbra; was appointed by S. Francis himself lector of Theology, to be sent in that capacity to Toulouse, Montpellier, Bologna, and Padua, near which latter city he died, 1231; and in the next year he was canonized. One of his acts of heroic virtue was his denouncing, face to face, the monstrous wickedness of the tyrant Eccelino da Romano, who is said to have been for a time led into better courses by the effect of the holy man's prophet-like upbraidings. The great church over S. Antony's tomb was commenced in 1237, and finished in 1307, during which interval of seventy years 4060 lire (then a large sum) were annually spent upon the buildings. Some attribute only a part, others (as Cicognara and Marrona) the entire design, of this architecture to Niccolo Pisano: altogether an imposing and beautiful fane; its very inconsistencies interesting. A Romanesque façade is united with features of Italian Gothic, and clustering cupolas of Byzantine character.

The high-hung vaulting, the spacious and graceful crypt are admirable, though not accordant with the nave or other parts. We see here the irrepressible tendency of Italian architecture to return, by more or less perceptible degrees, to the classicism of ancient Rome.

### CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTS.

ROME. Lateran Basilica, mosaics (1290), and cloisters; Saint Paul's Basilica, mosaics of apse (1279), altar-canopy (1285), and cloisters; S. Maria Maggiore, mosaics of apse (1288), and of façade; S. Lorenzo (extramural) enlarged, and atrium built (1216-'26): S. Maria sopra Minerva founded, 1280;

Aracoeli church rebuilt, 1252; S. Sabina rebuilt, 1238; S. Sabba restored; S. Sisto, chapter-house; Sancta Sanctorum restored 1216, rebuilt, 1277; S. Antonio, portal, (built by the executors of Cardinal Capocci, founder of church and hospital), 1259; S. Tommaso in Formis (deserted), porch with mosaics; S. Cecilia, altar-canopy, 1283; mosaics at S. Clemente (1299), S. Crisogono, and S. Maria in Trastevere, on lower part of apse; antiques in Christian Museum of Vatican (1).

PAPAL STATES. *Civitacastellana*, façade of cathedral, 1210; *Viterbo*, S. Domenico, commenced by Niccola Pisano; and municipal palace, 1264; *Subiaco*, inner cloisters of S. Scolastica, 1235, and frescoes at S. Benedetto; *Casamari*, monastery, 1216; *Trisulti*, monastery founded, 1208 (church rebuilt, 1768) (2); *Fossanuova*, monastery (3), near Piperno; *Valvisoldi*, Cistercian Abbey, lately restored, near Sermoneta.

(1) Montault, « La Bibliothèque Vaticane » etc. pp. 42, 68, 69, 79 80-8, 93-4, 406, 470, 482.

(2) A Carthusian monastery in a situation grandly romantic, high up among the Hernician mountains, to be reached by ascent of some miles from Alatri. The actual church is only remarkable for modern splendours, and some able frescoes by Balbi, a living artist. The cloistral buildings are vast, and picturesque as they stand on the mountain-terrace above a deep ravine. In the forest near them is the dilapidated chapel, now rarely opened (style Gothic), of S. Domenico Loricato, who founded the first community, eremite, on the spot now occupied by Trisulti, around a church dedicated to S. Bartholomew. The Carthusians have here their novitate, and exercise hospitality.

(3) This monastery, founded by Benedictines, existed from at least as early as the beginning of the IX century; in 1135 passed into the hands of the Cistercians, who were succeeded here, after the suppression under modern French authority, by Carthusians. In the XII century it was renovated by Frederick Barbarossa; and in the XIII rebuilt under the auspices of Frederick II. It is now deserted, both church and cloister being left to decay. The fine façade of Italian Gothic and the cloistral porticoes are noticeable in the history

FLORENCE. Cathedral founded, 1298; S. Croce founded, 1294 (v. Villani, l. VIII, c. 7 and 9); S. Maria Novella, 1278-1357; Baptistery, exterior incrustated with marble (by Arnolfo di Cambio) 1293, mosaics of interior commenced 1225 (1); S. Trinità (designed by Niccolo Pisano), 1250; S. Maria Maggiore;

of architecture. Here it was that S. Thomas Aquinas died, 1274, when on his way from Naples to Lyons for the General Council; and from hence his body was transferred, first to Fondi, thence to Toulouse; except the head, which is in the cathedral of Piperno. The ancient chronicle of Fossanuova in edited by Muratori, *Rer. Ital.* t. VII: and I may refer to the excellent photographs of Mr. Macpherson, at Rome, for the appreciating of the Italian Gothic in this example.

(4) The mosaics, unfortunately ill-seen, on the octagonal cupola, are by several artists; Andrea Tafi, Apollonius, a Greek — also the two Gaddi, Ghirlandaio, Lippi; the latter, probably, restorers of their predecessors' works here. The series is a valuable illustration of religious ideas, and comprises the whole argument of revealed Religion, with the scenes of the Old and New Testament, the Resurrection, and Last Judgment. The colossal Christ, as Judge, seated on a rainbow, stern, dark, and repulsive in aspect, is ascribed to Tafi; but probably much altered by retouching. Among the best groups, and probably earliest in date, are the Angels and Apostles near that principal figure, and the acts of Creation, to the right. In the Resurrection, the souls, like naked bodies, struggle to escape from the tombs. The Satan, a hideous nondescript monster, is devouring one, and trampling upon other embodied souls. An Archangel, with a scroll displaying the text, *Venite Benedicti Patris mei*, leads the blessed to the gate of the heavenly city, within which we see several of them, like little children, fondled on the laps of Patriarchs, venerable, long-robed personages seated on thrones | the phrase, « Abraham's bosom » being thus naively interpreted! In the tribune the Divine Lamb appears within a wheel-like nimbus, between the radii of which stand eight Prophets; four kneeling Caryatides supporting this circle on the vault. Laterally, and opposite to each other, are seated the Virgin with the Child and S. John Baptist. On the archivolt and external arch are medallions of Christ and the Mother; full-length and half-length figures of Apostles and Prophets.

oratory of S. Carlo (formerly S. Michele), designed by Arnolfo 1284; S. Miniato, mosaics of façade and apse, latter dated 1297; palace of Podestà, or Pretorio, 1250; palace of Priori (Palazzo Vecchio), 1298 (1); Bigallo (former oratory of Misericordia Fraternity), about 1248; chapel of archiepiscopal palace.

NAPLES. S. Lorenzo, designed by Tommaso da Terracina, a Franciscan — enlarged, 1267, by Maglione of Pisa; S. Maria Nuova (design by Giovanni Pisano), 1268-1324 — modernized, 1580; new cathedral — façade added, 1407, modernized, 1788; S. Domenico Maggiore, founded, 1284, restored, 1440, and again in 1853.

SALERNO. Chapel of Procida family in cathedral, with mosaics of same date (2).

ANALFI. Cathedral rebuilt.

ANDRIA. Portasanta church finished, 1257.

RUVO. Cathedral, date uncertain.

PISA. Campo Santo, projected by Archbishop Lanfranchi, who brought the soil from Calvary, in 1188 — founded by Archbishop Visconti, design by Giovanni Pisano, 1278; S. Michele in Borgo, enlarged and decorated by Niccolò Pisano — finished by Agnelli, 1304.

These last are the series by Fra Jacopo, named in the inscription here read as —

*Jacobus in tali pre cunctis arte probatus —*

and who is supposed by Vasari, but without sufficient grounds, to be the Franciscan, Jacobo Torriti, engaged as a mosaist at Rome.

(1) The remarkable inscription over the chief entrance, intended to embody the decree, passed in 1527, that CHRIST should be recognized king of the Florentine Republic, was as follows (*not* as we now see it altered): « Jesus Christus Rex Florentini Populi S. P. decreto erectus, MDXXVII » — subsequently changed into: « I. H. S. Rex Regum et Dominus Dominantium ».

(2) The figure of S. Matthew with Giovanni di Procida kneeling before him; that of S. Fortunatus, in regal attire, supposed a portrait of Manfred, king of Sicily.



SIENA. New façade of Duomo, 1245; actual façade (by Giovanni Pisano), 1284; sculptured pulpit, in Duomo, 1266; S. Francesco, founded about 1280, consecrated, 1326; S. Domenico founded about 1290, finished in XV century.

AREZZO. Cathedral founded, 1278 — façade of XV century; sculptured shrine of S. Donatus, 1278; Pieve church (design by Margaritone), 1216.

PISTOIA. S. Salvatore, façade (by Bono), 1270; S. Francesco, 1294; S. Giovanni Evangelista (of XII century) finished.

VOLTERRA. Cathedral rebuilt.

LUCCA. Façade of Duomo, with sculptures, 1204 — portico, 1233; S. Giulia restored, about 1200; S. Michele in Foro enlarged.

CORTONA. S. Margarita (design by Niccolo Pisano), now modernized; S. Francesco, design by Fra Elia — finished, 1374.

S. QUIRICO (Val d'Orcia). SS. Quirico e Giulitta, collegiate church, façade attributed to Giovanni Pisano, 1299.

S. GEMIGNANO. S. Agostino, 1272 — convent, 1389; S. Giovanni, formerly church of Templars, afterwards of Franciscans, now desecrated and ruinous.

RIETI. Cathedral, designed by Niccolo or Giovanni Pisano, 1283.

ASCOLI. S. Francesco, about 1260.

FERMO. S. Francesco, about 1260.

ASSISI. Basilica of S. Francis and Sacro Convento, founded 1228; S. Chiara (designed by architect of basilica), 1253.

SPOLETO. Tribune and façade, with mosaics, of cathedral (1) (architect Giovanni da Gubbio), 1207?

(1) The mosaics: Christ enthroned, with Mary and S. John; the date 1207 in the following lines below:

Hic est pictura quam fecit sat placitura

Doctor Salsernus hac summus in arte modernus

Annis inventis cum septem mille ducentis.

They are noticed by Rumohr as the earliest *certain* monument of the new Greco-italian School; to which may be also referred the

TODI. Façade of cathedral.

BOLOGNA. S. Petronio founded, 1226; S. Giovanni in Monte (origin in V century) enlarged, 1231-'86 — reduced to actual form, 1442; S. Francesco, 1236-'45; S. Giacomo Maggiore, 1267-1315 — façade alone left unaltered.

VENICE. S. Maria de' Frari (architect unknown — probably Franciscan) founded between 1250, completed between 1328-'38, consecrated, 1492 — the citizens contributing for a whole century to costs.

PADUA. S. Antonio, (design by Niccolo Pisano), 1237-1307.

MILAN. S. Eustorgio, rebuilt soon after being granted to Dominicans in 1227, finished in 1290 — tower, 1297 — now for the most part altered; S. Marco, 1252; Communal Palace (« della Ragione »), 1228; S. Maria di Chiaravalle (extramural) founded over ruins of ancient church, 1135, consecrated, 1224 (plan according to precepts laid down by S. Bernard for Cistercian churches); — in 1475 the acute arches changed into elliptic form — façade modernized.

VERCELLI. S. Andrea, 1219 (1).

GENOA. S. Agostino (progress of Pointed Style), with campanile, about 1260; S. Matteo (front covered with epigraphs of the Doria family), 1278.

VERONA. S. Anastasia (probably by Dominican architect) 1290 — finished, 1422.

ORVIETO. Cathedral founded, 1286 — or 1290; S. Domenico, and Papal Palace.

frescoes, illustrating the lives of SS. Peter and Paul, date about 1200, at S. Pietro in Grado near Pisa.

(1) Sole example in Italy of the Anglo-Saxon Gothic, and an intended copy, it is said, of Gloucester cathedral; the façade, however, Romanesque, and approached through a cloistered atrium. This fine church was built by Cardinal Guala, after his return from a legation in England under Innocent III, and who from that country brought one of the relics here kept, part of the sword that slew S. Thomas-a-Becket. Over a lateral door is a curious relief of the

PARMA. Baptistery completed, 1216; frescoes on walls and dome, attributed to Niccolo da Reggio and Bartolomeo da Piacenza, about 1270 (1).

PERUGIA. S. Ercolano (octagonal), 1297-1325; Fountain with sculptures by Niccolo and Giovanni Pisano, 1278-'80.

Cardinal, holding a model of this church; his name and title thus interwoven in a line of the inscription below :

Lux cleri patriaeque decus *Cargualadinis*.

(1) A noticeable series, displaying vigorous originality amidst the defects of Byzantine style : Apostles, Evangelic Emblems, Prophets, scenes from the life of S. John Baptist, and, in a niche, the Saviour with that Saint and the Virgin. The large octagonal font (evidently for immersion), of coloured marble, was wrought in 1298.

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## IX.

### The Fourteenth Century.

(1300-1350)

THIS century dawned upon Rome whilst the Jubilee Year was attracting thither visitors from all lands of western Europe. One chronicler reports the number of pilgrims as two millions, and says that he himself witnessed the thronging of multitudes, in the confusion of which several lives were lost. Villani, who was among those devout travellers, and was inspired, by the scenes and impressions of Rome, to undertake his « Cronica » — hitherto the most classic work of Italian history, — may be quoted as an eye-witness to that extraordinary excitement of devotion. « For the consolation of Christian pilgrims (he says), the Veronica of the handkerchief of Christ (*del sudario di Cristo*) was exposed on every Friday and solemn festival at S. Peter's. On account of this a great number among the Christians then living, women as well as men, made that pilgrimage from distant and diverse countries, from far and near. And it was the most wonderful thing to behold, that continually, throughout the whole year, there were in Rome, besides the native people, 200,000 pilgrims — and that all were properly supplied, and contented, with victuals as well for men as for horses; and this without tumult or strife, as I can bear witness, who was present and saw all this. Much treasure was secured to the Church from the offerings made by the pilgrims; and the Romans enriched themselves by their merchandise ». Other writers tell us that the authorities regulated things so well,

in carrying out the benevolent intentions of the Pontiff, that meat, fish, bread, wine were sold, all this time, at a moderate tariff, though fodder was scarce and dear. Day and night was S. Peter's frequented by worshippers, whilst two priests kept their station beside the high altar, with rakes in their hands, sweeping from the sacred table the not-to-be-counted heaps of coin there laid in offering. If much of this went into the Papal treasury, it is manifest that the expenditure from that source for the charities exercised throughout this holy season, must also have been great. As to the actual amount of those oblations, there seems to have been exaggeration, for the Cardinal Stefaneschi, who has left us an account of this *Anno Santo*, leads us to understand that the average offered *every* year at S. Peter's was 30,000 florins; and that the additional amount received during A. D. 1300 did not exceed 50,000 florins, mostly in the smallest coin. Besides Villani, other men of mark now appeared in Rome: Giotto, who was commissioned by the Pope to paint in S. Peter's, and by the Cardinal Stefaneschi to adorn with frescoes the church of S. George; also Oderigi da Gubbio, the miniature-painter, who was engaged to illuminate codes for the Lateran library.

Within preceding years the Papacy had sustained serious checks; but in the realities of this *Anno Santo* we see strikingly exemplified the permeating and unrivalled sway, the power over feeling and conscience still exercised from Rome: proof not only of the adaptation in her system to the religious requirements of these times, but also of the moral fact that such an institution as the Supreme Pontificate was itself in a certain sense a growth and produce of the moral conditions of those ages that witnessed its highest ascendancy.

The term « Jubilee » was not yet applied in reference to this epoch, nor was the symbolic opening of the « Porta Santa » at S. Peter's, by the Pope, yet introduced among the ceremonies of the occasion. Clement VI decreed from Avignon, that, instead of the first year of each century, every fiftieth



should be held as a Jubilee. Urban VI ordered this celebration for every thirty-third year, so that the holy period might fall within the mean term of human life. Nicholas V again determined for the recurrence on the fiftieth; but Paul II prescribed, as ever since in practice, the twenty-fifth year for future jubilees. Twenty « Holy Years » have been celebrated at Rome — the last, 1825, when the number of pilgrims was 376, 375 — of whom 94,157 were entertained at the hospital, *Trinita de'Pellegrini*, where such devout visitors are received in every Holy Week. The « Anno Santo » is proclaimed after the Gospel, at High Mass in S. Peter's, on the previous Ascension-day, with the reading of the bull, in Latin and Italian, followed by triumphal military music and peals of ordnance; first at the Vatican, then in the three other Patriarchal Basilicas. At Vespers on the vigil of Christmas the Jubilee begins with a grand procession, the Pope being carried on his throne to the atrium of S. Peter's, where, all the church doors being shut, he opens the walled-up Porta Santa, striking it thrice on the outside with a silver hammer, at the sound of which, masons, on the inner side, begin to demolish it; and as soon as the passage is cleared, his Holiness enters, with a cross and lighted taper in his hands, followed by the Cardinals in vestments of silver tissue, and all others entitled to places in the pontific ceremonies. On the same evening three Cardinal Legates, deputed *ad hoc*, open, with similar formalities, the Porte Sante at the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Paul's. The sacred year is brought to an end, after Vespers on the vigil of the ensuing Christmas, with the ceremonial of the closing of the Porte Sante, which are now walled up, the Pope laying the first lime with a silver spoon, and placing the first stones on the threshold of this door at S. Peter's.

Even the first of those sacred years, 1300, was not one of unbroken peace in the pontific states. It was disturbed by the revolt of four cities in Romagna; also by the expulsion of the Guelphs from Gubbio, and the seige of that city, by the

Cardinal Governor of Spoleto, whose triumph was attended with pillage and slaughter before the exiled Guelphs were reinstated within those walls.

In answer to the bull, « Clericis laicos », the king of France put forth a memorable document, denying the right of the Clergy to be considered as exclusively constituting the Church. « Did CHRIST (asks Philip IV) die and rise again for the clergy alone? — What wise and intelligent man is not utterly amazed when he hears the Vicar of Christ prohibiting (i. e. to ecclesiastics) the contribution to the defence of the realm, according to a fair and equal rate? » The contest between the Pope and that king was renewed, with greater violence, in 1304, after Boniface had invited Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, to enter Italy with an army; and had held out to the same prince delusive hopes of obtaining the imperial crown (instead of Albert, who now reigned in Germany) — or, a still more vague prospect, of mounting the throne of the East in virtue of rights acquired by his marriage with the niece of the titular Emperor, Baldwin. Valois, thus flattered, was appointed by the Pope governor of the Patrimony of S. Peter, with the title, Count of Romagna. Continual provocations ensued on the part of the French king. Bishoprics and their revenues were disposed of at his pleasure; and a bishop, sent to preach the Crusade (for Palestine) in France, was arrested on account of the threats he had used after failing to obtain anything by entreaties for a cause that no longer awakened the enthusiasm of old. On the severe remonstrance of the Pope against this last offence, the prelate was set at liberty. Boniface now addressed letters to Philip, in which he required him to recognise the dependence of his realm on the Holy See; adding the threat that excommunication would be the penalty for disobedience; that his kingdom should be declared a possession of the Church, and his subjects be absolved from all oaths made to him. But the claims and theories of Gregory VII were no longer accepted by the powers of Europe. Perhaps no other king, any more

than Philip le Bel, would have submitted to the Pope who laid down the axiom that « it is altogether necessary to salvation to believe that all human creatures are subject to the Roman Pontiff » (v. Ciaconius). The letters in question were publicly burnt, in March 1302, at Paris (first example of such incipient « protestantism » in practice); and soon after this, Philip, in a parliament at the Louvre, published twenty-nine heads of accusation against Boniface — mostly incredible charges, comprising heresy, sorcery, simony, grossest immoralities, and (superfluous to add) denial of the Real Presence! The Pope rejoined by excommunicating Philip, and declaring that he had forfeited his kingdom, which his Holiness proceeded to offer, as lawful prize, to Albert of Austria, now tardily recognized by him as Emperor elect. Philip called an assembly of magnates, recapitulated before them the provocations he had to complain of; and ended by an appeal against Boniface to a General Council — the assemblage of which was also desired, as final umpire, by the French prelates. The Pope, after exculpating himself on oath, before all the Roman Clergy and many citizens, from the defamatory accusations made against him at Paris, published several bulls against the King and his counsellors, with a definitive sentence of anathema, which was drawn up to be promulgated at Anagni, then the Papal residence, on the 8th of September, 1303. But on the vigil of that feast-day occurred an unforeseen, scandalous, and unprecedented event.

The exiled Sciarra Colonna, Guillaume Nogaret (a French lawyer), and other creatures of Philip had been sent into Italy by that king on a mission of vengeance. Stopping in Tuscany, they collected about 800 men in arms from among the scattered troops of Charles de Valois; and, after concerting their plans at a castle near Siena, crossed the Roman frontier, advanced towards Anagni, and contrived, whilst lurking in that neighbourhood, to gain over several nobles of the city, many perfidious domestics of the Pope, and even certain Cardinals of Ghibelline sympathies. At the dawn

of the 7th of September, they forced an entrance into Anagni at the head of 300 horse and some foot soldiery; raising the cries: « Death to the Pope! Long live the king of France! » to which the populace in the streets responded. Boniface was now left almost alone in his palace; only two Cardinals remained with him, all the others seeking safety in flight; as did all his servants. Never losing his presence of mind, the octogenarian Pontiff sent to desire truce, and demand what these violent men wanted of him? He was answered that a truce for nine hours would be conceded; and Sciarra Colonna stated that they required the rehabilitating, in property and honours, of all his own relatives, also the abdication of Boniface VIII. A negative reply was at once made. The faithful few in the palace appealed to the citizens; but vain were the attempts to rouse them for the defence and rescue of their doubly-consecrated sovereign, the Head of the Church!

The French, led by Sciarra and Nogaret, penetrated into the cathedral by setting fire to the doors, and thus effected entrance into the palace, which was contiguous (4). It was about nightfall when the Pontiff found himself in the hands of these desperate men, hounded against him by his most powerful enemy. Then arose to the height of the emergency all the heroic temper in the soul of Boniface VIII. He assumed his pontifical vestments and tiara, seated himself on his throne with the crucifix in one hand, the keys in the other.

(4) Tosti (see his able *Life of this Pope*) determines the locality of the scene. The palace was, probably, no other than the buildings for the residence of the Canons near the cathedral. The family palace of the Gaetani, at Anagni, is now a dusky ruinous pile, in part restored for modern habitation, with lofty yawning arches, and Gothic windows, walled up, on its sombre front, which rises at the ridge of the platform-summit occupied by the town. It was long believed that a curse hung over Anagni; that Heaven had marked for wrath and desolation the place where the Vicar of Christ had been outraged.

« Since I am betrayed like Christ (he said), I will die as becomes a Pope ». The assailants burst into the room, where they saw him thus seated; the two Cardinals alone beside him. Such dauntless courage and moral dignity, noble even in helplessness, seems at first to have abashed, or astonished them. Soon, however, they proceeded to load that venerable victim with insolent abuses. Nogaret attempted fiercely to drag him from his throne, declaring that they came to bring him in bonds to Lyons, there to be judged by a General Council. The Pope retorted with reproach of his (Nogaret's) descent from Paterine heretics; and thus silenced him (4). After this scene had lasted for some time, the invaders left Boniface under military guard, and began their robber's work, kept up for three days, of despoiling the palace; thus possessing themselves of large treasure in gold, sacred vessels, reliquaries. At last, one of the Cardinals, Fieschi, succeeded in a fervent appeal to the citizens, and induced them to take arms, and drive away the French. Blood flowed; the banner of the Lily was dragged in the mire; Sciarra, Nogaret, and the rest fled with the hireling soldiers.

(4) Contemporaries do not confirm the report that the brutal Sciarra struck him on the face with his steel-gloved hand, so that blood flowed down that venerable countenance. But it was probably the belief in such a fact which led to the popular notion that, every year thenceforth, the palaces of the Colonnas shook to their foundations at the reading of the bull against heretics and despoilers of the Church, on Holy Thursday. The outrage elicited a fervent denunciation from Dante, who is elsewhere so severe against Boniface VIII:

Vidi in Anagni entrar lo fior di liso —

« I saw the Fleur de Lys enter into Anagni, and CHRIST again made captive in the person of His Vicar: I saw Him again scoffed at and buffeted; I saw the vinegar and the gall offered to Him, whilst He suffered a second time between living thieves » (« Purgatorio », cant. XX)



The suffering Pontiff, who had taken no food during his three days captivity, — whether through the murderous neglect of those in whose power he had been left, or through his own fear of poison — now showed himself on the palace-stairs, promising pardon and demanding peace. The Orsini arrived from Rome with 400 armed men, and escorted him to that City, where the Clergy and people greeted him with rejoicings. He immediately took steps for the convoking of a General Council; and applied to the King of Naples for protection. But the third day after his return to Rome, and the thirty-fifth after his captivity, was the last in the stormy pontificate of Boniface VIII. The circumstances of his death have been variously represented. It is said that, mortified by the conduct of the Orsini, who had prevented him from quitting the Vatican to establish himself in the Lateran palace, — and also at finding that his letters to the Anjou King had been intercepted, — he locked himself up in his chamber, refused nourishment and service, became frenzied, and in a last paroxysm, after dashing his head against the wall, died in that dreadful solitude — « *extra mentem cordis positus*, » says one contemporary chronicler. But better authenticated accounts are totally different, namely, — that he received the last Sacraments, after making his confession of faith, and expired peacefully; and that eight Cardinals, besides other honourable persons, were around his deathbed, if not actually present at the last moment. The Cardinal Stefaneschi, one of those, who must certainly have been informed of all that past, is a trust-worthy voucher for these facts (1). The story of suicidal violence, of the Pope having gnawed his hands, and struck his head against the wall, was convincingly disproved when his monument at S. Peter's was

(1)                    *Lecto prostratus anhelus,*  
*Procubuit, fassusque Fidem, Christo tunc redditur almus*  
*Spiritus, et saevi nescit jam judicis iram,*  
*Sed mitem placidumque patris ceu credere fas est.*

opened, prior to its necessary transfer during the works for the new building, A. D. 1605. Many witnesses then looked on the remains of Boniface VIII — almost perfectly preserved, with all the pontifical vestments still entire; no trace of lesion on the bald head, or on the hands, which were remarked as being finely formed.

He was interred with customary pomp in the chapel built by himself at S. Peter's, and in the monument prepared by his order while he lived. Thus passed away a Pontiff of many great qualities, cruelly maligned as well as personally outraged; and who, in consequence of his reviving exaggerated claims of Papal power, both in things temporal and spiritual, was destined to prove the inadmissibility of such demands on kings and nations amidst the altered conditions and antagonistic ideas of his time.

The state of Rome, at this period, is described as miserable, lawless, distracted by factions, at the head of which were licentious nobles or aristocratic cardinals. For the election, the revived laws of Conclave were, however, observed. And on the tenth day after the vacancy, was raised to the Papal chair an individual of humble origin, the son of a shepherd, but who had won his way, through merit, to the office of Father general in the Dominican Order, and to that of Cardinal bishop. Niccolo Boccasini, as this estimable man was named, now succeeded to the throne as Benedict IX. Preferring the ways of peace and pardon, he received with benignity the respectful overtures of the (perhaps) compunctious Philip IV, and absolved him from all censures; restored to the Colonnas their confiscated property, though not the cardinalitial rank to those who had forfeited it.

After these concessions, however, a bull was published at Perugia, whither the Pope had repaired, recapitulating the wrongs done to his predecessor, excommunicating thirteen persons, chief accomplices in the outrage at Anagni, and citing them to appear before the Pontiff himself at S. Peter's. An effort, utterly unsuccessful, to bring about peace between

the Bianchi and Neri at Florence, through intervention of a Cardinal Legate, who had to quit that city, without effecting his object, and who left the Florentines under an interdict, — this was the only other important public act of Benedict XI, whose short pontificate, of less than nine months, was closed by his death at Perugia. All the Cardinals, save one, had opposed his departure from Rome; and suspicions (see Muratori, *Annali*) were directed against them, or one among their number, in regard to the circumstances of his last illness. It was generally believed that Benedict died of poison, administered in a basket of green figs and flowers, which was presented to him, as he sat at table, by a youth in female disguise feigning to be a messenger from a courteous Abbess, who desired his acceptance of that gift. He was buried in the Dominican church at Perugia, where miracles were soon rumoured of, as having been wrought at his tomb — one of the most beautiful sculptured monuments of this period. The memory of his virtues was perpetuated by Benedict XIV, who placed his name in the Roman Martyrology.

The Conclave, which met at Perugia, proved one of those that scandalized Europe and brought injury to the Church.

Charles of Naples and Philip of France had their factions; the Colonnas also contrived to obtain influence in it. Eleven months passed before the election; and the citizens endeavoured by restricting the few liberties, and reducing the diet, allowed by the lately revived discipline, to compel the Cardinals, in self-defence, to speedy accomplishment of their task. At last the two factions agreed that one should propose three candidates, all external to their own college, and not leagued with the French king; and that the other faction should choose one of this trio. The nominees were three French Archbishops. A courier was immediately dispatched by the Cardinal of Prato to France, with letters for the king intimating that the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the first on that list, might be elected Pope, if he (Philip) should desire it.

The king, (according to the narrative accepted on the authority of Villani) invited that prelate to a conference in a solitary abbey amidst a forest. There they met in secret, and, after hearing Mass together, Philip offered to the Archbishop the assured prize of the tiara on condition of six favours: reconciliation with the Church for himself and all his adherents; the concession of all tithes in the kingdom during five years; the condemnation of the memory of Boniface VIII; the restitution of the cardinalate to the Colonnas, and bestowal of the same rank on whomsoever he should propose; another, the sixth favour, to be made known when time and place should be suitable. The Archbishop, in rapturous gratitude, knelt before the king, promising these — all things imaginable, that could be desired as price of that dazzling crown held up to his ambition; and mutual oaths, on the Holy Sacrament, were exchanged by the parties to this compact.

Within thirty-five days the letters from the Conclave had been sent to Philip IV, and his answer brought to Perugia, conveying his assent, or command, for the election of that courtier-prelate (4). Votes were unanimous; and Bertrand de Got, a Gascon noble by birth, was raised to the Papacy, amidst devout rejoicings, as Clement V (1305-'14). The Cardinals, in their letters to him announcing his elevation, prayed him to repair speedily to Rome, where his presence was most requisite. They were answered by his summons commanding them to attend his coronation at Lyons; and they soon became aware of the consequences they had drawn upon

(4) Villani is the sole contemporary voucher for this story of the secret compact. Tolomeo and Platina say nothing about it. We have to question the probability of either party — two alone being concerned — having divulged the fact of an agreement discreditable to the king, infamous to the Pope. The Florentine chronicler may be admitted as witness to the contemporaneous belief in what he narrates; but we may refuse to allow that any proofs of this transaction have yet been drawn from the genuine sources of History.

the Church. Italy and Rome were deprived of the Papacy; and the successors of S. Peter were to be exiles, in dependence on France, for more than seventy years! Thus had the unholy alliance with kings, and the subordinating of the spiritual to the temporal led the Roman Pontificate into the false and fatal position, in which those who claimed to be Bishops of Bishops, supreme Pastors over all Christendom, renounced the essential character, and abandoned the integral functions, of the episcopal office. No line of Christian Bishops was ever more deeply compromised. And, seeing that the Greek term, *ἐπισκοπος*, implies « overseer — superintendent » — and that the crowned priests who kept up splendid state in southern France were only connected through deputies or legations with their nominal metropolis, or with the flock unknown to them, we may refuse to consider the French Popes in any other light than as priestly kings of Rome. We may fairly consider the Holy See, founded by S. Peter and S. Paul, as *de jure* vacant during the seventy-two years of the Avignon exile. Its originally democratic character is one of the glories of the Papacy. The humblest in birth and station may become eligible to the throne of the « *Servus servorum Dei* », whose highest honour is to represent on earth the Crucified Nazarene, born in a stable and the reputed son of a carpenter. In almost every instance that this supremacy has too closely allied itself with secular royalties, or identified its interests with those of kings rather than with those of the people, more or less of pernicious and evil consequence has been the result. The withering effects to the Church, and to European society, of the dereliction from that post and calling, in fidelity to which the Roman Pontificate stands nobly before us on the pages of its earlier annals, are displayed amidst a tissue of gorgeous worldliness with portentous corruptions in the long episode of the « captivity, » as it was called, on the banks of the Rhone.

The superstitious might have divined awful import from the disasters attending the inaugural pomps of this foreign



pontificate. In the grand procession in which the Pope rode, with tiara-crowned head, his bridle alternately held by king Philip, by two royal princes, and the Duke of Bretagne, from the Lyons cathedral back to his palace, an old wall, overloaded with spectators along its summit, fell across the street; the Pope was thrown from his horse; the tiara rolled in the mire, and a carbuncle, valued at 6000 ducats, was irretrievably lost; twelve persons, among them Charles de Valois, were seriously injured, and the Duke of Bretagne was one of several who died in consequence of such injuries then suffered. At a state banquet given by Clement V a few days afterwards, in honour of his first celebration of Papal High Mass, a quarrel arose between his servants and those of the Cardinals; and the Pope's brother, interposing to pacify, was killed in the fray.

The only other events of this pontificate which enter into the subject before me — as affecting the interests of the Church and of religious societies in Italy — are the General Council of Vienne (in Duphiny), and the suppression of the Order of knights Templars. In the bull convoking that Council (from Poitiers, 1308), the Pope announces that « the Order of Templars, instituted for the defence of the Holy Land, and endowed with great wealth as well as privileges, had — namely, the whole Order — fallen into apostacy, into abominable impurities and diverse heresies, complaints against which had been made to him from the beginning of his pontificate ec. »

This celebrated society had existed for nearly two centuries, dating from the time of its approval by a Council at Troyes, A. D. 1128. It had received its rule from S. Bernard; its principal chart of privileges from Alexander III, in 1172. Its character was purely secular and chivalrous; its occupations were military; spiritual services being performed in its establishments by chaplains exempted from dependence on bishops; and its Chief, the Grand Master of the knights, was subordinate to the Pope alone. At the opening of this century the aggregate of its members was 45,000, who, in different

lands, occupied 9000 convents, or rather castles, both which characters were united in the strongholds of the Templars. The Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, invited with insidious courtesy to attend the Council, came from Cyprus with a retinue of sixty armed knights, and (as reported) 450,000 gold florins for his expences. Even before that bull had been issued for the convocation at Vienne, all the Templars in France were arrested, on their own premises, by order of the king, on the night of the 13th of October, 1307. The charges brought against them, and to which several pleaded guilty under torture, but which almost all denied, persisting in the avowal of innocence, when released from their terrible pangs — were: systematic apostacy, indecent and blasphemous rites (as the idolatrous worship of a monstrous head), and grossest immoralities.

In 1309, fifty-six (or fifty-nine) Templars, condemned by the Archbishop of Sens and other Papal commissaries, were burnt alive by slow fires on a field near Paris — all protesting their innocence to the last. Nine others suffered the same death, soon afterwards, at Senlis; revoking all the confessions they had made under torture at their trial. The Grand Master, and three others, who had made a partial confession of guilt, and been condemned to imprisonment for life, publicly retracted, and in consequence were instantly sent to die in the flames (18th March, 1314), a fate they met with the noblest constancy. Some contemporaries (as Ferreto of Vincenza) state that it was either at this execution, or at that of another Templar (who was burnt at Naples), that a victim at the stake cited Pope Clement and King Philip to the tribunal of God, there to answer for this iniquitous persecution, within the term of one year — and in the same year, 1314, both the Pontiff and King died. In the Holy Week of 1312, Clement V announced, in private consistory, the suppression of the Order. Two days afterwards, he published that act, in presence of the King and royal princes, at a session of the Vienne Council; whilst at the same time declaring that

he took this step, not in the way of condemnation, but in *provision*, reserving to himself the disposal of the persons and property of the Templars. That property, said to have amounted in France alone to 600,000 gold florins, was nominally handed over to the knights of S. John, but with the obligation of redeeming it, at immense charge, from the royal demesne; so that, in fact, it was King Philip who profited by the spoils of the Order sacrificed in a transaction which looks too like conspiracy, got up for the interests of one of the most avaritious and unprincipled of kings. In other countries, where there was no crowned despoiler to urge on the persecution of wealthy victims, proceedings against the Templars had different results. In the island of Cyprus, where they were lords of the whole territory, and where seventy-five knights had been heard in evidence, they were acquitted. In Spain the whole Order was declared innocent. In Italy they were brought to trial before Papal commissaries in several cities, within the interval from December, 1309, to July, 1310. At Viterbo they were accused of idolatrous worship of idols; at Florence some of their members confessed guilt. At Ravenna, the Archbishop of which See was commissioned for the prosecution throughout northern Italy, seven knights were acquitted; and the synod which tried them gave proof of enlightenment rare in these times, by declaring that those who retracted any confession made under torture, should be held guiltless; the judges having refused to apply the terrific « question », which the Dominican friars had proposed to do at the trial in Ravenna (1).

(1) Immorality, and cases of apostacy need not surprise us among companies of soldiers bound by monastic vows, yet invested with no ecclesiastical character, and, in their oriental convents, almost cut off from intercourse with Christian society. The incredibility of the monstrous charges against this Order consists in the attempt to make the whole body responsible for systematic, regulated, and prescribed iniquities. In a fine tragedy on the fate of the Templars by the German poet, Werner, the theory is advanced that a gla-

The fifteenth Ecumenical Council was opened at Vienne on the 16th of October 1311, and dissolved on the 6th of May 1312; three hundred (some writers state, only 115) bishops and archbishops, besides many other ecclesiastics, being present. The Pope, after an inaugural discourse, announced the three main objects for which they had assembled: the affair of the Templars, the rescue of the Holy Land, the reform of morals and discipline in the Church. A Crusade in Palestine was published — for which the kings of France, England, and Navarre eventually promised their personal co-operation. The followers of the heresiarch Fra Dolcino were anathematized; so also were the « Fraticelli », a mystic sect sprung from the Franciscans, and another, whose members, of both sexes, were severally called Beggards and Beguines. It was forbidden to clerics to appear in party-coloured clothes; to trade as butchers or tavern-keepers, or follow any other calling except their own sacred one. The observance of the Corpus Domini festival was revived. The study of Oriental languages, rightly deemed important for Christian missions in the East — namely, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee — was ordered to be introduced at the principal universities, Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca; two professors for each of those idioms to be maintained in those schools severally. Infamous accusations had been brought by Philip IV, through his creatures, against Boniface VIII, with intent to blacken both his private life and his doctrinal principles; and Clement V had had to endure the insult of listening to these charges brought publicly against the predecessor who had made him archbishop and cardinal, and whose mortal remains he was now required to disturb in the tomb that they might be burnt as those of a

mour of strange rites, and other erratic, apparently anti-christian proceedings, had been adopted by them as means of expressing some esoteric doctrine, cherished by the Order in their cloistral fortresses, more exalted than the exoteric doctrine of the popular Christianity of the time.

heretic. He extricated himself from the dilemma by referring to the Council for decision in such a delicate question. Before that assembly two Cardinals ably defended the character and doctrine of Boniface VIII; and two Catalan knights, armed cap-à-pied, appeared before the fathers, offering to vindicate in combat the reputation of the maligned Pontiff against whatever antagonist. The Council finally declared that the memory of Boniface VIII was above all suspicion; his religious belief, strictly Catholic. The obsequious Clement, however, took this occasion to pass a decree that none should ever reproach king Philip or his successors for the proceedings against the victim of the outrage at Anagni — a sentence reversed by posterity, which has owned the claims of moral dignity (however allied with ambition or political errors) in Boniface VIII; reprobated the profligate despotism of Philip IV, and found little excuse for the base compliances of Clement V.

The memoirs presented to that Pope by bishops, on the subject of desirable reforms, prior to the meeting of the Council, reveal strange realities in the then conditions of the Church. It was matter of complaint by the French prelates that priests, and even some bishops, used to take money for confession, communion, and other sacraments; that the parochial clergy exposed themselves to contempt through their ignorance or incapacities; that the power of the keys was so injudiciously used as to leave hundreds — 300 or 700 it might be — in the normal state of excommunication within the same parish; that fairs and market used to be held on Sundays; that many parishes were left without their clergy, who were, meantime, hunting for promotion at the papal court; that many bishoprics remained vacant for years, because Rome had usurped the rights of the chapters, and the duty of electing might be ever so long delayed at her Curia. It was complained that there were monks who neglected divine service to frequent fairs or markets, and traffic like seculars; and other such unfaithful brethern of the cloister, who



gave worse scandal by notorious vices; that there were canons, who used to talk and laugh aloud in choir whilst others were chanting, or to walk about the church during the offices, and only enter the choir when their turn came to receive the distribution which constituted their salaries! that there were nuns, who used not only to walk in silk attire, wear rich furs and curious head-gear, but might be seen gadding about the streets, and sometimes even in the night-hours! The incontinence of the Clergy had become so notorious that the Bishop of Mende advised the abolition of forced celibacy, and the permission of marriage as among priests of the Greek schism (4). Finally it was concluded that the whole Church required reform in head and members (v. Fleury). A single ecclesiastical system under a recognized supremacy — the nearest fulfilment of the cherished ideal of a united and all-dominant Church — had obtained throughout the West, where all Christendom was as one body under one chief, — and such the practical results!

The succession of French Popes at Avignon does not enter into the subject here before me, except collaterally, and so far as connected with the destinies of the Italian nation. We may here glance at the Papal states on the peninsula, in the time of Clement V. Never was government carried on, in the name of the Pontificate, with such oppressive violence or systematic injustice, as by the Legates sent across the Alps from Avignon. About the beginning of the year 1308, the death of Azzo d'Este, Lord of Ferrara, afforded opportunity for the subjecting of that Duchy to Papal dominion, — not unwillingly accepted by its people. The demands of Clement were favourably listened to; and the keys of the city were consigned to two Nuncios. But soon afterwards, the Venetians obtained admittance; their pre-

(4) A late trial before the Court of Cassation at Naples resulted in a sentence favourable to the marriage of priests, henceforth legalized in the Italian kingdom.

tensions were supported by certain citizens; and a governor was appointed by them. The Doge and Senate of Venice were excommunicated; that city was laid under interdict; a Crusade was published against the Venetian states, and anathemas were hurled in a bull which Muratori not inaptly qualifies as « the most terrible and unjust ever heard of ». That people and state were marked out for infamy; sentenced to become the victims of all who might choose to obey the tremendous summons; Venetian property might be confiscated; the persons of Venetians reduced to slavery, wherever and by whomsoever seized! A general invitation was given to Europe to invade, devastate, bring ruin upon the states of that illustrious Republic. Many combatants enrolled themselves in this fierce crusade. The Legate marched at the head of an army from Bologna. On the 10th of April, the Venetians were defeated in a decisive battle on the banks of the Po; 6000 being slain on the field or drowned in the river; leaving immense booty in the hands of the « Crusaders ». The Cardinal Legate took possession of Ferrara; and forthwith ordered that all those citizens convicted of being in league with the Venetians, should die on the gallows. Finally the offending state obtained absolution, not through any acts of spiritual humiliation or compliance, but at Pope Clement's own terms, — the matter of-fact payment of a round sum, 100,000 gold florins.

Perhaps no more crushing censure could be passed on this Pope than by the simple narrative of the facts of his pontificate. His death is said to have been hastened by the vision reported to him (see Villani) of his punishment on a fiery couch, already prepared for him in the infernal regions! — a fable we may suppose to have been suggested by such evil repute as he left behind him. After his decease ensued a vacancy of almost twenty-eight months; and the stormy conclave, at Carpentras, interrupted by the tumultuous demand for another French Pope, had to be broken up by the flight of the Cardinals through a gap made in the build-

ing where they found themselves exposed to danger. At last was elected, at Lyons, Jacques d'Euse, a Cardinal bishop, who took the name of John XXII (1316-'34). This Pope became the devoted ally of Robert of Naples, and left his own, as well as other Italian states, to suffer from the evil government or aggressive measures of his Legates.

He did not originate, but prepared the way for, the system of « Annates, » by appropriating to himself the « first fruits », or revenues of one year from all benefices, except the episcopal and abbatial, vacant in the course of three years. Clement V had, in 1306, claimed the first fruits of all benefices whatever, including bishoprics, vacant in England during two years from that date. But the fully established claim of annates was a master-stroke of Papal despotism, achieved, in 1398, by Boniface IX; and this example of the abuse of the keys of Heaven to unlock the coffers of those treasures that are of earth, seems the last degree of corruption possible to spiritual power, the extreme contradiction to His teaching who said: « How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of Heaven! » (1).

John XXII was succeeded by Jacques Fournier, a Cistercian Abbot and Cardinal, who took the name of Benedict XII (1334-'42). This Pope rebuilt, with much more of castellated pomp, the pontifical palace commenced by his predecessor at Avignon — a vast pile, the works for which continued from 1336 to 1370. Of the immense treasure left by Pope John, which Villani estimates as 18 million gold florins, besides seven millions' worth in vessels and jewelry, Benedict applied 50,000 for the repair of churches and palaces in Rome; 100,000 to the revenues of the Cardinals. Though the Popes at Avignon were in a false position, it does not follow

(1) John XXII was a man of learning, studious, and versed in medicine, among his other accomplishments. By him was written the « *Thesaurus Pauperum* » on that science — a work which, though inadvertence, is ascribed (p. 365) to another Pope John, the 21st of that name.

that they were, all of them, responsible for such evil, or unfit for their high station. Benedict XII was a man of pure life and virtuous motives. He desired to restore the Papal Court to Rome, but was thwarted by the French king and cardinals. John XXII, ever ready to promote the projects of his protector, king Robert, had fostered continual wars in Italy, and provoked oppositions against his Legates, which had resulted in the alienating of all Romagna, and Bologna, from the Papal dominion. The enraged Bolognese besieged the Cardinal Legate in his castle, and, not contented with his surrender, proceeded to demolish that building. Pope John obtained nothing by his aggressive policy; lost much of his own; and left Rome, as well as the rest of the ecclesiastical states, « in the extremest confusion » (Muratori, *an.* 1334). Benedict XII obtained by peace what his predecessor had lost by war. He appointed Taddeo de' Pepoli vicar of the Holy See at Bologna, with the accepted obligation of annual tribute, 8000 gold florins. Luchino Visconti consented to receive the Vicariate of the Church over Milan, binding himself to the tribute of 50,000 gold florins per annum. So also did Mastino della Scala place himself under the protection of the Papacy, with obligation of paying 5000 gold florins per annum, also of maintaining 200 horse and 300 foot soldiery in the service of that power, as return for his recognized lordship over Verona, Parma, Vicenza. In 1344, Obizzo d'Este, now sole lord of Ferrara, pledged himself to pay tribute to the Papacy in 40,000 gold florins; Clement VI being then on the throne. The sovereign houses of Gonzaga and Carrara had alike become tributary to the Pontiff; and it is stated that, at one period, 20,000 florins per annum were advanced by the Scaligeri for Verona and their other cities (Cantù, « Storia degli Italiani », c. CX).

Benedict XII was succeeded by Pierre Roger, a monk and Cardinal Archbishop, who became Clement VI (1342-'52). This Pope purchased Avignon and its district, for 80,000 florins (672,000 francs), from Joanna of Naples and

her husband, Louis of Taranto; the unfortunate Queen being then in want of money for her return to Naples from France, whither she had fled before an invader, the king of Hungary, who came to avenge the death of his brother Andrea, Joanna's first husband, assassinated on the night before the day fixed for his coronation — that mysterious crime which was laid to the charge of Joanna herself. The Queen repaired to Avignon a second time, to answer that charge before the Papal tribunal; defended herself in a Latin speech before the consistory; and, after long debate between his Holiness and the Cardinals, was declared innocent. Clement VI received a solemn embassy from Rome, in which appeared thirteen representatives — among them, Petrarch — who severally harangued the Pope, the great Poet in latin verse, entreating him to comply with the earnest desire of his subjects by settling among them. He replied graciously; but promised nothing. One favour, however, which he conceded for the benefit of Rome, was that the « Anno Santo » should be appointed for a double, instead of a single, celebration in each century.

Having now reached the term of my historic notes, I need but mention the three other pontificates that fill up to its close the period of the Avignon exile: Innocent VI (1352-'62), who recovered all the lost cities and provinces of the Papal States, thanks to the abilities of his warlike Legate, the Cardinal Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo; — Urban VI (1362-'70), who removed to Rome, arriving there on the 16th of October, 1367, but returned to Avignon, quitting the former City, on the 17th of April, 1370; — Gregory XI (1371-'78), a Pontiff of superior character and merits, who, in spite of many oppositions, finally and permanently restored the Papacy to its ancient seat; left Avignon, 13th of September, 1376, and arrived in Rome, received with all possible honours, pageants, rejoicings, on the 17th of January, 1377.

The ecclesiastical Court at Avignon obtained the *triste* distinction of being held up to the opprobrium of Europe by



the maledictions of Genius. Dante and Petrarch raised their voices against the compromising position of the Pontificate at this period; and the Latin letters of Petrarch draw the darkest picture of hideous corruptions at that luxurious retreat on the banks of Rhone. The greatest writers of the age thus confirmed the idea which now began to prevail — that the Pontifical Avignon presented the fulfilment of prophetic visions, in which the decay of the Church had been typified by the mystic Babylon of the Apocalypse! At that city the Cardinal's Hat used to be given to youths of eighteen, who were just the same gay Lotharios after, as before, assuming that badge. Venus and Bacchus divided worship with Mammon in prelatial palaces; hoary old sinners disgraced the mitre which was no check upon their self-indulgence; a Heliogabalus might be recognized in the disguise of a priest; and the provençal shores might have seemed the Capri to a great many ecclesiastical Tiberiuses. All Europe might have been impressed by the patent fact of these scandals; and also by the circumstance that the laureate Poet, who revealed them most fully, was not alone distinguished by the pure spirit of his exalted genius, but also by his earnest religiousness, his orthodox fidelity to the Church (4).

(4) Petrarch, *Epist. sine titulo*, V, VIII, X, XII, XV, XVI, XVII; and the three sonnets beginning:

Fiamma del ciel su le tue trecce piova,  
Malvagia —

L'avara Babilonia ha colmò 'l sacco  
D'ira di Dio —

Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,  
Scola d'errori, e tempio d'eresia ec.

There is sublimity in those poetic denunciations. And it is remarkable that the idea pervading the verse in which Petrarch pours forth his wrathful utterances, so terrible yet harmonious, is that Rome,

We must now glance at the state of Rome during the absence of the pontific Curia. Miserable and depressed indeed were the social, and depraved were the moral conditions of this capital whilst deserted by the Popes! The population was reduced to 17,000. All things went to wreck; tumults and civil wars raged in the City and in the provinces of the « Patrimony »; while the ways leading to the *limina Apostolorum* could no longer be traversed by pilgrims without danger from thieves and assassins. « The city of Rome (says a chronicler of the time) was in the greatest trouble; there were no rulers; combats took place every day; robberies were committed on all sides; women were outraged — wives were taken from beside their husbands in their own beds; the labourers, when they went out to work, were robbed, and where? Even at the city-gates ». (« Vita di Cola di Rienzo, » edited by Zeferino Re). A Cardinal Orsini, one of those who had concurred in the election of Clement V, says, addressing the French King during the vacancy of the Papal chair: « The late Pope desired to precipitate us (the Italian Clergy?) into an abyss. Under his pontificate the City of Rome has fallen into ruin; the patrimony of S. Peter has been despoiled, and continues to be so, by robbers rather than governors. All Italy is neglected, as if she pertained not to the body of Christ's Church. The land is full of seditions. Scarce a cathedral see or benefice of any importance that is not sold for money, or disposed of from worldly and personal motives. The Pope treated us, who had elected him,

the Hierarchic Church, was actually transformed, at Avignon, into an accursed apostate, a shameless adulteress, a source of woes and temple of heresies, a forge of deceits, an infernal prison, where virtue dies and evil alone flourishes :

Ove 'l ben more, e 'l mal si nutre e cria.

Such the conclusions, in the most gifted mind of the age, as to the phase at which the pontific power had arrived in this century!

with the last degree of contempt ». The Roman magistrates, appealing to Gregory XI, in 1376, thus urge their request : « Come back, before all things, come back to us ! because the aspect of this great City, once so revered over the whole earth, is now so desfigured that none could longer recognise her as the Holy City and Head of the Church, whilst the most renowned and holiest temples of Christendom, those venerable monuments of the piety of the great Constantine, in which the Sovereign Pontiffs, invested with the insignia of their supreme dignity, used to take possession of the Apostolic chair, are now left neglected, without honour or adornment, in need of repair and threatening to fall into ruins ; whilst the cardinalitial Churches, consecrated resting places for the holy relics of so many Martyrs, are abandoned by those (the Cardinals) who have received dignity and titles connected with them, and whose duty it is to care for them — with roofs, walls, and porches crumbling in decay, they remain open to the herds, and cattle are seen grazing in them even up to their altars ! » That final restoration, hailed with such jubilee, did not win loyal regards, or a tranquil life, for Gregory XI among the citizens, whose turbulence seems to have terrified him ; for he actually purposed, yielding to the French Cardinals' persuasions, a return to Avignon — which step was prevented by his death at the age of forty-seven.

Clement V. after his first creation of Cardinals, — all French, except the two Colonnas, who were reintegrated in their lost honours — sent three of those foreign dignitaries to represent him at Rome with senatorial powers. Subsequently, the local government was carried on by Senators, nominally deriving title and authority from the Popes ; and whose names are on record in unbroken series during, as before, this period, namely, from A. D. 1231. (Vitale, « Storia Diplomatica dei Senatori di Roma »).

That office was usually held by two colleagues at the same time, either immediately nominated by the Pope from Avignon, or by the Cardinal Legate in Italy. In 1314, the

period of one senatorial office having just reached its term, the Pope conferred the rank of Roman Senator on King Robert of Naples, whom he had already appointed his Vicar in Romagna and Emilia, and who henceforth becomes prominent in all that concerns Papal policy within Italian limits. That King sent successive deputies to govern Rome in his name. When it became known that Louis the Bavarian was approaching (in 1327) to demand the imperial crown, tumult arose, and the two deputies, Annibaldeschi and Anguillara, appointed by the king, addressed letters to John XXII urging him to gratify the eager wishes of the Romans by restoring the Papal residence among them; the magistrates pledging themselves and the people to resist Louis, provided the Pontiff would consent to their request. These appeals were fruitless; and in consequence, all the officials nominated by the king or the Pope in this City were removed from their posts; Sciarra Colonna was elected « Captain of the People », with fifty-two Counsellors, four for each of the Regions, then reckoned as thirteen.

Henry of Luxemburg, elected king of Germany, 1308, was recognized by Clement V on condition of his repairing to Rome within two years, there to receive the imperial crown. In this matter the interests of king Robert were at issue with those of the Emperor elect now favoured by the Pope. Before Henry could reach Rome, the city was occupied, the Vatican and the fortresses were garrisoned, by the Prince of Morea, brother to Robert, with a Neapolitan army comprising 1000 horse. Florence also sent troops to fight on the Guelphic side against Henry, the Colonnas, and the Ghibelline cause. The Milvian bridge was fortified to prevent the Germans from approaching. But Henry VII, and his army, after spending some days at Viterbo, marched onward, surmounted the obstacle at the bridge, and entered Rome, received with rejoicings, 7th of May, 1312. This ingress proved a signal for renewed civil war in the streets. The Lateran palace, where Henry and three Cardinals, deputed to crown him, had

their lodging, was attacked by the people indignant at the injuries caused to the public welfare by his (Henry's) sojourn, prolonged through the reluctance of the Cardinals to crown him in any other church than S. Peter's, which was now held by the antagonistic Neapolitans. The Cardinals, at last yielding to terror, consented that the coronation should take place at the Lateran, as it did, on S. Peter's day. On the 20th of July following, the Emperor retreated to Tivoli, having found only tumultuous resistance to his attempts to impose tribute and oaths of allegiance on the Roman citizens. From Tivoli he proceeded to Perugia; thence to Siena, which city the Germans besieged, but without success. Soon afterwards, Henry VII died in his camp before the little fortified town of Buonconvento, 1313 (4).

Louis, Duke of Bavaria, was elected king of Germany in 1314; whilst another faction among the magnates raised up a rival, Frederick of Austria. The latter, defeated at Mühlburg, became the prisoner of Louis in 1322. The Popes never would recognise the title of the Bavarian; and John XXII incited Leopold, the son of Frederick, to wage war against Louis; the French king supporting the former, as the Pope had urged him to do. John now issued a monitory against Louis for his offence in assuming, without Papal sanction, the style of « King of the Romans, » and interfering in the administration of the imperial states, which, it was now defined (a new doctrine), were by right subjected to the Pontiff during the vacancy of the German throne! Louis was excommunicated, and the Crusade published against him (1324). He vindicated himself in a Diet, and ap-

(4) The groundless report of his having been poisoned by a Dominican in the holy Eucharist, originated among the Germans, and led to an attack against a convent of those friars, some of whom were killed, at Pisa. John XXII formally denounced this report as calumnious, citing the testimony of Henry's son, king John of Bohemia, as to the natural causes of his death.



pealed to a General Council against Pope John. In 1327, invited by the Ghibelines to sustain their sinking cause, and to assume the imperial crown at Milan and Rome, he crossed the Alps.

Arriving at Trent, he there held a parliament, in which he brought several charges against John XXII, and declared that he was not a legitimate Pontiff. At Milan, Louis and his consort, Margaret, were crowned in the basilica of S. Ambrose by three excommunicated bishops.

Meantime, King Robert, desiring to prevent the coronation at Rome, sent 4000 horse, led by his brother, to occupy that City. The Romans opposed their entrance; and the Neapolitans withdrew to Viterbo, laying waste its territory as they passed. Five Neapolitan galleys appeared in the waters of Ostia, and set fire to the buildings of that port. Indignant at this outrage, the Romans would not admit the Legate, who now came to support the intervention of King Robert. On the 28th of September, the Prince of Morea returned with his forces, and, accompanied by the Legate, effected entrance into the Leonine city after the slaughter of the guards at its gates. But, on the next day, the citizens attacked and drove away those invaders, first from the Vatican precincts, and finally from the Appian gate. On the 7th of January, 1328, Louis arrived with his army; entered by the Leonine city, and proceeded at once to the Capitol, where, in a pompous parliament, he harangued the people, making fairest promises for their welfare &c. under his sway — acting, indeed, as did other German Emperors in Rome, on the assumption that the supreme dominion was *theirs*, however the subordinate claims of the Pope might, or might not, be admitted. In return, he was proclaimed by the applauding citizens Senator and « Capitaneus » for one year. On the 17th of January, Louis and his consort were crowned at S. Peter's by two excommunicated bishops — or (see the chronicle of Monaldeschi) by the Senator, Stephen Colonna, — in presence of all the Clergy. On the next day he held a parliament in

the open air before that church, and cited whomsoever chose to appear for the defence of Jacques de Cahors, calling himself Pope John XXII. None answered; charges of heresy and lese-majesty were brought against the French pontiff; a spokesman of a certain party among the Roman clergy requested the Emperor to proceed against the denounced Pope John; and Louis declared him to be deposed, as heretical and traitorous. On the 23rd of April was passed a decree, approved by the people (as natural, seeing how their interests were concerned) to the effect that all Popes should be obliged to reside in Rome, never to absent themselves for more than three months in the year. On the 12th of May, Louis, taking his seat, with his crown on, in another public assembly, proceeded to elect a new Pope — a Franciscan friar, Pietro da Corvara of Rieti, being the unfortunate nominee now thrust forward, who accepted, and was accepted by the people. He hastened to create seven Cardinals, by one of whom he was himself consecrated. Louis desired to be crowned, for the third time, by this creature of his power; and finally, to complete this pontifical farce, with his own hand placed the tiara on the head of the feeble usurper, who now took the name of Nicholas V. Castruccio Castracane, Lord of Lucca, who had joined Louis with a considerable force, now left him. The troops of King Robert advanced towards Rome; occupied Ostia, Anagni, and other neighbouring towns. Louis and his army withdrew, leading the Antipope with them; both being followed by the hisses and hootings of the people who had so lately shouted their *vivas*. For the first eight days of his visit, Louis and his suite were entertained at the Colonna palace; and three young members of that family used daily to ride about the streets in white vestments, on white horses, crying, « *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and to the great Emperor! People, we are delivered from pestilence, famine, war, and from the tyranny of the Pope! » To which the multitude (or the idlers) responded:

« Praise God! (1) long life to the Emperor, and the Colonnas, who restore the City to liberty! » (Monaldeschi, in Muratori, t. XII.) Soon after the repeated coronation, Giacomo Colonna, a Lateran Canon, appeared, with two masked men, before the church of S. Marcello (on the modern Corso); publicly read the bull just issued from Avignon, which anathematized Louis, and declared him to be no true emperor. The Canon then proclaimed, in loud voice, that John XXII was sole legitimate Pope, and Louis V a usurper; offered to maintain this at the point of the sword; and afterwards mounted a horse, to gallop to Palestrina, none molesting or impeding him, though Louis had ordered him to be seized. This warlike Canon was the friend of Petrarch; and was rewarded for his services by appointment to the bishopric of Lombés.

On the morrow, after the Germans had quitted, an Orsini and a Colonna took possession of Rome in the name of John XXII. A Cardinal Legate arrived soon afterwards; and 800 soldiers, sent from Naples, were at his disposal.

No Antipopes have long enjoyed the smiles of Fortune. The star of Nicholas V soon set in darkness. Left by his protector at Pisa, he was driven away from that city; for a time was concealed in a castle by a compassionate patrician; afterwards brought back to Pisa, and consigned, as soon as discovered in his hiding place, to ecclesiastical authorities. He abjured his errors and usurpation; was absolved; and sent to Avignon by way of Marseilles, being treated with opprobrium wherever he was made known on that journey. Before the Pope, in public consistory, he again abjured, and was consigned to captivity, but honourably treated for the remaining three years of his life. John XXII is not chargeable with any farther severities in this case.

(1) *Viva Dio* can scarcely be otherwise translated into non-blasphemous English.

The enthusiasm for learning and genius, if not any native culture, seems attested by such an event as the coronation of Petrarch on Easter-day, 8th of April, 1341. It was the great Poet's second visit to the Eternal City; he being now in his thirty-sixth year; and on the same day he had received, at Vacluse, invitations to enjoy the same honours both at Paris and Rome. He naturally preferred the latter metropolis; and wished first to go through a public examination, by king Robert, at Naples, in literature, history, and philosophy; after which ordeal, continued for three days, he was declared by royal letters patent worthy of the poetic crown. In the great hall of the Capitoline palace, he appeared before the Senator, Count di Anguillara, who was seated on a throne with a laurel wreath on his head; six noble citizens, in green robes, bearing garlands of different flowers, attended; and twelve patrician youths (each fifteen years old), arrayed in scarlet, recited verses on the glories of Rome by that Poet, the hero of the day. Petrarch declaimed a sonnet on the same theme, classic and imperial Rome; then, advancing to the music of trumpets and fifes, knelt before the Senator, who took the laurel-wreath from his own head, and placed it on the Poet's, with the words: « First I crown merit ». The people shouted: « Long life to the Capitol and the Poet! » Finally, the crowned One received a senatorial diploma, bestowing the Roman citizenship, and authorizing him to expound the writings of the ancients, in whatever city, with a crown of laurel, myrtle, or ivy on his glorified head. The procession moved to the Vatican; and the laurel-wreath was suspended at the shrine of S. Peter. Petrarch's recorded impressions of Rome were those of the classical scholar and the meditative enthusiast. But he soon became aware how dark was one side of the picture coloured from the light within him, as well as from that of immortal memories. « Unwillingly do I say it (he avows): nowhere is Rome less known than at Rome ». Perhaps a tollerably fair exponent of that total ignorance still

prevailing here in the XIV century, is before us in the curious compilation, entitled « *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* », which some critics refer to authorship in the X century; but others suppose to have been developed into its present form during the two centuries subsequent. Scarce one antique monument or ruin but is assigned to some fantastic or impossible origin in these visionary pages. It is an attempt to explain classic antiquities in their connection with past events, but without the slightest foundation of knowledge of the literature or manners of antiquity in the writer's mind. Or rather we might say that this work expresses nothing truly except the bewildering and child-like sense of wonder at the majesty and vastness of the relics left by fallen Empire. Not the least curious among particulars relating to this volume, is the fact that it was published at Rome, as a recommendable guide to strangers, A. D. 1470 !

In the year 1347, Rome seems to have been at the very zero of social decay and corruption; anarchic, rent by factions, disgraced by licentiousness. The two Senators, now jointly in office, were discordant, each being the chief of a contentious party; the revenues of the Church and Magistracy were embezzled or misappropriated; there was no protection from robbery, or outrage, to man or woman.

It was amidst such a state of things that the son of a tavern-keeper and a washerwoman, Cola di Rienzo (or, Nicholas, the son of Laurence), began to excite attention by declaiming, with such eloquence as his hearers could feel, against the disorders of the time and the lawless insolence of the aristocracy. His language was fired by just resentment, for he had himself lost an innocent young brother, killed for some imaginary offence, and with the usual impunity to the homicide. Cola had educated himself and imbibed the sentiments of patriotism, with the knowledge of Rome's ancient glories, from his study of Latin classics — Cicero, Livius, Seneca, and Valerius Maximus. He had also eagerly poured over the antique epigraphs, then at hand,



though probably in no considerable number, and intelligible to few readers. The « Lex Regia », or senatus-consult bestowing full powers on Vespasian, an inscription on bronze at this period kept in the Lateran church (now in the Capitoline museum), was expounded by him to the people in an assemblage at that basilica, where, vested in white robes, with a kind of gold diadem round his cap, he harangued from an elevated platform, being listened to with intense interest. Other appeals to popular feeling he prepared, taking a hint from the Church, by pictorial representations; one on an outer wall of the Capitoline palace, another on that of the small church, *S. Angelo in Pescaria*, amidst the beautiful ruins of the Octavian portico. Rome was depicted as an aged woman half-burnt in a furnace, with SS. Peter and Paul interceding for her to the Lamb of God, and a dove bearing to her a crown of myrtle. In conference with one hundred citizens, who met him by night on the Aventine, he unfolded his project of overthrowing the abusive power of the barons, and completely reforming the civic government. By sound of trumpet was published his invitation to all good citizens to meet him at *S. Angelo in Pescaria* for the fartherance of his great object: the restoration of the « good estate ». In that church, between midnight and sunrise, he heard thirty Masses « de Spiritu Sancto »; he thence went in complete armour, but with bare head, to the Capitol, attended by an applauding multitude, and preceded by three banners, designed to symbolize Liberty, Justice, and Peace: the first red, with the effigy of Rome seated on two lions, and holding a palm in one hand, a globe in the other; the second white, with the image of S. Paul, holding a sword and crown; the third, with S. Peter bearing his keys, here intended as symbols of Concord and Peace. The Pope's Vicar, the Bishop of Orvieto (who seems to have authorized, at first, even seconded, these innovations), walked beside the hero of the day in this pageant. At the Capitol, Rienzo haranged the multitude, declaring himself ready to encounter whatever danger « for

the love of the Pope, and for the welfare of the Roman people ».

He had been already raised above the state of poverty by the lucrative appointment of Notary to the « Camera », conferred on him by Clement VI at Avignon, whither he had been sent, in 1344, as deputy from the Roman people to pray for the restoration of the Papal seat among them — a mission that seems to have been confided to him without any colleagues. On the 30th of May, 1347, he was proclaimed by the popular voice Tribune of Rome, with a colleague in that office, — no other than the afore-named pontifical Vicar, who was associated with him by desire of the Pope, but was, finally, dismissed by Rienzo. The first laws enacted by the Tribune were just, and suitable to the emergency: Homicide was to be punished by death, without regard for rank or person; the barbarous practice of demolishing houses, as a punishment against their owners, was suppressed, and such property, when confiscated, was adjudged to the Commune; the barons were bound to protect the highways, forbidden to harbour brigands and malefactors, and required to allow the supply of provisions from their estates under penalty of a fine of 1000 silver marcs; the castles, bridges, city-gates and fortalices were to be guarded by the chief magistrate, not by any of the barons; no nobleman could possess (this, probably, a prohibition against garrisoning) any private fortress; in each civic region were to be maintained, with sufficient pay, 100 foot and 25 mounted soldiers — in all, 1300 foot, and 360 horse; the revenues of the Camera and the Magistracy were to be applied to the relief of widows and orphans, also of the poorer monasteries. The pious Tribune also enforced, under penalty of heavy fine, the duties of annual confession and communion, whilst he insinuated his claim to having received a mission from the Holy Spirit. His lofty patriotism inspired him to project a general Italian Republic, or rather Confederation, with Rome at the head. He sent embassies to the Pope, the Emperor

Louis, the Queen of Naples, the Italian Princes and Communes, requesting them to send, on their parts, representatives for conferring with him on questions concerning the good estate. His messengers passed through Italy unarmed, bearing only the symbol of a painted or silvered wand; and where they appeared, in forest or glen, or along the roads now freed from brigandage, multitudes knelt before them, and kissed that peaceful sceptre, doing homage to the righteous power inaugurated by a plebeian reformer at Rome. In his letters to rulers, Rienzo took the titles: *Nicholas severe and merciful, Tribune of Liberty, Peace, and Justice, illustrious Liberator of the holy Roman Republic* (1). His propositions were well received, and generally answered in fair words; but we read of no efficient co-operation towards the high aims thus recommended. Public order and safety were restored in Rome; pilgrims could again travel through the pontific states; it was said that a purse of gold might be carried without risk through the streets of the capital. Justice was enforced without respect for persons. The chief of the Orsini house was fined 400 florins for neglecting to guard the highways, after a robbery had been committed near Capranica, one of his possessions. Pietro Colonna, ex-senator, was arrested for debt, or some other offence, in the street. Martino di Porto, the nephew of two Cardinals, was seized, whilst confined by mortal illness, in his own house, for the crime of pillaging a wrecked vessel near Ostia. He had to receive sentence, kneeling, with his hands tied behind his back, before the Egyptian lion that guarded the ascent to the Capitol; and was hanged on the « intermontium, » or platform between the two fronts of modern building now on that hill (2). But brief were the triumphs and successes of Rienzo. His character

(1) Gaye, « Carleggio d'Artisti », v. I.

(2) The staircase of the actual ascent had not yet been formed; and perhaps the lion in question was placed on some other spot near the foot of the hill.

was pitifully inferior to his talents; and prosperity soon intoxicated him. He began to indulge a taste for pomps most extravagant, theatrical, and unnecessary; to show himself in costumes like those of a stage-hero who overdresses his part. His wife, sharing in these pageant-honours, was treated like a queen. His promotion to knighthood was celebrated at the Lateran with novel spectacle, that delighted the people, but could not have promoted any true interests. He kept a sort of « Vigil of Arms », and passed the previous night on a rich couch in the Baptistery, where he went through the ceremonial ablution in the porphyry font, believed to be that used at the baptism of Constantine. An aged knight conferred upon him the order of the Holy Spirit, after which, clad in scarlet, with sword and gilt spurs, he cited the Pope to come and reside at his see; also the College of Cardinals, the titular Emperor Louis, and the German electors.

Then drawing his sword, he thrice brandished it in the direction of the known divisions of the world, exclaiming as often: « This is mine! » The Pope's Vicar protested; but his voice was drowned in a flourish of martial music. On this day a banquet was given in the Lateran palace to citizens of all classes and both sexes — a lavishly profuse, but very uncomfortable entertainment, as described. From morn till evening a fountain of wine flowed from the nostrils of the bronze steed of Marcus Aurelius (1). A fortnight afterwards, the Tribune caused himself to be crowned, with still greater pomp; receiving from the hands of dignified ecclesiastics seven crowns of different metallic leaves, symbolic of the gifts of the Divine Spirit. Stefano Colonna, and other Barons, marched upon Rome with 4000 foot and 1600 horse, and attempted to effect entrance, but were repulsed from the S. Lorenzo gate, near which a combat ensued; four of that great family, and twelve persons in all (on the side of the

(1) The equestrian statue then standing on the Lateran piazza; and supposed to represent Constantine — hence the honours paid to it.

aggressors) being slain. The Tribune celebrated his triumph; ascended the Capital to sound of trumpets; and hung up his steel wand of office, with his crown of laurel-leaves in silver, before the image of the Madonna in the Ara Coeli church. He had not the generosity to allow funeral honours to the dead. It is probable that the Legate (not then in Rome) instigated a lawless Neapolitan Count, Pepino Altamura, who had been sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but released, to attempt with armed force the overthrow of the government of the Tribune. That Count entered the City with 450 armed men; and this small force actually sufficed to ruin the now enfeebled cause, and already discredited authority, of Rienzo. After the first repulse, and after finding that the fickle populace could no longer be assembled by the church-bells to obey his commands, or arm in his defence, the Tribune took refuge in the S. Angelo castle, not without show of pomp, sound of trumpets, and military escort. The Cardinal Legate now entered Rome; annulled most of the laws and acts of Rienzo, and denounced him as a heretic. A month afterwards, that fallen hero escaped from the castle — his wife having first fled in the disguise of a friar. He went first to Naples; thence wandered about Southern Italy. The whole of the year 1349 he spent in retreat with eremite monks in the Abruzzo; thence he returned to Rome incognito; and finally reached Bohemia, where he was received with honour at the Court of the Emperor, Charles IV, who, with the *savans* around him, listened admiringly to his rhetoric. After a time he was consigned to the Papal authorities, and brought to Avignon, where he vindicated himself before the Pope from the charge of heresy; but was, nevertheless, arraigned as an offender. He was neither tried nor condemned; but imprisoned for a whole year (1352-'3) in a tower at Avignon; being chained, though at the same treated with some indulgence by Clement VI. After that period, he was released, and appointed Senator of Rome by Innocent VI. He left Avignon,



together with a Cardinal Legate, and made his solemn ingress into Rome, 1st August, 1354, to recommence a career of illusory successes, abruptly closed by his tragic death on the 8th of October following. The noble canzone, « Spirto gentil, » of Petrarch, which the best authorities agree in supposing addressed to Rienzo, renders eloquent justice to the higher, whilst ignoring the lower, aspect of his character. It also presents a true picture of the desolate wretchedness in which he had found, and from which he rescued, Rome (see the able comments to the « Vita di Cola di Rienzo » by Zeferino Re).

It is remarkable that, throughout his « strange eventful history », the patriotic and exalted projects of Rienzo were allied with *implicit* recognition of the Papal sovereignty. Though he drew down upon his head the anathemas of the Church, he did not certainly intend to brave those spiritual thunders, nor wish to deserve them; and in no step taken by him, appears the manifest purpose of coming to an open rupture with the ecclesiastical authorities. It is justly said that the prevailing defects of a people are in great part ascribable to the faults of their government; but it is not the less certain that bad political systems are a growth of national vices or follies; and that the sudden introduction of a good system in a soil overgrown with evil weeds, must prove vain, profitless, or perhaps disastrous.

After the overthrow of that tribunitial power in 1347, Rome returned to her former conditions. Three Senators, one being the Cardinal Legate, the others, a Colonna and an Orsini, were appointed. After no long interval, an attempt was made by a popular party to restore the tribunate; and two plebeians were raised to that dangerous eminence; the Senators being ignominiously expelled. Unequal to their task, those new magistrates soon disappeared from the public stage; one retiring into private life on his own property; the other, who had irritated the people by tyrannic acts, being put to death. Aristocratic violence, feuds, and anarchy again prevailed in this unfortunate City.

The year 1350 was signalised at Rome as another of Jubilee, appointed by Clement VI, and, it seems, in concession to the prayer urged on behalf of the citizens by Rienzo, when on his mission at Avignon in 1344. This second « Anno Santo » was still more successful than the first, if the multitude of pilgrims might be considered a proof of efficacy in such spiritual procedure. Matteo Villani tells on that, between Christmas and Easter, there were continually 4,200,000 of such devout visitors in the City; 800,000 at the festivals of the Ascension and Pentecost; and not fewer than 200,000 during the rest of the year.

Neither the alienation from the Papacy, caused by the withdrawal to Avignon, nor the ill-counselled wars carried on in its name, nor the unpopular proceedings of Cardinal Legates who represented it in Italy, had weakened that devotional sentiment which now corresponded to the sacred appeal, and urged thousands to undertake the journey to the shrines where they were convinced that all sins would be forgiven. Intellectual opposition to ecclesiastical power is no measure of the strength or depth of religious feeling. While the Papacy was feeble, the Church was mighty. The piety of those foreign visitors may have been shocked by what they had occasion to see in the conduct of the unruly populace at Rome. A Cardinal Legate, who represented the Pope during the Holy Year, found himself exposed to insult and danger. He had brought a camel among the sumpter mules of his train, from Avignon. In their curiosity to examine this beast, the people crowded in the court of his palace; the servants drove them away; they returned with stones, and attacked the palace; other assailants, regularly armed, with cuirasses, shields, crossbows etc., joined them in this attempt; and terrible was the onset. In vain did the Legate, trembling and indignant, appear at a balcony, endeavouring to pacify; and his house would, probably, have been pulled down over his head, but for the timely interference of the Commendator of the Santo Spirito Hospital, who had

influence enough to make himself heard, and to disperse the furious multitude. The people were irritated against this Legate because he had, considering the inconvenience or danger caused by such crowds of strangers in the City, abridged the term of fifteen days for the obligatory devotions, and reduced it, for the benefit of some privileged pilgrims, to but one day. When his Eminence was on his way to visit the basilicas, for his own spiritual duties, two arrows were shot at him from the window of a small house; his hat was pierced, though he was not wounded; great excitement ensued; the house was searched, and immediately demolished, being found deserted. The Cardinal was convinced that the guilt lay at the door of no other than Cola di Rienzo, who was actually in Rome at this time, having ventured to return for the « Anno Santo », mingling with the crowd of pilgrims. After this outrage the legate went home, in rage and mortification, declaring that it were better to be the humblest parish priest at Avignon than a great prelate at Rome. A French Cardinal, who was here at the same time, and condoled with him for this event, observed that « in order to regenerate Rome, it would be necessary to destroy it utterly, and then build it again ! » (« Vita di Cola di Rienzo »).

The characteristic blending of the chivalrous with the barbaric, in the Rome of this time, is picturesquely presented in the account, by the contemporary chronicler Monaldeschi, of a bull-fight, destined for tragic catastrophe, which was held with great pomp in the Colosseum, 3rd of September, 1332. All the patrician families had been invited by *bando* to attend; and most of them were represented by the noble youths, who appeared as combatents on the arena, each in fantastic, sad or party-coloured costume, and with some motto, expressive of love or daring, correspondent to that costume itself, or by which the wearer's romantic temper was farther indicated. All the high-born ladies took their seats in wooden tribunes (an arrangement required by the state of the ruins) on one side; women of humbler sta-

tion, on the other side of the precincts. But sorrowful was the *finale* of this brilliant scene ! The fury of the animals proved too much for the aristocratic self-exhibitors ; and, though eleven bulls were slain, eighteen youths were left dead, and nine others prostrate beneath more or less serious wounds, on that arena so familiar with bloodshed. Another tragic episode was the fate of a young man of the Anguillara family, who was killed on the spot by Camillo Cencio, for the merely accidental offence of throwing down, in the pressure, a little boy, nephew to the same Cencio ; which act, as the chronicler tells us, excited much disturbance (« subito ne fecero un gran fracasso »), but no interference on the part of law or authorities ! There was a gathering of multitudes at the solemn funeral of those untimely slain, and whose bodies lay in state at the Lateran and S. Maria Maggiore. This is the last such recorded spectacle at the Colosseum, which suffered much from the terrible earthquake in 1349 ; and in consequence of that shock the material of the falling ruins was offered for sale by order of the Legate.

At this period all the cities of Romagna were subjected to petty tyrants, alike independent of pontifical government. Astorgio de' Duraforte, whom the Pope had made Count of Romagna, undertook to eradicate this system, and re-establish Papal sway in those parts. Giovanni de' Pepoli, now lord of Bologna, was seized by treachery, and kept for some time a prisoner ; being released, after the payment of large ransom, he deliberately sold Bologna, with its considerable province, for 200,000 florins, to Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop and (since the death of his brother, Luchino) temporal lord, of Milan. The prelate sent his two nephews to take possession of the city and province at the head of an army ; and through the influence of the Pepoli, the sovereign of Milan was publicly elected Lord of Bologna. The Pope laid all the Visconti's states under interdict ; cited him to Avignon ; and sent a Nuncio to enjoin on the Archbishop a final choice between either the temporal or spiritual power. He celebrated ponti-

fical High Mass before that envoy ; then summoned him to an interview ; and received him , holding in one hand a sword , in the other a crucifix. « Tell the Pope (he said) that I am ready to defend this (his cross) with this — » his sword ! Such an anecdote might serve the purpose of an apologue to illustrate the position and temper of the great Italian prelates in general at this period.

Before long, however, the argument of Mammon , so potent at the court of Avignon, sufficed for adjusting this question between spiritual claimants to temporal things. The Archbishop received from the Pope the investiture of Bologna on payment of 100,000 gold florins. Other cities of the nominally ecclesiastical states were, at this time, alike alienated. Orvieto was under the sole dominion of the Monaldeschi ; Gubbio had been subjected to the sway of the Gabrielli family.

In the history of Religious Orders we have now to observe the rapid growth, in numbers and influence, of the new, i. e. the Orders of Friars, and the decline, in credit if not in number, of the older, the monastic societies strictly so called. Before the end of the XIII century the Dominicans had 417 Convents. The Celestines, obtaining greater popularity after the canonization of thier founder, the Hermit Pope, owned, eventually, about 96 monasteries (or priories) in Italy alone ; and 24 in France. The Carthusians and Sylvestrines had never more (see Helyot) than 56 monasteries for males, in each Order. The Cistercians, in the first century of their existence, attained the immense development attested by their possession of 4800 monasteries for males, and 4400 for females. We have now to notice the birth of another Order, aristocratic, and at one time conspicuous among the reforms of the Benedictine Institute.

At the beginning of this century there lived at Siena a member of the patrician Tolomei family, named Giovanni, who was Doctor of Law at the university. One day, perplexed for the solution of some knotty question, he requested his scholars to wait till he might, on other occasion, re-



sume the theme. Being a pious man, he prayed for enlightenment; which prayers were granted, but in a manner far indeed from what he had hoped, or intended to ask of Heaven. Before the appointed day, he was visited by a malady in the eyes which reduced him to total blindness. He vowed to God and to the Blessed Virgin that, should he ever recover sight, his future life should be dedicated to religion; and that vow too was heard, for almost immediately afterwards his sight came back. He met his scholars according to the appointment, but, instead of lecturing on any theme of human science, narrated to them the miracle (as he deemed it) wrought in his own person; counselled the profound contempt for worldly things, and announced his intention of adandoning the life of worldlings; taking leave of his hearers, as one about to die to the society he had hitherto moved in. Two intimate associates, of the aristocratic class like himself, Patrizio de' Patrizi and Ambrogio Piccolomini, resolved to accompany him in the religious state which the trio hastened to enter upon. They left Siena, and settled on the Monte d'Accona, a wooded height, isolated by deep ravines on all sides except one, where a tongue of land connects it with a sister-hill; this solitary region being known as the Vald'Ombrone, from the name of the river which flows through it. Here the trio of eremites dwelt in a hut of clay, on ground belonging to Giovanni Tolomei, and built for themselves a chapel, also of clay; dividing their days between devotion and the manual labour by which they supported themselves on the produce of that plot of ground. To beg was no part of their system; and herbs and fruits sufficed for their nourishment. After a time the fame of their sanctity extended far, with the usual attractiveness so potently exercised in these times by masters of the ascetic life. Admiring visitors and converts flocked to Monte d'Accona. Especially were those of the aristocratic class impressed by the example of self-denial in men of birth equal to their own. The community of laborious hermits on that mountain in-

creased; a village of devotees arose, and the Monte d'Accona became another Thebaid, peopled with ascetics, who spent their innocent life in labour and prayer. But rumour, sent far on the barbed dart of slander, was also busy on the subject of this new association. At this period religious novelties were looked on with suspicion and alarm, whatever the form they took.

The Inquisitor for Tuscany made report, unfavourable, to the Papal Court at Avignon. John XXII desired to investigate for himself. At his summons, two of the rising community were sent by Giovanni to Avignon, and there examined by his Holiness, who, at last, satisfied of their orthodoxy, dismissed them with his blessing, enjoining on them the adoption of some approved monastic rule, and referring them to the Bishop of Arezzo, to whose diocese the Val d'Ombrone pertained. They repaired to Arezzo, and were paternally received by that prelate, who, whilst meditating on the subject of these hermits and their rule, saw a vision of the Blessed Virgin, displaying to him the symbol of three mountains, a cross on the summit of the central; on the others, olive-branches; she at the same time declaring her own gracious purposes towards the new order. The bishop prescribed the Benedictine rule to the obedient applicants; then, after singing high mass, attended by all his clergy, in the cathedral, gave a monastic habit, entirely white, to Giovanni, Patrizio, and Ambrogio; and at the same time imposed on the former a new name, Bernardo—by which we may henceforth call him. After returning to his flock, that now professed monk ordered the election of a Superior. Two others filled the office, each for one year, before Bernardo himself would consent to hold it; but, when his turn came, he continued to be the annually re-elected superior for the rest of his life. The choice, colour, and fashion of the habit had been a serious question with these recluses; as in other instances of monastic experience, things the most trivial being magnified into principles or mysteries. Bernardo was one day meditating

in the forest, when he behold — whether asleep or awake, who can say?—a glorious vision: a silver staircase reaching to Heaven; and, at its radiant summit, the Saviour of the World, with His Mother and choirs of Angels, all robed in white; while he looked on, the angels descended and ascended, leading with them to the feet of the King of Kings several monks, who also wore white habits. The celestial Mother herself interpreted this vision to him: the costume of those beatified monks was the one he should adopt for his followers. On the site where that revelation had been made to him was built the new church — an edifice of some importance we may suppose, as the friendly bishop laid the first stone with ceremonial, A. D. 1319 (4). Yet when the enlarged community built their first cloistered home, they made it of clay, like their original hermitage. By natural development, they passed from the eremite into the cenobite state; and wealth, renown, secular privileges ensued, with the usual evolutions of monastic fortune in these times. The symbol shown in a dream to the prelate — three mounts with cross and olive branches—was chosen as device of the new order, and also suggested the name by which it became known, as a reform of the Benedictine — « Olivetan ». It seems that the above-named bishop had been actuated by the hope that this renovation of an ancient religious institute might prove a germ of nobler life; a focus of influences for the revival of sanctified observance, in the midst of the corruptions and worldliness that had inundated the Church. The Benedictine rule was carried out in its strictest acceptance during the earlier stage of this new Order's life; and the

(4) A legend almost identical with this accounts for the origin of the Camaldulese habit, so picturesque in its ample white folds: namely, the vision beheld by St. Romuald, which is the subject of a picture, the masterpiece of Andrea Sacchi, at the Vatican. The vision of Bernardo Tolomei has also been treated by art, but not in any celebrated example.

example of agricultural activities was so efficiently given, that the hills and glens around their new home became productive, yielding corn, and oil, and wine, where all had been sterile waste before this sanctuary had arisen :

— The desert smiled ,  
and Paradise was opened in the wild —

thanks to monastic industry. Bernardo lived to see nine cloisters of his order founded. In the terrible visitation of plague, 1348, that disease proved fatal to many lives in one of those monasteries, at Siena. Not forgetting the highest duties of charity, Bernardo and his two devoted friends hastened to assist the sufferers; and it is certain that he — it is believed that those two companions also — died of the plague at Siena, in 1348; Bernardo being seventy-six years old. He was beatified by Innocent X; but has not yet been canonized. In the last century were discovered, in a vault below a vestibule between the church and cloisters at Monte Oliveto, three skeletons without epitaph or symbol; and the peculiarity of such interment, apart from the resting-place of other dead, convinced the monks that the relics must be those of Bernardo, Patrizio, and Ambrogio. In Art the Beato Bernardo is distinguished by his white habit with cowl, and the crozier in his hand; sometimes by the act in which he is receiving an olive branch from the Madonna. The finest picture of him, as a single figure, that I can call to mind, is one life-size, by Bazzi, in the Communal Palace at Siena. His order never became conspicuous beyond the Alps; but in Italy won new titles to fame by the splendour of its establishments. At Rome these monks occupy, at the present day, but one cloister, with a church of ancient origin and modern architecture, S. Maria Nuova (*alias*, S. Francesca Romana). At Monte Oliveto hospitalities and charities used to be bountifully dispensed; every visitor was welcome to remain from one to three days; paupers were never sent away unfed.

The buildings could accommodate 300 inmates — the number that used to assemble on occasion of general chapters of the order — and in the immense range of outhouses and stables, I have seen the lodgings provided for man and beast, sufficient for periodical visitations, when guests from the *eighty-seven* Benedictine monasteries of Italy used to be entertained here.

On one occasion the Emperor Charles V, returning from his campaign in Africa, was a guest here, together with all his suite, 4,500 military and attendants, and 4,000 horses. In expectation of this visit, the Abbot had caused new roads to be formed, and streams bridged over. The arrival was towards evening, and all remained till the morning of the third day, when, on taking leave, Charles asked what compensation was due, and the Abbot answered that he did not receive guests like an innkeeper, but for the sake of exercising a Christian virtue. The emperor insisted on the acceptance of 4,000 gold ducats. Another illustrious visitor at Monte Oliveto, in 1459, was the learned and literary Pope Pius II, who gives in his writings a lively description of the scene and situation, describing the peculiarly formed mountain headland, on which this monastery stands, as in shape like a chestnut-leaf. The beauty and luxuriant seclusion of this scene are the more impressive from contrast with the monotonous succession of cretaceous uplands we have to traverse, in long series of ascents and descents, on the road hither from Buonconvento, the nearest town. When I obtained my first view of the vast buildings, their long irregular structures rose, darkly defined, through veils of bluish mist — the haze of morning sultriness — while the deep ravines and woods lay in solemn shadow, and the sunlight glittered on the highest points of architecture alone — an effect that invested the sacred pile with something magical and mysterious. We approach through a vaulted archway under a battlemented tower, that serves as portal to the premises, where, in a grove of cypresses, densely closing around the lofty



walls, church and monastery stand. A terra-cotta of the Della Robbia school, the Madonna and Child with Angels, greets the traveller from the front of that feudal gateway. On nearer view we do not find much that is remarkable in architectonic features, except the exterior of the church (1400-'17) — a good, but unpretending specimen of the Italian style of that time, with graceful tower and spire, Gothic portal, a wheel window, and terra-cotta ornamentation on a red-brick façade. The interior has been altered — disfigured indeed — in showy modern Italian fashion; and one entire section, comprising the tribune, is an adjunct of date 1772. It seems that the walls must have been covered with fresco-paintings, now barbarously concealed under stucco; for, on the removal of that modern coating in one part above the stalls, was discovered, not long ago, an interesting picture ascribed to Pietro Lorenzetti (1317-1355), of three figures — the Beato Bernardo and his two inseparable friends, represented with all the individuality of portraits. A later Art-work, first-rate of its kind, is the *intarsio* of the forty-eight stalls, in walnut-wood, representing various subjects; a series begun in 1503, and all by the same hand, that of a lay brother in this cloister, Giovanni da Verona, whom Vasari mentions as an assistant of Raphael in the decorative paintings at the Vatican. About twenty choir-books were dispersed from this church, after the suppression under French government; but fortunately found their way, I know not how, to the cathedral of Chiusi, where I have seen, and admired, the exquisite miniatures they contain; the best of these illuminations being ascribed to the artists who painted the precious codes in the cathedral library of Siena. In the irretrievably lost library of the Olivetans, 165 MSS. shared the fate of other contents. Amidst the gardens stands a chapel on the site of the Beato Bernardo's original cell (or cavern), with an imitation of that retreat, behind the altar, in black marble; with in which artificial recess is a kneeling statue of him, placed in lieu of one, said to be superior, by Bocciardi, which has been removed

to Siena. In another external chapel is a fresco, ascribed to either Pinturicchio or Perugino, of the Assumption, — with SS. Apollonia, Agnes, and Scholastica — a work of high excellence.

But it is in the principal cloister — a great quadrangle surrounded by arcades, with a pleasant garden in the midst — that superior Art has contributed most for adornment of this monastery. The walls, within those porticoes, are covered with frescoes, thirty-four in all, illustrating the life and legend of S. Benedict, by two artists of great but contrasted genius, Luca Signorelli (1439–1521), and Gian Antonio Bazzi (a name sometimes written Razzi), 1474–1549; the first nine of this series being by the former: altogether, a most valuable collection, displaying the peculiar powers and novel tendencies of a transitionary period. But the art of the XV century is not my present subject. At this once wealthy establishment I found (in July, '68) but five inmates left of a community that had comprised fifty (monks, novices, lay-brothers), previous to the enforcement of the new law. I must gratefully remember the courtesy of the intelligent Father Prior, Don Angelo di Negro, who still presided. He spoke without bitterness of their depressed circumstances; but there was a tone of regret, commanding sympathy, in his allusion to the impoverishment which now obliged them to send away the poor unfed from the gates where charities used to be liberally dispensed.

Duns Scotus (a Franciscan, ob. 1308) was the first to maintain explicitly the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. The development of that worship which, at last, assigned to her, at least in the popular mind, a place so nearly equal to that of the Divine Redeemer, is traced in oft-recurring indications. The somewhat startling titles given to her, as « Daughter of the Father, Mother of the Son, Wife of the Holy Spirit », announce this tendency. In 1318 the Pope granted Indulgence to all who should recite, kneeling, the « Angelus », or « Ave Maria », at the now familiar sig-

nal of the bell, which summoned to that devotion after sunset. The enthusiasm of feeling, — one might say, faith — directed towards her, is curiously illustrated in the case of a bishop, Gilbert Massius, who ordered a picture with his own portrait, in act of kneeling between a Crucifix and an image of the Virgin giving suck to the Infant; some Latin verses being inscribed below, to the effect: « Here I receive milk from the breast; here I am fed from the wound, being placed in the midst: I know not whither to turn; and in this delicious doubt, comparison is likewise delightful » (4).

In Ritual, the revived observance of the *Corpus Domini* fête has now to be noticed; but it appears that the procession of the Host, proper to that solemnity, was a detail gradually admitted, passing from diocese to diocese, according to the impulses of piety among priests or people. At a provincial council in Paris (1324), an Archbishop announced that he did not desire to prescribe anything as to such processions, because he deemed that they had been introduced through a kind of inspiration. In a retrospective view of ritualistic developments, we see (and have the accredited testimony of Durandus for this fact) that the grandest, most affecting, and most poetic expression of the Christian devotionalsentiment in such forms — the observances of Holy Week and Easter, — had become in the XIII century almost identical with what their celebration continues to be at this day. The superiority of the Latin Church had already risen to the height still retained by her, as absolutely unrivalled in the power of moving soul and feeling through such agency.

(4)

Hinc lactor ab ubere,  
Hinc pascor a vulnere,  
Positus in medio.  
Quo me vertam nescio,  
In hoc dulci dubio  
Dulcis est collatio.

A council at Ravenna (1314) decreed that the interdict, against persons or places, should no longer be imposed for the sake of questions relating to pecuniary matters alone. The Archbishop of that See, in another council at Bologna (1319), passed a rule that no candidates should be received into cathedral chapters or monasteries without permission of the Ordinary; desiring thus to check the immense abuses springing from the intrusion of unworthy subjects by relatives or patrons, whose power or bribery effected what should have been dependent on individual merit. In that same assembly secular judges were required to consign to the bishops all clerics whom they had put under arrest, either for the offence of bearing arms or for any crime; the penalty to such judges, for refusal to comply, excommunication; as likewise for the insult (which, it seems, they were prone to offer) of contumeliously sending back the arrested cleric, with sound of trumpets heralding his return to his parish, in disgrace, or with the weapons, which had been taken from him, hung round his neck. This council renewed the prohibitions against the chace, and other less innocent pleasures, to all ecclesiastics.

Phenomena of devotion occurred during this century, and not always in channels sanctioned by the Church. The dreadful story of Fra Dolcino and his followers — the siege sustained by them, with famine in its worst forms, at their fortified retreat among the Alps, and the atrocious execution of the leaders, at Vercelli (1307), are fully narrated by Mariotti, « *Fra Dolcino and his times* » After witnessing the death of his devoted Margaret, a young and beautiful woman, in the flames, Dolcino was paraded through the streets on a car drawn by oxen, whilst executioners tore his flesh and wrenched off his members with red-hot pincers; and finally, his still living body was thrown on the same pyre where his partner had suffered; several others, of unknown names, being doomed to the same death.

The Roman people had heard the strange announcement, formally made in a state-parliament on the piazza of S. Pe-

ter's, in presence of the crowned Emperor Louis, that John XXII was not only an iniquitous usurper, but Antechrist, or at least the fore-runner of Antechrist! A sect soon afterwards appeared at Milan, adopting almost this extreme theory, and declaring that Pope John was an excommunicate heretic, a homicide lawfully deposed. A faction among the Franciscans also denounced him in unmeasured terms, because he had decided contrary to their views on some subtle question as to the absolute poverty incumbent on all true followers of S. Francis, and exemplified by the practice of our Lord and His Apostles. The public sense of the enormity of Heresy may have been dulled by the manner in which the charge of such offence was brought forward, as a pretext for war in the interest of the Pope. In 1320 the inquisitors were directed to prosecute « for Heresy » Matteo Visconti and his sons, Can Grande della Scala, Passerino, lord of Mantua, and the Este of Ferrara, although all those princes protested that they were true Catholics, ready to submit to the Church in spiritual things! The manifest object in this new stroke of Papal policy was a general attack against the Ghibellines in northern Italy through a war which John XII undertook in concert with king Robert. The Crusade was preached against the Visconti, with an interdict against their states, the condemnation of their persons, and those of their adherents, to slavery under whatever master might obtain possession of them! and this with the usual promises of spiritual rewards to all who « took the cross » in such enterprise against the assumed enemies of the Papacy and Church. One of the princes who had been excommunicated, Ordelaffi, lord of Forli, rejoined by excommunicating the Pope; and caused effigies of his Holiness and certain Cardinals to be publicly burnt in the court of his palace!

Exceptional, though not heterodox, devotions, fruit of morbid imagination, were excited in Lombardy and Tuscany by the preaching of a Dominican, Fra Venturino, who



called upon all Christians to live in peace, and turn away from the evil courses too common; while he reprobated the Papal sojourn at Avignon as a cause of serious evil. His followers went about in solemn procession, sometimes more than 40,000 together, all clad in white, with cowed heads, and a dove embroidered on their montles. One of these processions reached Rome. At last, Fra Venturino was cited to Avignon, to answer charges against his orthodoxy, which he there vindicated, and with success; but he was detained, as one under suspicion, instead of being allowed to return into Italy. Perhaps no Christian priest could have deliberately taken such a step as did John XXII, for the prosecution of suspected sorcery, had it been possible to foresee the extent of misery, anguish, and atrocious injustice to innocent victims, involved in the inevitable consequences of that ominous proceeding — fruit of ignorance and fanaticism. A Cardinal bishop was directed (1320) to intimate to the inquisitor of Carcassonne the Pontiff's commands that proceedings should be carried on against those who worshipped, or made compact with, the Devil; who sacrificed to fiends, or otherwise exercised magic with profane abuse of the sacraments! Social gloom, cruel governments, and profound ignorance now supplied the atmosphere in which fantastic superstitions and morbid illusions of every kind may well have flourished. Mussato (« *De gestis Italicorum* ») tells us that in Italy, at this time, « prevailed the celestial speculations of the Chaldaeans, the incantations of Aruspices, the auguries from birds, the interpreting of dreams, the casting of lots; while there were those who maintained that by signs, or by their exercise of will (*suo nutu*) they could pacify or irritate the Deity ». In 1321, the Pope was apprised that the citizens of Recanati, who had revolted against his government, and massacred 300 persons, besides those sent as authorities to them in his name, were abandoned to all kinds of impurity and superstition — idolatry, and blasphemous practices contrary to the

Faith. Was not the Papal policy of these times to a great degree responsible for such moral disorders?

Some writers (as Fleury) ascribe to John XXII the final suppression of the liberties so strenuously vindicated and bravely won for the Church by Gregory VII: the right, hitherto exercised either by the clergy and people together, or by the chapters alone, of freely electing their bishops; but which became henceforth absorbed among those ever increasing attributes of the Papacy, all unknown to the ancient Church. The gradual dying away of ideas that have once ruled the world, the silent extinction of moral forces once mighty over the minds of multitudes, are among the most significant facts in the phenomena of History. Such was the case with the idea of the paramount importance of the Crusade for the rescue of Palestine.

We have seen what were the efforts made by the Council of Vienne; and we learn that Clement V, though accused of avarice, could be liberal in this cause, for he assigned a very large sum out of his private property towards that supposed sacred warfare. John XXII listened attentively to the arguments urged, and accepted the donation of the treatises and maps drawn up, by the learned Venetian traveller, Marin Sanuto, who dedicated all his labours and talents to the promotion among Christian nations of another « holy war » in the East for the recovery of Palestine and extirpating of the Moslems. But no earthly influences could induce any European prince actually to set out on another such fruitless expedition; though there were, indeed, Kings still ready to pledge themselves by vow for the undertaking. The general results of the Crusades in the East had been demoralizing. In the year 1319, Pope John wrote to dissuade the Kings of France and England, Philip V and Edward II, from the fulfilment of the crusading vow which both had rashly taken; the Pontiff urging on the consideration of Philip the general circumstances of European nations, and of the East, as unfavourable to such enterprise; on that of Edward, the unquiet

conditions of his own kingdom, which it was his first duty to attend to. This voice from the Papal throne itself, to arouse rulers from a long-cherished dream as to imaginary Christian duties, is one of the signal testimonies to the progress of a beneficent Rationalism, in its luminous career promising victory over superstition.

The fruitless proceedings carried on in France for another Crusade, between 1331-1333, only served to show how completely this once vital interest had sunk into the state of a shadow and a phantasm! The Pope enjoined on all the French bishops to preach the holy war; the King promised to set out for Palestine in two years, which purpose he solemnly announced to an assembly of nobles and prelates in the Sainte Chapelle (1333). The Pope now published, in consistory, the « general passage » to the Holy Land, and issued the usual bulls for the spiritual benefit of Crusaders. Soon afterwards, King Philip took the Cross, as did many others in imitation of him, after listening to a sermon by a Papal commissary in the open air; and it was ordered that all should be ready to embark in the August of the third ensuing year. The Pope granted to the Kings of France and England the levying of tithes, for some years, towards the expences of this enterprise. Both employed those subsidies in making war against each other! (1)

About 1324, appeared a volume announcing, with the voice of learning and calmly sustained reasoning, the incipient revolt of Intellect against spiritual despotism.

(1) Scarce an exception is presented in the inglorious Crusade published, 1343, by Clement VI, and in which the King of Cyprus, the Doge of Venice, and the Knights of Rhodes promised co-operation. It resulted in the taking of Smyrna (1344), where all the inhabitants, women and children included, were put to death. In 1346 the Pope was obliged to accept a truce with the Turks; and he owns, in writing to the King of France, that many had blamed him for an enterprise which only involved the Christians in useless war.

Marsilio of Padua, a celebrated jurisconsult, theologian, and physician, who joined the adherents of Louis the Bavarian, produced, conjointly with one sharing his opinions, a Flemish writer known as John of Ghent, the « Defensor Pacis, » or « Defender of the Faith against the usurped jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff ». The principal aim of this remarkable work is — to establish that the Pope had no spiritual powers differing in kind from those of other bishops; that he could not remit sin, or release from its punishment, more effectually than any other priest in orders; and that no privilege to *domineer* over the Church had been assigned by the Divine Founder, nor could be lawfully allowed, to him or to any other ecclesiastic. The text cited by S. Bernard in admonition to Eugenius III: « The Kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so » (Luke, XXII, 25-6) — especially the last clause, « vos autem non sic » -- is insisted on as of supreme importance in this argument. The persecution of heretics, as then commonly practised, is here condemned, though not with such stretch of liberality as to demand absolute impunity for them. It is asserted that judgment against such offenders should not be left to bishops or priests, but to the community of the faithful; that penalties should be inflicted by the civil magistrate alone. Elsewhere, however, this theory is exceeded by the more humane theory, that moral means alone, reproof, exhortation, warning of Divine wrath, should be used to bring back recusants into the true Church. A masterly review of the rise of the temporal power of the Popes, and of the gradually increasing abuses of the Keys, in excommunications and interdicts, winds up with the assertion: « This (the abuse of spiritual power) is the root and origin of pestilence in the Italian Kingdom; from this proceed all scandals; in this germinate all evils; and so long as this exists, civil discords will never cease in that land ». This book had the exceptional distinction of being denounced

twice in Papal bulls; in one case such a document being issued expressly against it (1327) by John XXII, who condemns five propositions culled from this volume as heretical, and its two authors as « heresiarchs » — the first instance, I believe, of such direct interposition in a contest begun on the literary arena.

The extreme antagonism to these opinions is represented by another learned writer, contemporary of Marsilio — Agostino Trionfo of Ancona, an Augustinian friar, who died, aged eight-five, in 1328. In his « Summa » (dedicated to John XXII) he maintains: that the fulness of sacerdotal and royal authority, like that of Christ Himself, pertains to the Pope; that his alone is the power proceeding immediately from God; that it is for him to determine all that is of faith; that none can appeal against him to the General Council, which derives its authority solely from him; that he, as universal Bishop, can administer every diocese and parish, no less than his proper See of Rome; that he can elect the Emperor without the intervention of any others entitled to vote; can also depose any Emperor, and absolve his subjects from all oaths to him; that all kings are bound to own the dependence of their temporal power, as held from him; that he is authorized to punish tyrannical Kings and heretics by both spiritual and temporal chastisements; that Jews and Pagans, as well as Christians, should be subject to him; that his power extends also over the invisible world, so that he might, at his pleasure, *depopulate* the region of purgatorial suffering, and the Limbo assigned to souls of infants!

Even at this period of depression and discredit caused to the Papacy by its exile in France, the agency exercised by it in distant countries was often beneficial. The high vocation of the Roman Pontificate could not be absolutely forgotten, even at Avignon; and the part manifestly assigned to that power by God in the fartherance of human interests, of Christian civilization, throughout the West, continued to be, more or less worthily, sustained by individuals who may have been



otherwise reprehensible or unfit for their exalted rank in the Church. Clement V promoted the cause of missions among the Tartars, which had been previously undertaken with signal success by a zealous Franciscan, Giovanni da Montecorvino; and seven other esteemed members of that Order, all invested with episcopal dignity, were sent by the Pope to consecrate the same Giovanni as their archbishop in Tartary, and to assist him in his apostolic labours. In 1326, we find John XXII interposing to require the King of France, Charles le Bel, to check the wicked proceedings of his sister, Isabella, Queen of Edward II, who was conspiring in her brother's kingdom for the ruin of her unfortunate lord; and after the full extent of the guilt and infamy of that Queen had been brought to light, she was spared the disgrace of a public trial through the intercession of the Pope with the young King, Edward III, whom he effectually exhorted not to expose his mother to open shame, however she may have deserved such punishment.

Boniface VIII founded the University of Rome, which, though once conspicuous, never took rank among the first in Italy. Benedict XII, in 1339, gave institution to that of Verona, but for the studies of three Faculties alone: Law, Medicine, and the liberal Arts. One of the praiseworthy acts of the same virtuous Pontiff, was the undertaking, initiated in 1336, of a general and carefully organised reform of the monastic Orders and Franciscan Friars. It was prescribed that Grammar, Logic, and Philosophy should be studied in the cloisters; and that the monks who had gone through that course, should perfect themselves in Theology or Canon Law at Universities. The ancient Orders had been gravitating to an extreme of luxurious worldliness or aristocratic exclusiveness; the mendicant friars, to vain disputation and idle subtleties. Noble descent for ever so many generations, or for two centuries, was required among terms of admissibility into certain communities of magnificent monks. The fashion of the habit, the requisitely defined theories of evan-

gelical poverty, were questions vehemently agitated among the friars; and so cruelly were these poor controversialists treated for their obstinate refusal to submit to what authorities decided on such momentous subjects, that 113 Franciscans were burnt alive for their disobedience in respect to costume and the orthodox definition of poverty! (1) The establishment of that Order at the Holy Sepulchre is a noticeable landmark in their history: it was through the valid interposition of the Neapolitan king, Robert, that the Sultan of Egypt was persuaded (1342) to allow twelve Franciscans to reside, and continually celebrate offices, at that most revered sanctuary. Matteo Villani's graphic description of what he had himself seen in the Jubilee of 1350, shows how intense was the religious feeling still prevailing, amidst all the social evils and miseries of the time; and also affords proof that a certain purifying virtue was apparent in the effect of these great movements ordered by the Church. The late terrible visitations of plague had predisposed the Italian people for religious susceptibilities. At the end of the year the concourse was almost as overwhelming as it had been at the beginning. The Winter was unusually severe; the roads were in the worst possible condition; such inns as then existed, did not suffice for the multitude of travellers; and many, at least those from the north, used to spend nights encamped round large fires in the fields. It was often the case that mine host could not keep his reckoning; and many an honest pilgrim paid his scot unasked, leaving on the table the money which no unlawful fingers touched. Magistrates took measures for securing safety in their several districts; and when thieves and assassins made their attempts (which they did within the Papal states), the pilgrims protected themselves, exercising the sentence of law with their own hands. Amidst all this excitement, forbearance and charity

(1) This extraordinary fact is attested in a document of the XIV century, given by Mosheim.

prevailed; no quarrelling or scandals; but at Rome, overreaching and speculative avarice were on wait for victims; and the thronging for the great devotional occasions was perilous; a certain number, two or three, or even twelve persons, used to be left dead on every such occasion, stifled and trampled on, before the church-doors. Clement VI believed himself inspired to anticipate the Jubilee by the direct intervention of S. Peter, who twice appeared to him in dreams, with his keys, and the injunction: « Throw open the portal, and send forth a fire strong enough to warm and illumine the whole world » (« Aperi ostium, et ex eo mitte ignem, quo calefiat et illuminari valeat totus mundus »).

The study of the picture presented by these times may dispel illusions as to the superior happiness and religious sanctities of the Middle Ages. It also leads us to see how many evils resulted (together, certainly, with much of good), and were inevitable consequence, from the exclusive domination of a single ecclesiastical system. The comparison between these ages and our own, between the Europe before and the Europe after, the XVI century, in respect to all social realities that concern human happiness and the means for promoting moral or intellectual improvement, confirms the consoling conviction that the inmost meaning of History is: the irrepressible progress of the Human Race.

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## X.

### Monuments of the Fourteenth Century

THE century which proved, as is apparent in so many noble monuments, that of the great revival of art, has left fewer traces of its life and genius in Rome than in almost any other of the ancient Italian cities. Among the few records there found, of the events, for the most part disastrous, occurring in the capital of the Church during this period, the sole direct representation of any historic fact is the relief on the monument of Gregory XI, at *S. Maria Nuova*, where, with frigid allegory, is represented the arrival of that Pope to restore the ecclesiastical court to its capital abandoned for seventy-two years. But that sculpture (by Olivieri) on the memorial ordered by the Roman Senate in 1584, belongs to a time beyond the limits I propose to myself in these pages.

On the Appian Gate (or *Porta S. Sebastiana*), under the inner archway, is a curious and somewhat barbaric record of an encounter that occurred on *S. Michael's Day*, 1327, when the Romans repulsed the Neapolitans led by the brother of king Robert — as narrated above (p. 500); the work in question consisting of a quaint *graffito*, about life-size, of the archangel Michael, with sceptre and globe, trampling on a dragon, cut on the stone within that gateway, and explained by an inscription in Gothic letters below. One example of art-illustration, pertaining to the higher order, fortunately remains to record an event of the year 1300, — Giotto's picture, now on a pilaster in the Lateran church, representing

Boniface VIII conceding the plenary indulgence in the Jubilee year (or « *anno santo* ») instituted by him, — a scene Dante witnessed, and which took place on the loggia of the portico added by the same Pontiff to the Lateran, and adorned with paintings by the same artist, representing the Baptism of Constantine, the building of the basilica above-named, and the Papal benediction — this last picture having been finally transferred to the spot where we now see it, and restored, by order of Prince Gaetani, one of that Pope collateral descendants (4).

In the depressed conditions of Rome during the Avignon secession, we see negative proof how absolutely this City was dependent on the ecclesiastical court for her rank in the world's drama, and for all that invested her with attraction in mediaeval times. The laxity of discipline and influx of abuses now reached, perhaps, the extreme point beyond which it was impossible to go farther; and the Papal metropolis, no longer even entitled to that name, had fallen into a state of moral as well as material ruin.

The picture drawn by a contemporary of the licence prevailing in Rome at the time Cola di Rienzo raised himself to brief authority, is indeed sinister and scandalous: no protection from law for lives or property; no security for the honour of females or the sanctities of domestic life. Whilst a royal saint, Bridget of Sweden, was residing here with her daughter, a young and beautiful widow, (who had joined her mother, already settled at Rome, about 1350), the importunities and dangers to which the latter was exposed were such, that she resolved never to quit her home except for her devotions in churches. It happened one day that, after making a visit to the catacombs of S. Sebastian, she was seized by the retainers of a young Count, who desired to force her into marriage, but fortunately, through aid from

(4) Tosti concludes that the subject is the proclamation of the Jubilee in S. Peter's.



persons who chanced to pass in a vehicle at that moment, she found refuge at a house on the Appian Way, and thus escaped from her pursuer. Ecclesiastical statistics, supplied from a code in the University library at Turin, show how general was the neglect of their duties by the clergy, how desolate were sacred buildings here, at this time. Rome now contained 424 churches, 252 being parochial; these latter served by not more than two priests, or but one, to each; forty-four being left in neglect without any priests attached to them, and eleven absolutely in ruin; whilst many others were roofless, with dilapidated walls, and destitute of all things requisite for divine worship (*« deficiunt tota die propter malitiam servientium — quarum reparationi infinitus thesaurus non sufficeret »*). The churches belonging to monks and friars were 28 in number; those of nuns, 48; those ranking as Papal basilicas, 11. The number of secular clergy was 785; that of regulars, 317, among whom were 126 monks of the ancient orders; the nuns were 471; the regular clerics, devoted to the care of the sick, and styled hospitallers, 97 — the same report adding, that the number of prisoners then in the civic jails was 260.

We might begin our study of the fourteenth-century monuments at Rome in a scene of venerable associations — that portion of the ancient S. Peter's, reduced to a crypt under the modern church, where the most interesting artworks, almost all those anterior to the sixteenth century, which the basilica still contains, are preserved — but thrown together in a confusion that betrays the little regard, the habitual neglect, for such treasures in the Eternal City! For the festival of S. Peter and S. Paul, these subterraneans are open to the public, and lighted so as to allow of exploring independently of sacristans. No scene is better suited for meditation on the events and bearings of Papal history, on the great and saintly characters of so many, the shocks of disaster sustained by several, and the sad examples of human frailty in others among the 159 who have worn the triple

tiara. We are reminded of the culminating point, but also of the sudden and rapid decline in the power attained by those crowned priests, before the tomb of one in particular — Boniface VIII. Before that of Alexander VI we may reflect on the discredit to the Papacy consequent on the systematic postponement of all considerations to its temporal interests, for which that Pope sacrificed all he could sacrifice — though his character has been blackened beyond desert. We may regret to find the English Hadrian IV without even the honour of a Christian tomb, and laid in a Pagan sarcophagus of red granite with Medusa heads sculptured in relief, but no word of inscription or detail of symbolism allusive to the career of the poor student from S. Alban's, who ascended the highest throne upon earth after enduring poverty, repulses, and neglect. And the absence of monuments here, as elsewhere in the great church, to the ever-to-be revered S. Gregory I, to the heroic Gregory VII, and the high-souled Innocent III, might suggest a quotation from Byron:

The Caesar's pageant, shorn of Brutus' bust,  
Did but of Rome best son remind her more!

On the tomb of Boniface VIII. is the recumbent figure, ascribed to Arnolfo del Cambio, representing that Pope crowned with the tiara of two diadems -- a sculpture of no high merit; but the most interesting circumstance connected with this tomb is the state in which its contents were found, when it was opened, as necessary before its removal from its place in the ancient church, 1605. The body of the much-tried Pope Boniface was seen with its vestments and ornaments, preserved from decay; and on the border of the cope, thirty illustrations of the Gospel history, all in needlework. Then also was contradicted, by ocular proof, the report of some historians respecting the death of this Pontiff (1). —

(1) *Supra*, p 484.

A bas-relief of the Virgin and Child, by the same Arnolfo, once over that sepulchre, is now over an altar in one of the subterranean corridors. Another half-length statue of the same Pontiff here seen, robed and crowned, and in act of blessing, with the keys in one hand, attributed to Andrea Pisano, has a certain life-like character; and a half-length of Benedict XII, by Paolo di Siena, is similarly treated, but heavy and lifeless. The exulting music of the grand Vespers at the high altar, on S. Peter's day, may here reach our ears in finely subdued tones, and prove suitable accompaniment to such thoughts as may fill our minds amidst these tombs of illustrious Dead.

Among sculptured monuments of the XIV century, noticeable for artistic qualities is that of Urban VI, with recumbent figure, and a relief in front representing the same Pope kneeling to receive the keys from S. Peter; also that of Maffiolus, a Polish bishop (ob 1396). On a throne with rich Gothic ornamentation, where was formerly placed a figure of Benedict XII, is now seated a statue of S. Peter, ascribed to Paolo di Siena; and laterally to this, another apostle and an angel. Elsewhere are seen in this crypt many remnants of altars and sculptures, many tombs of a later age, and several epigraphs of high antiquity.

The primitive Church is here represented by the interesting sculptured tomb of Junius Bassus, Prefect of Rome, who died (a neophyte) A. D. 359; also by the early Christian sarcophagi, with reliefs, where lie the remains of Gregory V. Pius II, and Marcellus II. We are reminded of the mediaeval Church by the mosaics from the chapel of John VII, ordered by that Pope in the VIII century; as well as by those (described above) from the tomb of the Emperor Otho II. The epoch of later Italian art is represented by the sculptures from the monuments of Nicholas V and Paul II, and by others from the magnificent ciborium (or altar-canopy) of Sixtus IV. The hand of Giotto is believed to be recognizable in a beautiful mosaic of an angel, said to be from his design -- though this tradition may be questioned. The labours of

that great artist in Rome are now, unfortunately, represented by but few extant works from among those he executed here. Boniface VIII. invited him to adorn the tribune and sacristy of S. Peter's; and in a hall in the spacious buildings of the Vatican sacristy are preserved some remains of the series here painted, and of other works ordered by Cardinal Stefaneschi — the rest having perished: — a picture of the SAVIOUR enthroned, giving benediction, with the kneeling figure of that Cardinal (by whom this work was ordered, in 1300, to adorn the ciborium of the high altar); also the martyrdoms of S. Peter and S. Paul; and, on the back of the same panel, another picture in which the same cardinal is offering his ciborium to S. Peter. For his labours in the ancient church and sacristy, Giotto received 3020 gold florins. The great mosaic of the Navicella, or S. Peter walking on the sea to meet the Divine Master, from Giotto's design, executed, with assistance of his pupil Cavallini, in 1298, and now over the entrance to the atrium of S. Peter's, is beyond comparison the noblest specimen of the artist's powers in Rome. No other undoubted original by the same hand is preserved in any church here, except the few above described; and also a Crucifixion, by no means satisfactorily seen, in a small dim-lit chapel, of Gothic architecture, at *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*.

That principal establishment of the Dominicans in Rome might be classed among monuments of either the thirteenth or following century; though, after long suspense and frequent interruptions, its buildings were not in every part completed till the later years of the XV century. On the site where a temple of Minerva is said to have been founded by Pompey the Great, rose, within the sixth century, the first Christian church in the place of that Pagan fane, and which was bestowed by Pope Zachary, about A. D. 750, on certain Greek nuns. The Dominicans, finding their original establishment, S. Sabina on the Aventine, insufficient for their own increasing number and that of their congregations, obtained

the convent hitherto occupied by those nuns, in 1260; and, fourteen years afterwards, the adjacent church also, which disappeared beneath their more spacious and splendid buildings. All their principal churches and convents were either designed, completed, or embellished, by artists belonging to their own Order — as exemplified in the late restoration of this S. Maria, with return to the original Gothic type. A certain superiority in artistic character, apparent in their Italian churches, still asserts the claims of the Dominicans. It is not certain who were the architects first engaged at S. Maria sopra Minerva, on the buildings commenced in 1286; but probable that they were no other than the already celebrated Sisto and Ristoro, Dominican lay-brothers, who had built the first church of this Order in Florence; and who probably arrived in Rome, from that city, 1286 — Fra Ristoro to remain here eight years. A brief of Boniface VIII, addressed, 1295, to the prior of the new convent, refers to the works then progressing, as *opera plurimum sumptuosa*; and as the beautiful monument to Bishop Durandus was erected within these walls soon after his decease in 1296, we may conclude that the buildings were then in an advanced stage. About A. D. 1300, however, they were left in a suspense prolonged during the entire period of the Papal residence at Avignon. In 1431 the cardinals met for conclave in the sacristy of this church, and elected the Venetian, Condulmero, who became Pope as Eugenius IV. The original church had a plain roofing with bare rafters, for which, in 1450, was substituted a Gothic vault, ordered by a Spanish cardinal, Torquemada (not the Grand Inquisitor, but another of that name and house); and three years subsequently, S. Maria sopra Minerva was finished, thanks to the liberality of Prince Orsini, then Prefect of Rome. Like so many other Roman churches, it was doomed to be altered and disfigured to suit the taste dominant in later ages; and but few leading features of the original pointed style remained here till restorations were undertaken, in 1849, from designs by a Dominican lay-brother, who him-



self directed the works, completed in 1854. Through these improvements the architecture has acquired a character unique among the examples in this City; and though there are discordant details (as the lateral chapels), though we do not see exactly the purest type of the Gothic before us here, the effect is far more religious than is that produced by the cumbersome pomps of what is well called by Gregorovius « the fade saloon-style » of modern Roman churches. Among relics of the ancient building here seen, are several monuments; also the chapel containing Giotto's Crucifixion, with a Gothic front. The only other art-work of the XIV century still here, is the statue in coloured stone of S. Catherine of Siena, vested like a Dominican nun, recumbent, as in death, under the high altar, and visible by light of lamps that perpetually burn around, behind marble colonnettes which support the mensa above. The now consecrated chamber in which that saint died (1380), in a house near this church, was removed hither by order of Cardinal Barberini in 1637, and placed, isolate, in a compartment behind the sacristy. It would be a more interesting relic of the individual and of her time if it were not encrusted, as it is, with marble on the outside, and covered with paintings in the interior, — a decoration entirely modern.

At another Dominican church, S. Sisto on the Appian Way, are some wall-paintings behind the high altar (above-mentioned), which critics refer to either the close of this, or the opening of the next century. They are of some value as displaying the character (not, indeed, superior) of the then predominant school in this city, — their subjects from the Evangelic history, figures of S. Paul, S. John the Baptist, S. Dominic, and other saints. When I last visited that ancient home of the founder of the Dominicans, at an hour whilst the light of a summer evening streamed mournfully through the silent church and cloisters, not a living creature was to be seen, though outer and inner doors were left open. On certain occasions, however (as the Stations), this church

is officiated in by many priests, and attended by many worshippers.

The greatest disaster, to monumental interests, suffered in Rome within this period, was the burning of the Lateran Basilica on the night of the 5th of May, 1308, when the building of the tenth century was destroyed in all principal parts; the choir, nave, and adjacent canonical residence fell in; and the silver tabernacle of the high altar melted away. In the minds of thronging spectators, it is said that the thought uppermost referred to the relic enclosed within that altar — the wooden table on which it was believed S. Peter had celebrated the Eucharist in the house of the senator Pudens; but all were consoled when it became known that courageous men had risked their lives to save, and succeeded in bringing, that object, unscathed, to a place of safety. The ruin of the great Papal cathedral struck all the citizens — perhaps we might say, all Europe — with dismay; and the wrath of Heaven was deemed to have declared itself through this catastrophe, in the same manner as when the older church, built by Constantine, had sunk, by natural decay, A. D. 897. Soon, however, an enthusiastic zeal for the second restoration declared itself. Large sums were contributed towards the undertaking from Avignon and other cities. Clement V and Benedict XII showed liberality: whilst indulgences were granted to all who should make offerings. The former of those Popes sent an Archbishop to Rome with funds for the new works, and wrote to commend the citizens for their zeal and generosity in the cause. In this instance, Clement V did not display the avarice imputed to him; nor the Romans that alienation from the Church which has been inferred from other proceedings. Rich and poor, men, women, and children, persons of all classes, offered gratuitous labours; and the new basilica presently rose with splendour, in intended imitation of the old; but soon to suffer again from similar disaster; for in 1360 broke out another fire, which caused the entire roof to fall in, crushing the columns of the nave,

and reducing the whole to that desolation in which it was left during four years, as seen and lamented by Petrarch. Besides the testimony in that poet's letters, we find in Dante also allusion to the Lateran architecture, remembered by him even amidst the glories of the beatific vision in his Paradise:

« Quando Laterano

Alle cose mortali andò di sopra ».

(*Paradiso*, canto xxxi).

To Urban V was due the third restoration, with liberal aid from Charles V of France; and now was erected the magnificent Gothic tabernacle, rich in coloured marbles, sculpture, painting, and gilt carvings, above the high altar — a structure attesting, with but too strongly-marked contrast, how different the taste in the XIV century from that of the later age to which the church's modernized interior mainly belongs; the effect of this accessory in the midst of such architecture being most incongruous. On the tympana of the pyramidal apex are reliefs of the SAVIOUR; at the angles, statuettes under pointed canopies; round the socle, or first story, several paintings, ascribed to Berna di Siena, but in their present state mostly modern — their subjects, the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Virgin and Child enthroned, the four Latin doctors, other Saints; and (an original, indeed poetic, conception), the SAVIOUR as a Shepherd, feeding his flock with corn; besides which are figures of angels, probably added when the whole interior was renovated for the jubilee year, 1675, by order of Clement X. On the front of the altar are reliefs of SS. Peter and Paul, apparently of the same period as the tabernacle itself, but little creditable to the sculpture-school of that age. In the shrine forming the upper part of this canopy were placed, by Urban V, the reputed skulls of SS. Peter and Paul, transferred from the Sancta Sanctorum, and set in jewelled silver busts, first estimated at 30,000 florins; again, in 1649, after many donations had

farther enriched them, as of value equivalent to 50,000 scudi. From Platina's narrative, it seems that Pope Urban found these relics after their place had been long forgotten ; and the transfer to the Lateran was attended with all the pomp of the Papal Court. In the course of modern vicissitudes the silver busts were lost ; and replaced by others, probably of value far inferior.

We must once more retrace our steps to the magnificent Ostian basilica, for studying the art of this period. On the occasion of the fire in 1823 were fortunately saved the series of mosaics on the façade, which occupy, in the new church, the sides of the apse and the chancel-arch within the transepts. They are among the few embellishments added to any church in Rome during the Papal residence at Avignon ; ordered, by John XXII, in a brief enjoining on the Abbot of S. Paul's to have such works executed ; the artist being Pietro Cavallini, who was much engaged here during the XIV century. The subjects are, the Blessed Virgin on a throne ; S. John the Baptist, with a lamb, presenting the kneeling Pope (John XXII) to the Madonna ; S. Peter and S. Paul, each standing before a throne. The Apostolic figures are majestic ; and the sword is here the attribute of S. Paul, in one of the earliest known instances. In Mary's aspect we see a return to the ancient type — matronly and severe. The four emblems of the Evangelists and a finely benignant head, or rather protome, of the SAVIOUR, supported by angels, are among the same series. Remarkable in these works is the freedom of treatment that announces a new phase in art, and is at once recognisable when we compare them with the earlier mosaics in the same church. Some frescoes in the now deserted chapter-house are supposed of the XIV century, but in most parts retouched ; their subjects, a Crucifixion, with numerous figures (among others, SS. Peter and Paul), an almost feminine aspect being given to the Divine Sufferer ; also Apostles, S. Benedict, the Four Emblems, introduced among other figures in painting perhaps superior before mo-

dern hands had interfered. Here also we see, in the beautiful cloisters, an example of another art, sculpture, — which was indeed barbaric at Rome whilst producing glorious proofs of renovated power in other Italian cities, during this century. Near an angle of the porticoes there sits, neglected and obscure, a mutilated statue of Boniface IX (1389–1404), holding a book with the inscription : « Dominus Bonifacius IX P. Max. Stirpe Thomacellius genere Cibi » — to which record of family-pride corresponds the heraldic crest, instead of a sacred symbol, on the fibula of the pontifical cope.

As supplementary to our studies in Rome, we may next consider some relics of this period at Anagni — that picturesque, but gloomy and somewhat rude little town, beyond the range of ordinary touring in the Roman neighbourhood (4).

In the sacristy of Anagni's cathedral is a rich assortment of sacred objects, — vestments, censers, mitres, ec., no longer used, but now exhibited as curiosities; all having been photographed for sale at a Roman establishment. Here we see numerous vestments, copes, chasubles, and dalmatics that belonged to Boniface VIII, and were presented by him; their texture of woven gold, covered with figures in needlework : altogether a most valuable monument of thirteenth-century, or, — if we refer them to the last years of Pope Boniface, — XIV century art.

The subjects of the groups are Scriptural, legendary, and hagiographic. Among several scenes of martyrdom are the deaths of Apostles, St. John suffering in the cauldron of boiling oil, St. Denis carrying his severed head in his hands; and (interesting to English eyes) the Decapitation of the Saxon king, S. Edward (put to death by the Danes, A. D. 870), and the Murder of St. Thomas à Becket, who is represented kneeling, whilst three armed assassins attack him, and one

(4) An illusory railway-station, called after Anagni, places us at a distance of eight miles from the town, in a solitude where only once, each day, is any sort of vehicle to be had.



cleaves his skull with a long sword ; opposite being seen, within a kind of draped tribune, the king in the attitude of one who gives orders — a curious testimony to the idea admitted at the Papal Court as to King Henry's complicity in the death of the archbishop ! Among legendary subjects are several from the story of St. Nicholas, who appears in act of causing two idols to fall from their pedestals by virtue of his prayers ; and again, discomfiting the Demon of the Storm — an ape-like monster — who seems responsible for a tempest, on board of a ship. The Holy Trinity is represented with the Father and Son, almost identical in type, age, and attitude, each in act of blessing, seated beside each other on thrones, and the dove in an oval nimbus between. Most complete are the Gospel subjects from the Annunciation to the Ascension, with the Transit, the Assumption, and Coronation of Mary, each group within a circlet on the gold tissue of a *humeral*, or veil for enveloping the shoulders (4). A singular detail, in the Annunciation scene, is the manner in which the dove approaches close to the ear of Mary, conformably to the idea as to the mode of her preternatural conception expressed in an ancient hymn (2). But the veritable gem of the set is an altar-pallium, also presented by Boniface VIII, embroidered with groups from designs ascribed to Giotto, and all, I should say, worthy of that great master. The subjects range along two files : the Virgin, with sweetly serious countenance, seated on a throne, having the Child on her lap ; two archangels and six Apostles, each standing under a canopy with cusped arch ; the martyrdoms of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Stephen ; also the baptism and restoration to sight of S. Paul — all treated in a manner decidedly « Giot-

(4) Used by the deacon whilst he carries the paten at High Mass, and at benediction by the priest who elevates the ostensorium containing the Holy Sacrament.

(2) Ascribed to S. Thomas-à-Becket : *Gaude Virgo mater Christi-Quae per aurem concepisti*, — Gabriele nuntio ec.

tesque ». Several other vestments belonged to Innocent III : crimson silk, stiff with gold embroidery representing subjects mostly heraldic : crowned eagles, other birds, and flowers. The many mitres seen here, are noticeable as showing how much more modest in form was the mitre of old, than are those, so ponderous and top-heavy looking, now in use. A beautiful censer, one of Pope Boniface's gifts, exemplifies the taste for Gothic design in his day.

Genius, power, enterprise are more manifest, during this century, in almost all other Italian states than in those of the Church. The characteristics of architecture now tend, in central Italy, to a blending of classical with Gothic features; in northern Italy, either to a Gothic style analogous with that of countries beyond the Alps, or (as in Lombardy) to the ancient Romanesque modified by Gothic adjuncts. In the parts nearest to the Lombardic and Genoese provinces, the style that prevails is borrowed from those states (Ricci, « Storia dell'Architettura »).

Florence Cathedral, a creation of the Italian Gothic in its union with the Romanesque, has been well described as presenting a style all its own, Like a great poem, it gains upon the mind the more we become familiar with it; and, under all effects of sunlight and moonlight, fascinates with the charm of its magnificence. The Florentines raised this noble monument with the spirit of a people convinced that their Religion was a source of national greatness and true vitality. Every artisan contributed his soldo; and in 1378 was decreed a tax of 20 soldi, towards the costs of this building, on all property bequeathed by testament drawn up in Florence. The original intention was to rebuild the primitive cathedral, S. Reparata, said to have been founded A. D. 405, and dedicated to that oriental Saint in memory of a victory won over the Huns, led by Radagasius, on her festival in that same year. The commission for this work was given to Arnolfo di Cambio in 1294. In 1297 was voted a subsidy of 2400 lire, afterwards raised to 8000, for two

years; and in 1298 the first stone was laid with solemnity (8th of September) by a Legate from Rome (1). Arnolfo's labours are said to have been finished in two years; at all events, the works were suspended after A. D. 1300, not to be resumed till 1334, when Giotto was appointed « capo maestro ». It is supposed that no portions of Arnolfo's work remain at this day, except the lower structure of the lateral walls and the foundations of the front. The ancient S. Reparata, which that architect had preserved, was not finally demolished till 1375. Arnolfo's church was then enlarged and raised higher. Giotto retained, from his predecessor's designs, the rich Gothic ornamentation above the windows; but introduced features alien to that style, in the horizontal cornices and string-courses, as well as that most characteristic adornment, the incrustation of coloured marbles in geometrie bands and panels, which have been carefully renewed wherever requisite in the course of ages. In 1357, — Giotto being no more — another architect, Francesco Talenti, a Dominican lay-brother, presented a new design, which, it seems, was approved, but not fully carried out. The existing pillars of the nave, vaulting, and ornamental gallery (*ballatoio*) carried round the interior, above the arcades, are ascribed by some critics to Talenti. In 1366 new designs were presented by a committee of thirteen architects and eleven painters (Benci di Cione and Taddeo Gaddi being of

(1) Writers of credit have given the date as 1294; but the ancient inscription, on an outer wall near the Campanile, is our authority for the above:

Annis millenis centu bis otto nogenis  
Venit Legatus Roma bonitate dotatus,  
Qui lapidem fixit fundo simul et benedixit.

Regina celi construxit mente fideli  
Quem tu Virgo pia semp. defende Maria.

this number), and *their* plan was finally adopted as type of the entire building, the cupola excepted. That last crowning glory of this church, the cupola of Brunelleschi, was commenced in 1420, and completed in 1436, being blessed with much solemnity, and insertion of relics in its stone work, amidst the chant of the *Te Deum*, and ringing of all church-bells in the city. The beautiful facade by Giotto was raised to about one third of its destined height, and adorned with imposing array of statues, either ideal or portraits from life: the Evangelists, the Four Doctors, David, Ezechiel; over the chief portal, the Virgin and Child between SS. Zanobius and Reparata; over the other portals, the Nativity, the Transit of the Virgin; with SS. Laurence, Stephen, Jerome, Ambrose; Boniface VIII, seated between two Deacons; and, on a higher story, portraits of celebrated men: Farinata degli Uberti, Giannozzo Manetti, Poggio ec., works by Andrea Pisano and Donatello (4). The fate of this façade was, to be wantonly destroyed by command of the Grand Duke Francis, in 1588, in order to make place for a novelty in modern Italian style, which substitute, however, was not commenced till 1636. The ill-omened undertaking, and the demolition of Giotto's work, under the Grand Duke Ferdinand II, excited such disapproval that the new façade was at last abandoned. On the 22nd April, 1860, the first stone of the façade recently projected was laid with much solemnity by the estimable Archbishop, Mgr. Limberti, in presence of the king of Italy; but not one stone more has yet been raised towards the accomplishment of this long-talked-of, and much-to-be desired structure, so requisite for

(4) The Virgin and Child are now in the chapel of the Misericordia; the Evangelists, the Ezechiel, David, and the portrait statues of Mannetti and Poggio, both by Donatello, are placed in the Duomo; that of Boniface VIII is in the Stiozzi gardens; the four Prophets, transformed into Poets, stand in the avenue leading to Poggio Imperiale, close to the Porta Romana.

the honour of the Florence Cathedral, and for which so many designs (several indeed beautiful) have been presented by artists of different countries (4). Striking is the proof before us in this church, of the manner in which the Italian genius casts its mantle over all it adopts, and subordinates all accessories to an ideal essentially its own. It is like a Queen who wears the ornaments laid at her feet by tributary nations, but in beauty and majestic presence is, not the less, a Queen of the Ausonian realm.

The interior makes a very different impression from the exterior; and disappoints in respect to apparent vastness; but, in its severe simplicity, has a nobleness of its own, well adapted for enhancing the effect of a magnificent ceremonial.

In 1334 was laid the first stone of the Campanile, in which the genius of Giotto has supplied a perfect type of the Italian Gothic in all its richness and grace. The decree of the Republic giving him the commission for this work, prescribed that « an edifice should be constructed so magnificent as, both in altitude and in the quality of the workmanship, to surpass every thing of the description built by the Greeks or Romans in the time of their highest prosperity and power ». The ancient belfry-tower of S. Reparata had been burnt down in 1333. Villani describes the solemnity with which this new one was founded, after a procession of all the Clergy, the « Signoria », and an immense multitude, for

(4) The representation in the picture of the Church Militant, in the Capella degli Spagnuoli (S. Maria Novella), was probably copied from the *model*, not from the accomplished work, of Arnolfo, but suffices to show the difference between his designs and the actual building. The view of the unfinished façade, in a fresco by Poccetti, representing the inauguration of the Archbishop S. Antoninus (cloister of S. Marco), represents, probably, the structure designed shortly before 1357, and a painting of which was attached to the front, by way of experiment, in that year. (Camillo Boito, « Lettere a Cesare Guasti » Milan, 1866).



the blessing of the first stone by the bishop with insertion of gold medals bearing the legend : « Deo Liberatori Fiorent, Civitas magnificentissime P. S. F. C. » ( *proprio sumptu fieri curavit* ). After Giotto's death (1336), the work was completed by Taddeo Gaddi, who rejected the spire, designed to have risen to the height of nearly 96 feet by his predecessor, contenting himself to raise this most beautiful tower to its actual altitude of nearly 276 feet. The costs of the building are reported at the average of 1000 florins for each square *braccia* (4 feet square), reckoning the windows as well. From this belfry is sounded, every Friday, at 3 p. m. a funeral knell commemorative of the death on the Cross — a usage first introduced at Milan by S. Carlo, and adopted in Florence, 1675.

*Or' San Michele* (abridged from « orto » — garden of S. Michael) is a church around which center many memories of popular devotion, as well as many glories of art. It was originally a covered market-place with arcades, and a granary above, built by Arnolfo in 1285. That market-place, or *loggia*, was burnt down in 1304; but a picture of the Virgin, painted on one of its pilasters, was saved, and, on account of the popular reverence for that « miraculous » Madonna, authorities finally resolved, in 1336, to restore the building as a church. The architect engaged was Taddeo Gaddi, who probably designed that exterior of Italian Gothic features and large windows with exquisite tracery, statuettes of saints being placed on the summits of their shafts, and relief-heads introduced in the foliation, — distinguishing the building as it now stands before us. In the same year that Gaddi commenced his work, 1337, it was decreed that each Guild of artisans should order a statue of its Patron Saint for one of the pilasters. In 1349 a chapel was erected here to S. Anna, and a special celebration of her festival appointed in this church, as act of thanksgiving for the deposition of the hated Duke of Athens, but lately elected perpetual lord of Florence, on that same feast-day, 26th of July, 1343. In 1355, Andrea

Orcagna succeeded to Gaddi as architect; and in 1359 was finished by him, for the Madonna-picture, that tabernacle of world-wide renown on which were spent 86,000 gold florins. The invisible Madonna, now within this splendid shrine, cannot be that which was believed to have proved miraculous in 1291, and which attracted a multitude of pilgrims to this church; but is, probably, as inferred from its singular beauty, a work of the XIV century, ordered for this place, and perhaps painted by Ugolino of Siena, to whom Vasari ascribes it. The earlier picture was painted on a pilaster; and must have perished when the loggia was burnt down in 1304.

The vaulting was adorned with figures on a blue ground, the lapis lazuli for which was of such expense, that an imprudent critic ventured to blame the Signoria for incurring it: he was *arrested* for his temerity! In after years those painted vaults were disfigured by whitewash, which has lately been removed in one of the bays, so as to discover four majestic figures, Evangelists, on the blue ground between coloured ribs — among the frescoes executed here by Jacopo del Casentino, an artist of the latter half of the XIV century, who also painted, within these walls, 16 Prophets and Patriarchs, miracles of the Madonna, and the penitent Thief on the cross — with which last is associated an affecting story. A criminal, of respectable family, being condemned to death, 1361, directed one of the pious Confraternity who gave their cares to such convicts in life's last hours, to search in his house for a deposit of money, which he desired might be spent for the painting of that picture — type and consolation of his own sin and repentance — on a pilaster in this church. The Madonna of Or' San Michele was elected Advocate of the Republic by popular assembly in 1365. At the Assumption festival the magistrates and superior clergy used to make offerings at her shrine — choicest fruits and flowers, besides things more precious. This usage was finally improved into the practice of presenting, for the

adornment of this church, waxen effigies of devotees in the costume of the day: hence the once common by-word among the Florentines: « As many as the ex-votoes of Or' San Michele ». In the year of the plague (1348), which is said to have proved fatal to three-fifths of the population, the offerings at this Madonna-shrine amounted to 35,000 gold florins. A pious Confraternity, founded in 1291, took its name from this Madonna, and used to have one of its officials daily at his post in the church, for registering those who wished to be enrolled.

Another church retaining fine features of the style of this period in Tuscany, is S. Lorenzo, the Carthusian monastery, which forms a picturesque object on an isolated height amidst the pleasant Val d'Emo, near Florence. It was founded, 1341, by the devout and munificent friend of Petrarch, Niccolo Acciaiuoli, Seneschal of Naples (1), who did not live to see it complete. The architecture is not that of Orgagna, as once supposed; but here is seen one of that artist's finest works, the monument of the Seneschal, in a semi-subterranean chapel. In 1369, the Republic ordered that these buildings should be fortified for defence against the enemies of the State; and in 1394, the church was consecrated by the bishop of this See. A massive building with arched windows, long left desolate, external to the cloisters, was intended for a college, to be endowed and supplied with a library by the founder, and where fifty students were to be instructed by monastic professors in Philosophy, Theology, and Canon Law; but this liberally projected institution of Acciaiuoli was never brought into activity.

The Church of Florence is supposed to date from the V century, in which period lived the sainted bishop, S. Zanobius, chosen Patron, but not the first incumbent, of this See. The primitive cathedral is said to have been S. Lorenzo, founded

(1) See his letters on the subject, and a sketch of his noble character, Gaye, « Carteggio d'Artisti » v. I.

by a pious matron, Giuliana, about A. D. 385, and consecrated by S. Ambrose. In 1419 this See was raised to metropolitan rank by Martin V. In the ecclesiastical affairs of Florence during the XIV century, occurred things that are significant. In 1306 the City lay under a *triple* interdict, fulminated by the Legate in Tuscany. Meeting this emergency, the dauntless « Signoria » laid a heavy tax on all church-property and revenues within the State. The Benedictines at the Badia determined not to submit; shut the gates of their monastery; and sounded the tocsin to call the people for their defence in this resistance to law; the people responded by breaking into their premises, and well-nigh sacked the monastery; the tower, now so conspicuous, was condemned to be demolished by decree passed in punishment for this contumacy; but such sentence was only in part carried out; about one half of the structure being rescued, and the rest restored by Cardinal Orsini, then Abbot-Commendator. The Republic, so jealous of ecclesiastical encroachments, made no objection to the burning of a celebrated *savant*, Francesco Stabili (better known as Cecco d'Ascoli), who suffered such death in Florence (1327), for his theories founded on astrology, and for a book published at Bologna, where he had been professor of that mystic science. But in 1346 was made complaint, by embassy to the Pope, against the Inquisitor established in Florence, who, during two years, had extorted more than 7000 florins from the citizens under pretext of heresy. Without waiting for Papal sanction, the Magistrates deprived him of all his exceptional privileges, among others that of having a prison in his dependence, and that of selling licenses to carry arms; but they did *not* prohibit him from consigning convicted heretics to the usual fate of death in the flames (1). Singular juxta-position of spiritual Despo-

(1) The Inquisition is said to have been founded in Florence, A. D. 1242, (probably later), and was committed by Urban IV to the administration of the Franciscans, at S. Croce; in which convent were

tism and liberal Republicanism ! A circumstance noticeable in the history of the Papal Supremacy, is thus narrated in a book that forms a mine of local information : « The electing of the Bishop ( of Florence ) used anciently to be ordered in different ways. At times it was accomplished by the Clergy and People conjointly ; at times , by the Chapter of the cathedral alone ; as in fact was the usage retained in Florence from time immemorial, till at last, in 1344, the Pope assumed it ( i. e. the right of electing ) to himself ». ( « Calendario, o il Fiorentino istruito », 1853 ). An olden ceremonial observance by these Prelates , which took rise, probably, in the XI century, was the symbolic espousals of each newly-appointed Bishop with the Abbess of the Benedictine nuns ; a rite perhaps feudal in its intended meaning, and referring to some donation of lands to the monastery, perpetuated by the bishops in succession. That rite was performed with much solemnity, and the bestowal of a ring, in the church of those nuns, S. Piero Maggiore — no longer extant ( Richa, « Chiese Fiorentine » ) :

The great event in the Italian Art History of the Middle Ages, the revival of Sculpture , in such manner extends itself over two centuries, that I have preferred considering it in the aggregate — though with the necessity of taking a retrospective view of its origin — rather than dividing my notices over two chapters. It is a luminous appearance, belonging alike to the XIII and XIV centuries.

The rapid decline and prolonged eclipse of Sculpture after the establishment of the Christian Religion , may be accounted for , I believe , not only by the absence of technical skill and loss of all just traditions for the practitioner's guidance, but also by the radical revolution in the ideas on which that

its prisons and tribunal. It was finally suppressed here by Peter Leopold in 1782, when its instruments of torture were publicly burnt in the court of the Bargello ( Zobi , « Storia civile della Toscana » ).



Art was based, and from which it had drawn inspirations, under Paganism. Till the XIII century we perceive but few signs of general renovation; though certainly there is progress manifest in the century previous: especially in such metallurgy as the reliefs on the bronze doors of the Cathedrals of Benevento, Atrona, Troja, Amalfi, and at Monte Gargano; still more in the similar works by Barisano (first to free himself from Byzantine influences) on the bronze doors of the Monreale, Trani, and Ravello Cathedrals, executed between 1160 and 1171; those last above all (the reliefs at Ravello) showing a wonderful improvement as compared with works of somewhat earlier date. Monumental Sculpture, ultimately developed into such importance, scarcely begins before the XIII century to assume its prominent place in the Christian temple. Its newly acquired rank and character seem, in part, due to influences proceeding from sacred architecture, after this had attained its more severely religious aspects within the same century. It may be averred that the rise of the two great Religious Orders, founded within that period, had advantageous results to the character both of sacred buildings and their artistic contents. Dominicans and Franciscans alike promoted the ascendancy of the northern, or Gothic, style in architecture; and it was in churches built conformably thereto, that the sculptured monument first assumed its conspicuous place. Proof of this is before us in sculptures on tombs in the principal churches of those two Orders at Rome and at Florence. With superior works we may class the fine monument by Arnolfo del Cambio to Cardinal de Braye (ob. 1282), at San Domenico, Orvieto; that of Pope Adrian V (1276), at San Francesco, Viterbo; that of Gregory X (1276), by Margaritone, with a relief of the death, or rather funeral, of the Pope, in the Arezzo cathedral; and that of Hecuba, Queen of Cyprus, ascribed by Vasari to one Fuccio, in the Franciscan basilica at Assisi (1).

(1) Cicognara infers that no such sculptor as this Fuccio ever lived; and that this monument may be ascribed to one of the

Monuments of other description, not funereal, begin to be erected in the same century as the above. One of that class, to the Podestà Oldrado Grosso, on the outside of the public palace, which was finished under his magistracy at Milan, is a curious record of the ideas prevalent in his time. He appears on horseback, with an inscription enumerating his services to the state:

Qui solium struxit, Catharus, ut debuit uxit (sic) —

i. e. « who built the government palace, and burnt the Cathar heretics, as he was in duty bound! »

At Siena, between 1227 and 1298, twenty-eight sculptors were known by names still on record; and, about the middle of the same century, we find in that city no fewer than sixty-one practitioners keeping the so-called *bottega di scultore*, — many, no doubt, of the class of inferior artisans, though the list also included several among the great and gifted: Arnolfo, Lapo, Ramo di Paganello, Niccola and Giovanni Pisano. Two Sienese sculptors, Agnolo and Agostino, who both won high distinction, were engaged on the façade of the glorious Duomo in 1284. Among noticeable works of the same period, are the statues of Prophets and reliefs, round the portal of the Como cathedral, with date, 1274, and the artist's name inscribed, Giacomo Portata, — the same, probably, who wrought the sculptures on the Cremona cathedral. It is about this time that the hierarchic grouping of Prophets begins to assume its place in the sacred art-sphere.

We have now also to notice the increasing prominence of symbolic animals, often vigorously treated, as on the fa-

earlier scholars of Niccolo Pisano. The Queen is said to have died at Ancona, about 1240 (not 1210, as Vasari states), on her pilgrimage from Cyprus to Assisi; and to have left a large sum to the sanctuary where she desired to be buried. She is represented in two statues, one recumbent, one seated; the Madonna and Child are beside her; a lion, supposed to be here a moral emblem, stands below her seated figure.

cade of the Siena Duomo, and on the pulpits by the great Pisan sculptors. Singular is the variety of meanings attributed to these creatures in art! The same quadruped, the Lion, which represents the Saviour, or His Resurrection, was understood also to signify Power, Vigilance, Divine Light, the Churches in general (see Venerable Bede), and the Spirit of Evil! A relief on the exterior of the Pisan Duomo represents a man assailed by two monstrous beasts (Temptation, or Ghostly Enemies), with the inscription: « De ore leonis libera me! » Absolutely grotesque figures, human or bestial, or both blended together, sometimes allude to the conflict between the ecclesiastical and civil powers; or, with covert malice, to the rivalry between the secular and regular clergy. But it is around the person of the Redeemer that this wealth of symbolism is especially concentrated; thus, besides the Lion, do other creatures stand for His attributes or sufferings, — the Eagle for His Ascension; the Phoenix for His sacrifice; the Swan for the voluntariness, the Pelican for the infinite meritoriousness, of His Death. It is true that, from about this period, other, and lower, meaning begins to be attached to the sculptured animal, bird or nondescript monster, — namely, the heraldic, as device of the city or state, or, it may be, of some patrician family. The development of animal sculpture *mystic* in sense, claims attention as allied with that of legendary literature. And the uniting of such forms with the human, in legendary subjects, or illustrative accessories to architecture, is strikingly exemplified on the singular façade, by Margaritone, of the Pieve Church at Arezzo (date 1246), and also on that of the Lucca Cathedral (1204), by Guidetto.

At Naples some advance to new attainment is shown in the works of the two Masaccios (who were not related to each other): the first, much employed by Frederick II, and who studied at Rome, being the sculptor of the Magdalene, a statue in the Dominican convent, and of a Crucifixion, with Mary and S. John, in the cathedral of Naples; the second

(1291-1887), the sculptor of several royal monuments in Neapolitan churches.

But the dawn of a brighter day arrives. The XIII century witnesses a « Renaissance » in the truest sense of that term, and with light that emanates from transcendent Genius. The origin of the School of Sculpture at Pisa is due to one master-mind, which gave an impulse to the future course of Art, equal to (if not beyond) what can be predicated of Dante in Poetry, or of Galileo in Science.

Niccolò, who was born, the son of a notary (1), at Pisa, in 1205 or 1207, and lived till 1278, is said to have derived his first idea, or suggestive stimulant, for an attainable revolution in art from the reliefs on antique sarcophagi, particularly those on the classic tomb that served for the funeral of Beatrice, mother of the Countess Matilda — now in the Campo Santo. When not older than about fifteen, he was appointed architect to the Emperor Frederick, and accompanied that Prince to Rome, on his journey thither for his coronation; thence also to Naples, where the artist was engaged principally (as far as is known) on two buildings, the Castles now known as « Capuano » and « Dell'Ovo », both begun by the Florentine architect Bono under the Norman King, William I (2). From Naples our artist went to Padua, where he designed the great basilica of S. Anthony, one of the noblest Italian churches of this period.

(1) Such the hitherto received tradition. But Mr. Perkins has discovered a mention of Niccolò's father, in a contract for the pulpit at Siena, under the name of Pietro di Apulia, which reference, whilst affording proof that he also was a sculptor, might justify the conclusion that the revival of Art at Pisa was partly due to influences from southern Italy; unless, indeed, we are assuming far too much for the credit of Niccolò's father.

(2) Both so much altered by works ordered by a Spanish viceroy in the XVI century, that the architecture of Niccolò can no more be distinguished.

Other churches rebuilt, or enlarged, by him, that still remain (however modified by later works) to attest the talent of Niccolò as an architect, are: S. Trinità, Florence; S. Domenico, Arezzo; the Pieve and S. Margarita, Cortona; S. Michele in Borgo, Pisa — begun by Niccolò, finished by his scholar, Fra Guglielmo Agnelli; also at Pisa, the remarkable campanile of S. Niccolò, with four storeys, each varied in style, on an octagonal base; the interior being circular.

The earliest extant work of sculpture by this artist, is the alto-relievo (executed about 1233) of the Deposition from the Cross, now in a lunette above a lateral entrance to the Lucca cathedral. Here he has strictly followed the tradition as to details in the grouping of that solemn scene — for which see Mrs. Jameson, « *Legends of the Madonna* ». Joseph of Arimathea lowers the Body from the cross; Nicodemus removes the nails from the feet; Mary supports one of the dead arms; S. John holds the other arm, which he reverentially kisses; the two other Maries kneel behind the ever-blessed Mother; three male spectators, one kneeling, with the crown of thorns in his hand, are placed behind Nicodemus; their expression that of awe-struck interest. The art of composition, with such judicious ordering that each figure contributes to one action and to the dramatic completeness of one effect — an art for ages lost in oblivion — appears revived in this memorable work. But the great triumph is in the *feeling* predominant, which manifests itself with masterly power, and communicates its intensity to the gazer, till we participate in emotion such as we may suppose to have been felt by the privileged few actually present at that most awful and mysterious of funerals.

The marble pulpit had already become an object, in church-furniture, on which the best artists were expected to exert all their abilities. At the fine old church of S. Bartolomeo, Pistoia, is one of those pulpits of the XIII century, with six reliefs of subjects from the Gospel History, allegoric statuettes, and fantastic animals; the artistic style noticeable



for a certain boldness, but quaintly archaic and rude. The artist, Guido da Como, named in laudatory verses here inscribed <sup>1</sup>, was, probably, some obscure scholar of Niccolò; and little indeed do we perceive of anything like the sign of a great proximate renovation in this performance. Much higher merit distinguishes the sculptures on another marble pulpit at Pistoja, in the S. Giovanni Evangelista church: reliefs of the Annunciation, the Salutation, the Adoration of the Magi, Christ washing the Apostles' feet, and the Ascension, also the Four Emblems of the Evangelists, finely grouped together, in front. Of this work Cicognara observes, that, if not by Niccolò Pisano himself, it must certainly be by one of the ablest among his scholars, who, however, remains anonymous. We are, fortunately, supplied with accurate data as to another sculptured pulpit, the undoubted work of the great Master, executed in 1260 for the Baptistery of Pisa. A hexagon supported on nine columns, three of which rest on the backs of lions, this celebrated object is adorned with reliefs of the Nativity, the Adoration, the Circumcision, the Last Judgment; statuettes of personified Virtues, and other reliefs of Prophets and Evangelists on the spandrils of the round arches, with Gothic tracery, between the supporting columns. Among the Evangelic subjects, the Nativity is the most gracefully composed; various accessorial scenes, as the Salutation, and the Angel appearing to the shepherds, being here introduced. The Judgment is the most boldly treated, and extraordinary for the technical skill and knowledge of anatomy here displayed. But it is in the accessorial statuettes, on brackets, that we see all the grace and dignity at the artist's command. The body seems, in these beautiful creations, what a poet describes as the « statue of a soul; » and in the treatment of some familiar allegoric personages, there is originality as well expres-

(1) Sculptor Laudatus qui doctus in arte probatus

Guido da Como quem cunctis carmine promo. A. D. MCCL.

sive character, Fortitude is represented by the youthful Hercules with a lion's cub across his shoulders, and one hand in the jaws of a prostrate, though not slain, lioness; Faith by an Angel seated on a lion, holding a sceptre and a small Crucifix in relief (4).

In 1266 our artist executed, with assistance of his son Giovanni, also aided by Arnolfo and Lapo, another pulpit of larger scale, and in form octagonal, therefore affording space for two additional reliefs, in the Siena Duomo. Here he almost repeated his designs for the Nativity and Crucifixion, but adopted different treatment for the other subjects (the same as those in the Pisan work); and added to the series the Massacre of Innocents and the Flight into Egypt; in the accessory statuettes again displaying all his knowledge of form and sense of beauty.

It was, probably, before these engagements for the pulpits that our artist executed the statuettes under Gothic canopies on the façade of the Bigallo at Florence: the Virgin and Child, earliest example of that type which became the characteristic and generally adopted one of the Pisan school; S. Peter Martyr (founder of the pious confraternity to whom the Bigallo institution belonged), and a female saint, whose attributes are a vase and a palm branch; works not classing among Niccolò's best, and not well seen where they stand; but according well with the style of the building.

Between 1265 and 1267, he was again engaged together with Fra Guglielmo, at Bologna, on the shrine of S. Dominic, into which the relics of that Saint, not long after his canonization, were transferred from a humbler tomb in a church now ruinous. That inappreciable shrine in the S. Domenico church has afforded employ for many sculptors of later periods. The works by Niccolò that adorn it, are: reliefs

(4) Below these sculptures are the inscribed lines;

Anno milleno bis centum bisque triceno  
Hoc opus insigne sculpsit Nicola Pisanus  
Laudetur digne tam bene docta manus.

of S. Dominic raising to life (according to the legend) the young patrician, Napoleone Orsini, killed by a fall from horse-back, at Rome; the vision of St. Peter and Paul seen by Dominic, to whom the former Apostle gives a staff, the latter, a book; Dominic showing the same sacred book to his friars; Angels, vested as acolytes, without wings, bringing bread into the refectory where the Saint and his friars had taken their seats, but without any food before them; the Saint submitting his writings, together with those of the heretics, in Languedoc, to trial by fire.

On the other side of the sarcophagus were executed by Agnelli, from Niccolò's designs, other reliefs: S. Reginald of Orleans cured of disease by the Virgin, who points out to him the Dominican habit, as sign that he should enter that Order; the same Reginald freed from the temptation against chastity by placing his hands between those of S. Dominic; the vision of Honorius III, who sees the Lateran church sinking into ruin till supported by that Saint (4); lastly, the approval of the Order by the same Pope.

In 1274 Niccolò, again assisted by his son, commenced the sculptures for the fountain on the piazza before the cathedral at Perugia, the first mediaeval example, in Italy, of the fountain for public use converted into a grand monument of art, and (we might say) of Religion also; for we here see S. Peter, Rome, and the personified Church among the statuettes; several subjects from the Old Testament among the reliefs. Niccolò executed twenty-four statuettes; Giovanni, forty-eight allegoric or scriptural reliefs; the bronzes, Nymphs, Griffins, lions etc. being by another artist, Rosso (date 1277); and in 1280 this beautiful work rose complete, where it still stands, having been finished at the cost of 60,000 gold ducats.

(4) A story similar to that of the Vision of Innocent III, who saw S. Francis alike saving the Lateran; both stories, perhaps, springing from correspondent notions as to the services rendered by the two Orders.

Though Art now began to treat other subjects besides Saints and Madonnas, and other public works besides those exclusively ecclesiastical, the influence of the Catholic idea remained not the less dominant over her creations.

The most celebrated work by Giovanni Pisano, of date within this century, is the richly elaborated shrine of S. Donatus, the Martyr-Bishop of Arezzo (A. D. 361-63), which surmounts the high altar in the Cathedral of that city; finished, A. D. 1290, at cost of 30,000 gold florins, contributed by the pious citizens. On the marble sarcophagus are reliefs of the Virgin and Child, S. Donatus, and S. Gregory I, — a portrait, namely, of the reigning Honorius IV; also numerous other reliefs, representing the entire life of the Saint; his flight from Rome to Arezzo in the time of the apostate Emperor Julian; his martyrdom; his body surrounded by mourners; also scenes from the life of the Virgin, closing with her death and assumption. A multitude of statuettes, Apostles, Prophets, Saints, under Gothic canopies, along cornices and on every « coin of vantage », contribute to the splendid effect of this whole shrine; many of the figures being distinguished by the finest qualities of the Pisan school.

In all the works of this school we recognise the influences of the Antique; but it is Roman rather than Grecian genius that announces itself — florid, complicated, elaborate, aiming at effects that are pictorial rather than sculptural; but at the same time with such charm investing all its performances, that the beholder stands before them fascinated, astonished; and the avowal comes involuntarily to the lips: Here indeed is the new birth of Christian Art!

There are peculiarities of conception in many of these sculptures, that indicate at once the classic influence, and a bold departure from mediaeval precedents. In the Crucifixion (by Niccolò Pisano) we are reminded of a suffering Hercules, rather than of any treatment of this theme by earlier art. A Prophet (on the Pisan pulpit) is like the bearded Bacchus; and some episodic groups in the Judgment recall the

classic reliefs of combats between Centaurs and Amazons. The historic Mary is totally lost sight of in the majestic lady, with tiara and flowing veil, reclining on a luxurious couch, in the Nativity-scene — rather like a Dido or a Phaedra than the lowly Mother of the Lord. In the Annunciation (introduced behind the Nativity-group at Pisa), the matronly looking Virgin, crowned and robed all queenlike, starts back, as with offended dignity, at the address of the Angel! The finely expressive statuettes on the pulpits, which in *pose* and dignity might furnish apt studies for a great tragic actress, like Rachel, announce that a class of subjects among the most promising suggested by Catholicism, the personified Virtues of the Christian ethical system, had first found their worthy illustrator in the Pisan Artist.

As to the class of *diabolic* imaginings, this School followed, and certainly did not rise above, the grotesque fantasies of the mediaeval mind, so pregnant with creations of revolting ugliness, the birth of superstitious or remorseful Fear. Artists and priests seem alike to have forgotten how different were the ideas of primitive Christianity respecting those fallen Angels; and that there were Fathers of the Church, as S. Clement of Alexandria, S. Gregory of Nyssen, besides Origen, who went so far as to conjecture that Satan himself, being still rational and a free agent, *might* eventually return to virtue, and through repentance obtain Divine pardon.

Catholicism, even in later ages, while ascribing to Demons the power of tempting the faithful, originating errors, causing both moral and physical evil, at the same time taught the consoling doctrine that they could be baffled and driven away by prayer, fasting, exorcism, or the simple sign of the Cross!

In the subject of the Resurrection, the most materialistic view, utterly incompatible with conclusions and evidences of Science, receives imaginative sanction from this Art. The Last Judgment is invested with the palpable realities and pathetic episodes of a grand dramatic transaction, brought



full within the compass of human vision. Even the contemporaries of S. Thomas Aquinas forgot what that great Theologian had maintained, — that such a final Judgment might be expected by Christians as the apportioning of rewards and punishments, accomplished, by Almighty Fiat, in an instant, and with no sound audible to human organs. Many earlier theologians had agreed with the philosophic Origen in interpreting the *descriptive* details introduced with this reference in the Gospels, as purely allegoric, and as types selected in order to present, through imagery, the awful fact of an instantaneous and universal, *not* a spectacular or localized event (1). The tendency of Art to seize and popularize the grossly material conceptions of religious truth, is evident among causes that determine its predominant character throughout the Middle Ages.

In the small, dim-lit, but beautiful old church of S. Andrea, Pistoja, stands such a work of art as may be considered a creation magnificently suitable for opening the series produced by Sculpture in an epoch eminently distinguished by power and movement, social conflict and intellectual energies, as was the XIV century. I allude to the hexagonal marble pulpit, resting on seven columns, with reliefs and accessorial statuettes, finished in 1301 by Giovanni Pisano (1240- 1321), the son of Nicholas, and worthy representative of the school and family his father had made famous. The sculptures of this pulpit display the fully matured powers of the artist: their subjects being — in relief, the Nativity, the Adoration, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Crucifixion, the Last Judgment: the nativity and Judgment almost *replique* of the compositions by Niccolo on the same themes; the Massacre, one of the finest presentments of that difficult subject in art. The statuettes and reliefs on the spandrels of arches between the supporting columns, represent Prophets,

(1) See Haag, « Histoire des Dogmes Chrétiens », an able and learned work.

Sibyls, personified Virtues, and display that superiority of conception and feeling that generally distinguish such accessorial figures in works of the Pisan school.

Entering upon a period when the activities of this art continually increase, and its produce becomes more opulent and varied from year to year, we may find it suitable to adopt a plan of classification with regard to subject, rather than follow the sequence of dates; preferring the moral to the chronologic order.

First, we may consider the funereo-monumental class, which attains special dignity and importance during this period. Till the IX century was kept up in Rome — till much later dates in Florence and other Italian cities — the practice of entombment in the atria, or around the outer walls of churches. In the XIV century was adopted the system of surrounding the principal effigy on the tomb with minor figures, statuettes in marble or alabaster, representing relatives of the deceased. Thus were no fewer than twenty-seven effigies of royal personages placed on the splendid monument of Queen Philippa, consort of Edward III, at Westminster Abbey (Strickland, « Queens of England », v. I). In order of date we should give precedence to the monuments of Popes (above-mentioned) in the Vatican subterraneans; but by no other title can those works be allowed primary rank among the sculptures of this century — so little distinguished by any energies of Genius in the Papal Metropolis. Allowing its due to merit, we may consider the series as worthily opened by the monument raised, in 1305, to Benedict XI at Perugia, during the long and stormy conclave after his decease, in the church of S. Domenico, recently built from the designs of the same artist, Giovanni Pisano, whose genius both as sculptor and architect announces itself in this building. This monument resembles a funereal conch raised on slender columns, with a draped canopy above the bed of death; the recumbent effigy, in pontific vestments, laid on a sarcophagus before which Angels are drawing aside curtains; above, under the

same canopy, being introduced statuettes of the Virgin and Child, a Bishop with crozier (S. Benedict?), and S. Dominic, who presents the kneeling Pope (himself a member of that Saint's Order) to the blessed Mother. At the apex is a half-figure of the Deity in benediction. The *ornato* details are rich and tasteful; but what fascinates attention here, is the solemnized and touching presentment of Death, or rather an ideal state of repose between death and sleep, in the figure of the Pontiff, whose virtues and tragic fate (cut off by poison after few and evil days on his danger-beset throne) may be remembered with feelings that enhance our interest in gazing on this effigy so calm and venerable, so majestic in eternal repose —

As when the righteous falls asleep  
When Death's fierce throes are past.

Extrinsic interest, rather than any high art-characteristics, may attract attention to the monument of the Emperor Henry VII, (1315), originally in the Duomo, now in the Campo Santo of Pisa, by Tino da Camaino, a scholar of Giovanni. We may remember the effects to the political destinies of all Italy, the disappointed hopes of Dante, the dismay created among the Ghibellines, the exultation among the Guelfic faction, and other adherents of the Anjou king Robert of Naples, by the premature death of that Emperor, soon after his coronation at Rome, at the obscure little town of Buonconvento; also, the tumult excited at Pisa by the groundless report of his having been poisoned through the holy Eucharist! Other monuments by Tino da Camaino are noticeable — some at Naples, where he was much engaged; and one, superior in design, to Aliotti, bishop of Fiesole, with recumbent statue guarded by Angels, under a canopy, at S. Maria Novella, Florence. This artist flourished in the period, 1315-'36.

I may observe the characteristic features distinguishing Italian monumental sculpture of this century. The effigy of

the deceased lies (always representing death) on an elevated couch, or ornate sarcophagus, usually under a Gothic canopy; Angels draw aside curtains, as if to exhibit that marble semblance of the lying-in-state in palace halls; the Virgin and Child, other Saints, or personified Virtues, are conspicuous accessories; at the apex is a relief of the Supreme Being in act of blessing, or some symbolism less ambitiously introduced. The Pisan artists adopted, embellished, and popularized this eminently appropriate and graceful norma for funereal sculpture; the earliest examples of which are found under dates in the XIII century; but the completed development does not appear till within the period here considered.

I need not attempt to describe all the monuments raised within this epoch, in Italian churches, to the illustrious dead. One that may be selected from the group, of effect so imposing in its isolated location and rich combining of architectural with sculptural details, is the earliest among the majestic memorials erected to the Scaglieri at Verona — that, namely, of Can Grande della Scala, who died in 1329. In this lofty structure, with story above story of columns, acute arches, canopies, and crocketed pinnacles, we see the prejudicial results to art of an excessive desire for the magnificent. Though the *ensemble* is impressive and the architectural design graceful, sculpture is here subordinate to decoration: the *nude* effigy of the deceased is an unsuitable novelty; the reliefs on the sarcophagus (the Raising of Lazarus &c) are almost grotesque; the personified Virtues are too high-placed to be seen; and the equestrian statue, at the towering apex, proves insignificant. Another noticeable, but very different, example, is the monument to the lyric Poet and juriconsult, Cino da Pistoja, in the Duomo of that city, by Cellino of Siena; with *two* groups, in which the learned professor appears; in one instance shown to us amidst his scholars, all seated, like good boys, on narrow benches in the lecture room. Among royal tombs may be noticed those of the Anjou Kings, at Naples, in the churches

of S. Chiara, Corpus Domini, Donna Regina; especially two with splendid architecture and numerous sculptures: the mausolea by Masuccio (second Neapolitan sculptor of that name), raised to Charles, Duke of Calabria (ob. 1328), to the King Robert, and to his Queen. Among monuments of Princes, conspicuous, though now extant but in fragments preserved from the original, is that raised (after 1339) to Azzo Visconti, lord of Milan; destined for a place in the church of S. Gottardo, but finally transferred, in mutilated state, to the private gallery of the Marquis Trivulzi, where it now stands — conveying the idea of a rich and magnificent work, with recumbent effigy, reliefs, statuettes. The artist was Balduccio of Pisa, who also executed the finely-composed monument to Lanfranco Settola, an Augustinian professor of Theology, at S. Marco, Milan. One of the most striking, though not among the most beautiful, monuments of this period, is that finished in 1330 by the two Sienese artists, Agostino and Agnolo, who were usually collabourers — the memorial of Guido Tarlati, Bishop of Arezzo, in the Duomo of that city. The dignitary in question was a redoubted representative of the Church Militant; much more at home on the tented plain than at the altar, more active under a plumed helm than under mitre and infulae. Not content with the usurping of temporal power over his diocese, he seized by violence certain towns of the Papal States, for which, after being twice admonished and called on to renounce all his hard-fought-for temporalities by John XXII, he was formally condemned and deposed by that Pope, in consistory at Avignon; another prelate being, soon afterwards, appointed to the Aretine See, (which Guido, however, continued to hold fast); and the new See of Cortona being erected, expressly as a check on his encroachments whether with sword or crozier. The warlike Bishop defied all Papal thunders. But it is more satisfactory to dwell upon the contrasted closing scene — his penitence and self-humiliation on his deathbed (ob. 1327); his resolves to make amends for



the past, should life be spared sufficiently; and the copious tears he shed before receiving the absolution and last sacraments not refused to him. The architectonic design of his monument is heavy, unsuitable, more like the dais for a gorgeous throne than a memorial to a prelate. At the summit, beyond the compass of critical gaze, is the recumbent effigy on a couch, with Angels drawing aside curtains, and other attendants, some holding censors, on both sides; fifteen statuettes of saints (admirable in finish) stand against supporting pilasters; and sixteen reliefs on panels, tier above tier, present curious illustrations of Tarlati's life — scenes among which « leaguers, storms, onsets, and outfalls » (in Captain Dalgetty's words) are far more prominent than ought reminding of episcopal functions. *Requiescat in pace.*

We may next consider another class, mediate between the funereal and the sacred historic, or scriptural, range: the shrine, namely, in honour of the canonized Saint, or otherwise intended as an altar-piece (in this case called an « Ancona »), for some particularly revered chapel, chancel, or other sacred locality. Most interesting, among works of this description that date within the first half of this century, is the elaborate shrine of S. Peter Martyr, so solemnly effective in its isolated place at the centre of a large chapel, at S. Eustorgio, Milan — the work of the Pisan, Giovanni Balduccio, finished in 1337, after three years' labour, and at a cost of about 2000 gold scudi.

Peter of Verona was a learned and zealous friar, received, when in his sixteenth year, into the Dominican Order by S. Dominic himself, at Bologna, A. D. 1221. He is said to have heard the Blessed Virgin saying to him: « I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not! » Whilst at Florence he founded, 1244, the confraternity of *S. Maria del Bigallo*, dedicated to the care of the sick in hospitals; and in that city he arrayed the faithful flock in arms — himself (it seems) leading them to the combat, against the Paternines, denounced as Manichaeans, who were twice defeated

with slaughter, thanks to Fra Pietro's inspiring leadership. His *al fresco* preaching, on the piazza S. Maria Novella, attracted such crowds that the magistrates, it is said, ordered some enlargement of that piazza expressly for the occasion. Some faded frescoes, ascribed to Gaddo Gaddi, on the front of the Bigallo, represent this friar giving the *gonfalone*, or Red Cross standard, to the Catholic citizens arrayed in arms against the heretics (1); and also, in act of driving away the Devil, who appears in form of a wild black horse, terribly galloping, whilst Pietro is preaching to the people on the Mercato Vecchio. This zealous Domenican had a tragic fate, immortalized by the pencil of Titian. Being sent on a mission against the heretics in Lombardy, he was assassinated, between Milan, and Como, in 1251; he expired, after writing « Credo » with finger dipped in his own blood on the ground; and in the same year was canonized by Innocent IV.

Giovanni Balduccio was invited from Pisa to undertake various works at Milan, by Azzo Visconti, to whom he had been recommended by Castruccio Castracane, Lord of Lucca. One of his earliest sculptures is the monument, at S. Francesco, a church near Pisa, to Guarniere, son of the same Castruccio (1322); but the earliest of all his extant works

(1) Two memorials of these victories of orthodoxy stil stand on the sites of battle: namely, a pillar on the Piazza S. Felicità; and the « Croce al Trebbio, » near S. Maria Novella, which, being restored in its present form A. D. 1338, consists of a stone crucifix on a pillar, with a statuette of S. Peter martyr below the figure on the cross, and rude reliefs of the Evangelic Emblems round the capital. The banner which that Friar gave to the citizens for those combats, was the identical one presented to the Florentine Republic, A. D. 1187, by Pope Clement III; and which is said to be still preserved at S. Maria Novella. I must add, however, that the facts of this Florence Crusade are disputed by antiquarians and Historians — see Richa, « Chiese Fiorentine »; and Lami, « Antichità Etrusche ».

is the sculptured pulpit at *S. Maria al Prato*, Casciano. The shrine at *S. Eustorgio* is his master-piece; though we do not recognise here a genius at the height where his great Pisan predecessors stand pre-eminent, nor any thing equal to their command of the Beautiful. Eight reliefs represent the life, death, and funeral of Pietro. Against supporting pilasters stand the statuettes — in which Giotto's influences are apparent — of Hope, Prudence, Justice, Obedience, Charity, Fortitude, Temperance. Besides these, St. Peter and Paul, the four Latin Doctors, Thomas Aquinas and Eustorgio (Bishop of Milan) are represented in other statues; on the apex, under a tabernacle, is the sculptured group of the Virgin and Child, to whom Peter Martyr is being presented by S. Dominic; and accessorial reliefs supply the portraits of the donators who contributed for this splendid tomb. At Cortona we see the shrine of S. Margaret, by Giovanni Pisano, — a beautiful memorial to that erring woman, the affecting story of whose trials, and sin, and penitence is well narrated by Mrs. Jameson. Her recumbent figure is laid on an architectonic couch; bas-reliefs represent her act of religious profession, her death, and the transporting of her soul by Angels; other reliefs, appropriately associated, the raising of Lazarus, and the Magdalene washing the feet of Christ. At the feet of the Saint crouches the faithful dog, who led her to her lover's corpse, the sight of which is said to have wrought her conversion (1272). The Shrine of the sainted Bishop Cerbone (of the VI Century) in the Duomo of Massa di Maremma, is the finest work by Goro di Gregorio of Siena — date, 1323. Twelve statuettes and five reliefs illustrate the life and virtues of that holy man; and in one subject we are reminded of the poetic legend of his being habitually privileged to hear the songs of Angels while at his devotions; in the relief, namely, where we see him at Mass with the Pope at his side, who, by placing one foot on that of the celebrant, was enabled *also* to hear that celestial melody familiar to the attentive ears of the blessed Cerbone!

Though the above noticed shrines are not, in the aggregate of their art-works, equal to others above described — as that of S. Domenic at Bologna — or to the two of the same century, but not dated within the limits to which I must now confine myself — the splendid tabernacle, namely, by Orcagna, at the Florentine Or San Michele church, (1359), and the richly sculptured memorial of S. Augustine, ascribed to Bonino da Campione (1362), now in the cathedral, but executed for another church, since demolished, at Pavia — I may yet dwell on the high importance of this class among mediaeval art productions. Affecting and impressive as a means of recalling to us the virtuous actions or nobly sustained sufferings of the saintly dead, they form an apology, from an aesthetic point of view, for the practice of canonization in the Latin Church, and serve to enhance the solemn effect of her unrivalled ritual, the profoundly moral importance of her sanctuaries.

Of another class, alike due to the devotional spirit of that Church — the altar-piece, or Ancona — we see a fine example, pertaining to the period here considered, at the beautiful church of S. Francesco, Bologna, where such a work of Gothic design, combining architectonic with sculptural details, magnificently adorns the high altar. This Ancona, covered with statuettes and reliefs, was wrought in 1338, either by the well-known Agostino and Agnolo, or, as some critics conclude, by Jacopo and Pietro Paolo, two Venetians, the scholars of those Sienese masters. Among the subjects of the reliefs, the Coronation of the Virgin is one of the most admirable for grace and dignity, as it is also, in sculpture, one of the earliest examples of that long favourite theme. The Adoration of the Magi, a complicated relief with grouping of Angels and worshippers, at S. Eustorgio, Milan, is given in an engraving by Cicognara, who speaks highly of it, but does not admit the tradition which ascribes it to Balduccio. The adornment of church-fronts with sculpture, was introduced in early ages: and statues of Saints were

first placed on the exterior of secular buildings in the VII century, at Toledo, where the towers of the new walls, with which that city was encircled by the Gothic King, Wamba, were guarded by such sacred effigies; an inscription along one of those towers thus indicating the religious intent:

Vos Domini Sancti, quorum hic praesentia fulget,  
Hanc urbem et plebem solito servate favore.

The beautiful Baptistery of Pistoja was adorned by Giovanni Pisano with small reliefs, above the chief portal, of scenes from the life of S. John Baptist; and an external pulpit, here placed within a recess, exhibits in sculptured relief a head, which *might* (as an intelligent English critic suggested to me) be regarded as allegoric of the. Baptism by water and by fire; the erect elf-locks of this wild head being not unlike flames, and the flowing beard like a fountain. The reliefs of the six baptisms on the hexagonal font at Florence (sculptures of superior style), cannot be by Andrea Pisano, as is assumed, if the date inscribed, 1370, be that of their execution.

We may read with amazement of the Vandalic insult against genius permitted under the last of the Medici at Florence, when the altar-piece by Andrea Pisano, in the Baptistery, was *destroyed* (1735) to make place for a flaunting performance of a depraved school, which now, unfortunately, surmounts the high altar in that venerable building. A younger Son of Andrea, Tommaso (who built the upper part of the Leaning Tower at Pisa), is only known to us through one work, an Ancona in the Pisan Campo Santo; the Virgin and Child being here associated with five statuettes of Saints under Gothic canopies, and bas-reliefs on a predella. It is inferred that this Tommaso was more familiar with the practice of the goldsmith than that of the sculptor's art. In metallurgy still greater magnificence, and



concentrated labour by various hands, were lavished on the shrines of silver, gilt, enamelled, and adorned with silver statuettes, of which an inestimable example is that forming the altar of S. James in the Pistoja Duomo; commenced by Jacopo Ognabene, a Pistojan, in 1316; the principal statue, that of the same Apostle, added to its adornments by Giglio (a Pisan artist) in 1348; its silver reliefs augmented in number by two Florentine artists, Piero, 1357, and Leonardo di Ser Giovanni, 1366; other statuettes, and the relief of the Annunciation, supplied by a German, known as Pietro d'Arrigo, 1386-1390; and the altar itself surmounted by a silver tabernacle, with tier above tier of statuettes in canopied niches, the *tavola* (or architectural groundwork) of which is by Onofrio di Buté and Atto di Braccini (1394-98) — each of which artists also supplied six of the silver statuettes. Particularly noble is the seated figure of S. James, in Pilgrim-costume, with broad-brimmed hat, staff, and clasped book. The fifteen reliefs and six statuettes on the central part of the Altar are comparatively archaic; but a highly advanced art appears in the reliefs on the wings (nine at each side) of Old Testament subjects by Piero of Florence, and those from the history of S. James, by Leonardo. Great masters of the XV century, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Maso Finiguerra, added their contributions to this precious offering of Genius and Piety. Closely connected with, but more distinctly ideal than, the above-named classes, are the works consisting of independent groups and serial illustration of sacred and moral subjects. In this range we meet with two artists who worthily represent all the capabilities and progressive life of Italian schools during their time: Giovanni, the Son of Niccolò Pisano, and Andrea (1270-1345), known also as « Pisano », though his real birth-place was Pontedera. Giovanni not only maintained the high traditions of his school, and deservedly sustained the *magnum nominis umbra* which rested upon his Father's son, but was great in architecture as in sculpture,

being the first to introduce the genuine pointed style, conformable to the northern type and feeling, in Italy — witness his celebrated buildings, S. Maria della Spina, and the Campo Santo, at Pisa. During his stay in Florence, he is known to have received only one order, for the Virgin and Child, with two adoring Angels, in the lunette above one of the northern portals of the Duomo — an exquisite group; and if we can regard the fair queenly matron, crowned and robed in classic costume, as the historic Mary of the Gospel, whom by no stretch of imagination we can suppose to have been like *this* — then certainly may we accept such, and other such, sculptures as highly exalted presentment of an ideal satisfactory to religious feeling. The Mother, while she tenderly clasps, holds aloof from her bosom the all-precious Child, as if anxious that others should share in her rapturous contemplation of Him. And this became the characteristic type for Pisan treatment of the theme; as we see repeated in a neighbouring example, over another entrance to the Duomo, and also over the chief portal of S. Maria Maggiore. About the least pleasing, though an original and expressive, work by Giovanni, is the allegoric group in the Pisan Campo Santo of that City personified: Pisa herself standing on a platform supported by Prudence, Justice, and Temperance; the Pisa, a somewhat stern looking matron with two infants at her bared breasts (indicating her fertility), and girt with a sevenfold-knotted cord — allusive to her dominion over seven islands; the character of the personified Virtues quite northern in feeling — except the Temperance, a nude figure whose pose and braided hair remind us of Venus, and attest the Pisan artist's sedulous studies of the Antique. This being the first example of the monumental apart from the religious, and independent of ecclesiastical circumstances, we must make allowance for defects, considering the difficulties encountered in such a novel attempt by fourteenth-century art. Between 1302-1311, Giovanni executed the reliefs for the pulpit of the Pisan Duomo, which were

injured by the fire, fatal to parts of that Church, in 1596. Subsequently, those sculptures, so far as rescued, were disposed over the interior; some set into the modern pulpit; others, basreliefs of the Nativity, Adoration, Presentation, Flight into Egypt, Slaughter of Innocents, Betrayal by Judas, and Crucifixion, being ranged against a gallery in the transept. In the Campo Santo are other rescued fragments — a S. Peter, reliefs of Philosophy and the seven Sciences, — alike from that pulpit. Another work by Giovanni, deserving of place more conspicuous than that where we now see it in dim light, is the *pila* for holy water, supported by statues of Prudence, Justice, and Temperance, at S. Giovanni Evangelista, Pistoia — formerly so prized that it had its place in the centre of the church, but now relegated into a corner.

Conception, aim, and culture are distinguished with such superiority in the works of Andrea Pisano, that we must recognise in him a Genius which gave fresh impulse to contemporaries, and formed the principal link connecting with the future the age and art-school to which he belonged.

He was early apprenticed to Giovanni Pisano, and, like his predecessors in the same school, dedicated himself to the study of antique marbles in such fragments as Pisa then contained. When thirty-five years old, he passed a year at Venice; there executed certain sculptures for S. Mark's; and probably directed the labours of the Venetian artist, Filippo Calendario (4), for the finely expressive heads and figures in relief on the capitals of columns exterior to the Ducal Palace. The principal arena of Andrea's labours was Florence; where he died, A. D. 1345, and was buried in the Duomo. Unfor-

(4) Allegoric heads, Virtues and Vices, and some groups, as the well-known story of Trajan and the bereaved widow, with Latin and Italian epigrams; the heads having an intensity of character that anticipates Michelangelo. The unfortunate Filippo Calendario was implicated in the conspiracy of his patron, Marin Falier, and hanged as a traitor, 1355.

tunately the monumental slab above his tomb, near the pulpit, has disappeared—why not replaced?—on which stone was recorded the fact that he worked in gold and ivory as well as in marble. Among his earliest productions at Florence were statues and reliefs for the façade of the Duomo, as designed and commenced by Giotto. When that incomplete façade was wantonly destroyed (in 1588), twenty-two statues were dispersed; all those by Andrea perished, except the seated figure of Boniface VIII, now preserved, though in mutilated condition, in the Stiozzi gardens; (1) and four Prophets, now converted (by the superadded laurel crown) into Poets, and placed at the entrance to the avenue of Poggio Imperiale. Another sculpture of his, preserved from that dispersal, is a basrelief of the Virgin and Child, which Vasari justly commends for its fidelity to the « good antique manner » — now set into the front of the Bigallo, with a lamp hung before it, and ill-seen under a glass covering. The greatest triumphs of this Artist's genius are his sculptures for Giotto's marvellous Campanile, of which the lower storeys are adorned by his hand; and also his reliefs on the portal of the Baptistery. The reliefs in hexagons round the lowest story of that belfry-tower, are believed to be all from designs by Giotto. They represent (beginning from the angle near the church-front on the western side): the Creation of Man, the Creation of Woman, the first labours of the pair exiled from Eden, Jabal (first of those who dwelt in tents); Jubal (inventor of musical instruments); Tubal Cain (« the instructor of every artificer in brass and iron »); Noah, (discovering, and intoxicated by, wine); a man seated before a globe (2); the building of a house (the origin of Architecture);

(2) About this time were erected other extant statues of Boniface VIII: one in bronze at Bologna, another, in marble, at Anagni.

(4) Conjectured to imply Sabianism, or the early religion which directed worship to the stars; but, seeing that truth and science, not *error* or superstition, enter into the conception of the whole series, we might suggest Astronomy, or Geography, in this figure.

the industry of earthenware; the training of the Horse; the origin of weaving; Legislation, (a venerable person on a throne delivering laws); a winged man (Daedalus?) — for migration or exploring; Navigation (men rowing a boat); Hercules standing over the slain Antaeus (the origin of War?) Ploughing; the invention of the chariot; an old man at a desk with an implement in his hand (Mathematics?) In diamond-shaped panels on the story above, are other reliefs by our artist: the VII works of Mercy; the VII Cardinal and Theological Virtues; the VII Beatitudes: six of the Seven Sacraments — the place of the seventh occupied by a relief of the Virgin and Child. Among the statues in niches, four, representing Prophets, are by Andrea; and by him also is the group, over the sole doorway, of the Saviour between Enoch and Elias — or (as perhaps more probable) the Transfiguration.

Whatever the meed of praise due to Giotto in these Sculptures, all must be struck by the proof here presented of astonishing progress in power and science. The reliefs of the Creation of Eve, the Hercules, the rowers in the boat, the horseman, are admirable for knowledge of anatomy, for movement and life. In the allegoric subjects we observe a symbolism (not generally retained by later art), well-imagined: Faith holds the chalice and cross; Hope extends her arms, gazing upward, at the crown suspended over her head; Charity has a cornucopia; Prudence has two faces looking different ways, whilst she holds a serpent and mirror; Fortitude leans on a pillar. There is, indeed, a grandly enlarged and *epic* conception in this aggregate of sculptures. The idea of a symbolized history of Civilization as a part of Christianity, thus identifying Revealed Religion with *all* that promotes the moral, intellectual, and social movement of Humanity, is at once the most devotional, elevated, and profound as to that Religion's true character. Honour for ever to the Artist who thus raised Christianity, in plastic representation, above the narrow sphere of Dogmatism!



We have next to consider the most beautiful and justly celebrated of all Andrea's works — the reliefs on the bronze door, once forming the principal entrance, but now at the southern side, of the Florence Baptistery. This inestimable series was commenced in 1330, and finished in 1339. On the higher panels are twenty groups illustrating the life of S. John the Baptist; on the lower, Faith, Hope, Fortitude, Temperance, Charity, Humility, Justice, Prudence, in reliefs of larger scale. In historic sequence the Annunciation opens, the burial of S. John closes the series. Here we see the perfect reconciliation of Scriptural themes with the requirements of Sculpture; and the first example of such successful attainment free from all embellishments of discursive imagination, from all the inappropriate classicism, which even the founders of the Pisan school allowed themselves to indulge in. We might dwell on the peculiar grace of design and motive in the Annunciation and Salutation; on the dramatic effect of the group in which the dumb father is writing the name of his new-born child; and, finest of all, the subdued feeling, the tenderly earnest, reverential expression of the two groups in the funeral scene — one bearing the body to its resting-place; the other, lowering it into the tomb, here represented under a front of Gothic architecture. Admirable also is the character of the allegoric figures: Hope extending her arms, and raising her eyes to the distant crown; Humility, lowly, self-subdued, holding the symbol of a lighted taper; Charity holding a heart and cornucopia; Prudence (as on the Campanile) with two faces, one a young female, the other an old man. On a cornice of this door, we read names and dates in the inscription:

*Andreas Ugolini Nini da Pisis me fecit, anno Domini MCCCXXX.*

Who does not know the story of the public honours justly paid to the artist after the completion of these wondrous works? How the grave « Signoria », who never quitted their

state-prison in the Palazzo Vecchio save on certain momentous occasions, came in the aggregate to admire, compliment, and reward the favourite of Genius; how all Florence was rapturously excited, and the name of Andrea thenceforth took its place in the enduring register of his country's glories?

In these reliefs the great artist was assisted by his Son, Nino, who has left some productions of no common merit; especially two Madonna-statues in the Spina church, one so beautiful that we might ascribe to its artist some share, at least, of the mantle from his father's shoulders: the group known as the *Madonna della Rosa*, the Virgin Mother offering a rose to the Child, between the figures of S. Peter and S. Paul, placed over the altar of the Pisan church. Here we see perpetuated the tradition of the regal character and costume in the crowned Mary; but it there be somewhat too much of the ornate in her garb, nothing could exceed the tender grace with which she offers the flower, or the childlike, serious sweetness with which the Infant receives it. This group also possesses a relatively historic value; for the S. Peter, a statue with finely earnest head, is supposed to be a portrait of Nino's father.

The accepted theories respecting early Neapolitan sculptures are open to doubt. On the beautiful pulpit at Ravello (1272) is a colossal bust of a crowned woman, supposed the portrait of Sigelgaita, wife of the nobleman Rufolo, who ordered this pulpit. Mr. Perkins argues that it is, probably, a portrait of Joanna II; and therefore nearly two centuries later than the pulpit itself. The same critic points out six distinct styles in the Angevine tombs at S. Chiara, and denies the engagement of Masuccio II upon any of those works; but assigns to that artist the monument at S. Lorenzo (Naples) to the Duchess Catherine of Austria (1343). That of king Robert, an imposing Gothic structure with numerous sculptures, portrait-statues and reliefs, is by two Florentines, Sancio and Giovanni. That of Queen Maria, his mother, at the Donna Regina church (1323), with statues of Angels, personified Vir-

tues, and the Queen presented by an Angel to the Madonna, is by Tino da Camaino. The monument (1354) to Innocent IV (but a fragment of the original), and that of Archbishop Caracciolo (1262), in the Neapolitan Duomo, are by Pietro di Stefano. Other noticeable sculptures, besides those on the royal tombs, at S. Chiara, are the small reliefs, on the pulpit and organ-loft, of Martyrs undergoing various tortures, and six subjects from the life of S. Catherine; the figures in white, on a ground of black, marble. Ricci mentions a circumstance that reflects interest on certain reliefs in the cathedral of Nola: that they were designed (1343) according to the suggestions of Petrarch, as commemorative of the meeting between king Robert and Andrea, king of Hungary.

Before that great revival of Pictorial Art mainly due to Giotto, and of which Cimabue was the immediate precursor, signs of life had been given, though but faintly, by other competitors in this walk. There is cause, however, for surprise at the long-continued barbarism and feeble attainment of the Christian Genius in this, as in the Sister-art. In two classical collections of Italian Painting, the Belle Arti Academies of Florence and Siena, we may trace the earliest movement towards renovation from the lowest stage of decline. A picture of the Passion (date 1215) in the Siena gallery, is noticed by Rumohr as indicating the very zero of degradation; and I should place on the same level another picture that hangs near it, Christ and the Evangelic Emblems, the former figure wrought in relief upon panel. Two Madonna pictures by Guido of Siena are extant in that city, both dated 1221; one in the Accademia, the other in the S. Domenico church; the latter with name and date inscribed; but it is proved that the inscription is later than the period it refers to. Mino, brother of this Guido, painted, in 1287, the nucleus (so to say) of a great fresco, the enthroned Madonna with numerous saints, in the public palace of Siena; but this picture, as now before us, is mainly the work of Simone di Martino, who painted over and amplified the ear-

lier composition in 1315, and restored his own picture in 1321. In the Florence Accademia, the XIII century is represented by Cimabue's colossal Madonna and Child on a lofty throne, with adoring Angels; and by a Magdalene, with eight lateral *storie* from her life and from that of S. Mary of Egypt. In Rome the hiatus between Catacomb-art and the Renaissance is now filled by the lately-discovered frescoes at S. Clemente, as well as by a few other works above noticed. At Assisi, the school of the early period is represented by Giunta Pisano (1236). The oldest pictures at Naples (except in catacombs) are: a Madonna and Child (about the close of the XIII century) in the S. Lorenzo cloisters; and the frescoes in two chapels of the Anjou palace, Castel Nuovo, by Montano of Arezzo (1305, 6). Berlinghieri of Lucca executed, between 1235-1244, several panel and wall-pictures, one of which former is in the Florence Accademia — the Crucifixion with scenes of the Passion, Franciscan Saints ec., a most grotesque performance, painfully below the dignity of its subject. Margaritone of Arezzo (1236-1313), painter, sculptor, and architect, was called the « artist of Crucifixes, one of which sacred works he sent, as token of civic gratitude, to Farinata degli Uberti, who had saved Florence from the destruction she was doomed to by the Ghibellines after their victory at Montaperti. He also painted several intended likenesses of S. Francis, whom, however, he could not have seen — one at S. Croce (Florence), another in the Christian Museum of the Vatican. Far superior to him was Duccio of Siena (1282-1339), who executed, between 1308-41, the noblest hitherto-produced work of sacred painting, the altarpiece on panel for that city's Duomo, representing, on one side, the Blessed Virgin, saints and Angels, on the other, the history of the Passion and Resurrection in twenty-seven scenes. This most interesting picture was moved from its original place when the high altar was transferred (1506) from where it stood below the cupola, its more suitable location, to the centre of the modern choir. The panel was

then divided into two parts, which now hang over two lateral altars; the surmounting pyramids and the predella, also with paintings, being cut off, but preserved in the sacristy. An inscription below the front of the panel expresses the artist's devotion, and that of Siena, to the Virgin: *Mater sancta Dei, sis causa Senis requiei, sis Ducio vita, te quia depinxit ita*. To this picture were paid the same honours as to Cimabue's Madonna in Florence; it was carried with triumph and popular jubilee from Duccio's house to the Duomo (1). No other certain work by this artist can be identified as still extant. Buffalmacco (Buonamico, born A. D. 1264) has left few recognisable works; and the frescoes of the Passion and Resurrection in the Pisan Campo Santo, once ascribed to him, are now regarded as of a later period — namely, about the close of the XIV century.

Giotto Bondone (1276–1336) was the son of a husbandman at Vespignano, near Florence, and in his boyhood kept his father's flocks. It is certain that he made his first artistic studies, when very young, under Cimabue; though historic grounds may be wanting for the pleasing anecdote of his having been discovered by the latter artist whilst sketching a sheep on a flat stone with a pencil made from another stone sharpened; on which Cimabue at once recognised his genius, and obtained the husbandman's consent to take that

(1) A Poetess of immortal name thus describes that Madonna by Cimabue at S. Maria Novella:

— The thing is planned  
 Sublimely in the thought's simplicity.  
 The Virgin, throned in empyreal state,  
 Minds only the young babe upon her knee;  
 While, each side, Angels bear the royal weight,  
 Prostrated meekly, smiling tenderly  
 Oblivion of their wings. The Child thereat  
 Stretches its hand like God.

Elizabeth Browning.



child with him, in order to educate him in the art in which the little shepherd was destined to surpass his master. Ghiberti says that Giotto « converted Art from Greek into Latin »; and among things certain in his biography is the well-attested high esteem in which he was held by contemporaries — by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Villani. He founded his style on the observation of nature, and aimed at truthful expression of feeling, instead of that conventional asceticism caught from the Byzantine school, which had degraded Art into the slave of superstition, rather than the auxiliary of the Church. The influence of Giotto long continued to fructify after his death. His favourite assistant and scholar during twenty-four years, Taddeo Gaddi, son of the well-known mosaist, Gaddo Gaddi, began his independent career probably in 1330, after his master had been called to Naples. His first works were the frescoes of the Nativity, the Magi, scenes from the legend of Joachim and Anna, and the infancy of the Virgin, in S. Croce, Florence. By him also are, as is now supposed, the frescoes, ascribed to Giotto, in the old refectory of that convent — the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, a tree of Jesse, and scenes from the lives of S. Francis and S. Louis, the Franciscan bishop, son and brother of Neapolitan Kings.

Tommaso di Stefano, called Giottino (1324-’68?), thought to be the grandson of Giotto, is said to have surpassed the latter in some qualities; and is extolled by Vasari, who had seen many of his now lost works, as the greatest of all painters up to his time. The frescoes at S. Croce, supposed to be his, illustrating the legend of S. Sylvester and Constantine, are finely conceived; but few extant pictures can be with certainty ascribed to him — according to the annotators of Vasari, indeed, only one — a Madonna in the Campo Santo, Pisa. Simone di Martino of Siena (1285-1344), immortalized in Petrarch’s sonnets for his portrait of Laura, evinced genius of high order, and in some qualities surpassed his predecessors. His brother-in-law,

Lippo Memmi, was also a painter of ability, who imitated him in a great fresco of the Madonna and Saints in the public palace of S. Gimignano. Simone's picture, the original of the latter, in the Siena palace (1315), is an imposing work, which bears testimony to that blending of municipal and devotional feeling, of which the Blessed Mother was the favourite object: she is here enthroned, with the Child erect on her lap, under a gorgeous canopy, the poles of which are supported by the twelve Apostles; Angels kneel, offering her flowers; beyond are kneeling the Patron Saints of Siena — Ansano, Savino, Crescentius, and Victor; other Angels, and, altogether, thirty figures, angelic and saintly, complete the majestic grouping. Along the painted frame are half-figures of Saints with scrolls, on which are inscribed the praises of Mary. Immediately under her throne are represented, within a circle, the Old and New Law under the forms of an aged and a young woman, with scrolls on which are written the Decalogue and the Seven Sacraments; also is read, within a disk, the legend on the Sienese coinage: « Sena vetus, Civitas Virginis, Alfa et  $\Omega$ , principium et finis ». On the steps of the throne are inscribed in gold letters Italian lines addressed to the Virgin, and seven others, alike rhyming, in which she deigns to answer her worshippers:

Diletti miei, ponete nelle mente  
 Chi li devoti vostri preghi onesti,  
 Come vorrete voi, farò contenti.  
 Ma se i potenti a'debil fien molesti,  
 Gravando loro o con vergogne o danni,  
 Le vostre orazion non son per questi,  
 Nè per qualunque la mia terra inganni.

Ambrogio and Pietro di Lorenzo, or Lorenzetti (the latter called by Vasari, Laurati) were brother-artists, also of Siena, both engaged in the middle years of this century; Pietro, who formed his style on that of Duccio, being the author of two remarkable pictures, one a large fresco (Campo Santo), the

other a small panel (Florence Uffizj), both illustrating the olden eremite life — truly chapters of Church-history in their way. Puccio Capanna, a scholar of Giotto, and much praised by Vasari, is now hardly known by any identified pictures, except those of the legends of the Magdalene and S. Mary of Egypt in the Maddalena chapel at the Assisi basilica. Andrea di Cione, better known by the abridgment of his second name, Arcagnolo, as Orcagna, was great in painting, sculpture, and architecture. To him used to be ascribed the extraordinary frescoes of the Triumph of Death and Last judgment at Pisa; to his brother, Bernardo, the Inferno in the same series, supposed to be from Andrea's design; but more searching criticism has shown that these pictures cannot be the work of either of the Cione; and that they may be, with more probability, ascribed to the two Lorenzetti.

The Last Judgment, Paradise and Hell, in the Strozzi chapel (S. Maria Novella), are undoubted works by these two brothers; as the altar-piece in that chapel is undoubtedly by Orcagna, whose name, with date 1357, is inscribed on it. Spinello of Arezzo (1031-1400) inherited much of Orcagna's truth of expression, and power in invention of the terrible. It is well known how his own figure of Satan, in his picture of the Fall of the rebel Angels at Arezzo, haunted him till the horror hastened his death! Antonio Veneziano (1310-'84), and also a pupil of Gaddi, Giovanni da Milano, long neglected, but to whom modern critics have rendered justice, belong rather to the second than to the first half of this century. To Andrea of Florence, an artist for a time almost forgotten, are now ascribed the frescoes on the walls of the chapter-house, or Spagnuoli chapel, S. Maria Novella; as those on the vault of that interior are no longer attributed, as formerly, to Taddeo Gaddi, but to Antonio Veneziano, and others, who may have copied Gaddi's designs (v. Crowe und Cavalcaselle).

It has been said that mediaeval Art was, at its highest stage, the Handmaid of Religion. During the time, however,

that it exclusively followed precedents, whilst blindly obedient to the Church, and aiming at nothing save a certain ascetic ideal — which was, in fact, an ideal of Humanity enslaved to Fanaticism — so long was that Art debased and shackled; therefore at its very lowest stage. Religion, apprehended in a large philosophic sense, as in harmony with all that reveals God and teaches love to man, was assuredly, and must ever be, the source of true inspirations to every Genius. It seems that the intention of grave authorities in ancient time, was — absolutely to guide and determine the entire procedure of Art for the service of the temple (4); but the juster instinct of the Latin Church eventually led her into a wiser course than either the despotism of the studio or the bigotry of the Iconoclast. The old pictures that have become, and still are in many places, objects of a sort of fetish worship, are invariably ugly, and for the most part grotesque :

Wunderthätige Bilder sind meist nur schlechte Gemälde —

as Goethe says.

In the confounding of the Scriptural with the Legendary, several subjects taken from apocryphal books become almost alike familiar, in art-presentment, with those from the Gospels: as the scenes illustrating the wedded life of Joachim and Anna. The youthful life of Mary, her reception in the Temple, consigned as a child to the High Priest, her espousals, the preternatural budding of Joseph's rod, at sight of which the disappointed suitors break their sterile wands in despair — are episodes from the apocryphal Proto-evangelion. The bodily Assumption of the Virgin is a legend of much later

(4) « Non est imaginum structura pictorum inventio, sed Ecclesiæ Catholiciæ probata legislatio et traditio » — thus does the second Nicene Council determine the duty of artists to follow the dictation of the Church, instead of rashly undertaking to *invent* !

origin (1). Her coronation by the hand of Deity is an imagining of Art illustrative of a passage in the Rosary, composed by S. Dominic; but not seen, I believe, in any representation earlier than the XIV century. I need not point out the profound significance of an innovation that startlingly testifies to the increasing devotional regards for *her*: the introduction, namely, of her figure as actually participating with CHRIST in the Judgment of the world; seated on the same throne with Him, alike colossal compared with other figures; as in Orcagna's picture (Strozzi chapel), where the crowned Mary is thus enthroned beside Him in ineffable glory (2); and in that (ascribed to Orcagna) at Pisa, where she is seated, alike elevated, on a level with Him, in an elliptic nimbus, high above thrones, and dominations, and the angelic host; the dread spectacle of a ruined universe far below the feet of both — the idea, thus distinctly foreshadowed, being nothing else than that of two co-equal Deities!

The disposition to expatiate on the horrors of eternal punishment, and continually direct the mind to the contemplation of them, becomes more and more manifest, pervading the range of Art, Literature, and Theology. Dante had created an impression which gave greater intensity and distinctness to these terrific imaginings, and which aided the artist in the production of such forms as now fill the grouping of the infernal scene. The diabolical personality attains the *nec plus ultra* of revolting hideousness, and at last settles into something like a cross between the ape and crocodile, with due

(1) An Assumption in the body is alike ascribed by legends to S. Mary Magdalene and S. John the Apostle; this closing scene in the life of the latter being the subject of perhaps the finest among Giotto's frescoes, at S. Croce. It is remarkable how soon those legends lost their hold over the popular mind; while that referring to Mary has ripened into almost an article of faith!

(2) In the Paradise, namely; but in the Judgment, she has her more suitable place, as a suppliant, below the throne of Christ, with other Saints mediate between Heaven and earth.



allowance of horn, hoof, talons ec. With imagery borrowed from the « *Divina Commedia* », the Archfiend is presented in the form of a bloated triple-headed monster, black and scaly, in the grim occupation of devouring three victims at once. The habit of contemplating pain while we acquiesce in the justice of its infliction, must naturally lead the mind to callousness; and such dreadful pageantries of eternal woe as art was now constantly holding up to contemplation, may have confirmed the temper with which heretics or supposed sorcerers were hunted to death; or the disposition to look with approval — if not with actual pleasure — on such sufferings as were publicly inflicted on men and women accused before spiritual tribunals. The belief that the Creator had assigned the most dreadful doom possible to the immense majority of the human race, tended to artificialise the whole of practical Christianity, and to substitute for the beneficent precepts of the Gospel a severely dogmatic ecclesiastical system, a worship of exorcisms, expiations, voluntary ascetism. A leaven of Manichaeism, with its theory of two rival Deities and antagonistic creations, one all good, the other all evil, seems to linger in the Catholic thought, expressed in such pictorial scenes as the Paradise and Inferno become in these ages. The hardening effect upon the heart of that Theology which dictated them to poet or painter, appears in the view maintained by S. Thomas Aquinas, that the joy of the blessed throughout eternity will partly consist in *beholding* the sufferings of the damned! (« *Beati in regno celesti videbunt poenas damnatorum, ut beatitudo illis magis complaceat* ». *Summa, suppl. quaest. XLIV, art. I*).

Mediaeval Art contributed to excite the devotional sentiment, and to fix religious images or ideas in the minds of multitudes; but it was also, I believe, one among many influences that diverted Christianity from its original and heavenly course, and that perturbed its native lustre. One class of subjects, in which we see the bolder movement of progressive genius, striking beyond the range of precedents,

is that where the intent is to render signal honour to illustrious saints by allegorically representing their virtues, or the effects of their holy lives and influences. Such creations of the pencil or chisel partake of the character of the Apotheosis, but might rather be called a « Glorification » in art. Among the most admirable examples of these originally conceived compositions is the series by Giotto, in honour of S. Francis, on the vault above the high altar of the lower church at Assisi : the allegories of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. Poverty, a woman in ragged garb, standing amidst thorns, is wedded to the young Francis by the Saviour in person ; Angels looking on, besides other accessorial groups, allegoric of Charity and its opposite ; above which soar two Angels bearing to Heaven the model of the purified Church, and the secular dress laid aside by the saint on his conversion. Chastity is seen in a tower of her fortress, to which Angels are bringing a crown and palm ; below being represented, in several groups, the reception of postulants by friars, the baptism of a novice (or convert), warriors with shields and scourges (Asceticism) ; Angels expelling the Demons of impurity, and the skeleton Death hurling personified Lust into the fiery abyss. Obedience, a winged female in Franciscan costume, is seated under a portico, with Prudence and Humility by her side ; she being in act of imposing a wooden yoke on the shoulders of a kneeling friar ; S. Francis appearing above, drawn up to Heaven by the yoke round his neck ; in front ; a Centaur, or rather compound of man, horse, and dog (symbolic of Envy, Pride, and Avarice), approaching impetuously, but arrested in his career by a ray from the mirror held by Prudence. Next we see a genuine apotheosis of S. Francis, seated, in shining vestments, on a rich throne amidst choirs of exultant Angels.

Another interesting example, though inferior in execution, is the large fresco in the Spagnuoli chapel (hitherto ascribed to Gaddi) of S. Thomas Aquinas enthroned among prophets, lawgivers ec. ; Heresiarchs prostrate at his feet ; the seven Vir-

tues floating across the picture, and on lower level, all the chief Virtues and Sciences on thrones, with individuals who excelled in such qualities or attainments seated at their feet — thus is Grammar attended by Donatus; Rhetoric by Cicero; Music by Jubal; Astronomy by Atlas; Geometry by Euclid; Charity by S. Augustine; Hope by S. John Damascene; Faith by Dionysius the Areopagite; Practical Theology by Boethius; Speculative Theology by Peter Lombardus; Canon Law by Pope Clement V; Civil Law by Justinian. Such representations seem an attempt to bridge over the abyss deepened by ignorance and prejudice between Christian and Pagan thought; and a liberality which allows the Sages of classic Antiquity to associate with Catholic Saints or theologians, conveys an implied protest against the doctrine which consigned to eternal perdition all (save Patriarchs and Saints under the Mosaic Law) who had lived prior to, or had been inevitably ignorant of, the Christian Revelation, whatever the purity of their characters, however sincere their love of truth!

Remarkable testimony to change in religious ideas is afforded by the various modes of representing the sublimest among all subjects, the Supreme Being. Except on some ancient sarcophagi (of the IV century), no attempt to delineate the Eternal Father is seen in primitive Christian art; and in that of the earlier Middle Ages but one example, on a code of the IX century, has been discovered (Didron, « *Iconographie Chrétienne* »). A hand emerging from a nimbus is the sole indication of His presence that the reverential feeling of Antiquity desired to behold — and this is seen in one of Giotto's panel pictures (Florence Accademia). In the sculptures of the XIV century it is invariably the Son, benign in aspect, who appears in the acts of creation, or in intercourse with man in Paradise. But from the latter years of that century to the XVI (Didron determines the date of transition as A. D. 1360), the figure of the Father predominates; and the idea of paternity and filiation be-

comes distinctly expressed. At last, the Holy Trinity appears as a *group*: the Father being represented aged and venerable; the Son comparatively youthful; the Spirit as a dove between them; or (a favourite treatment) the Father supporting the Son upon the cross, who is thus held by His outspread arms, while the Dove proceeds from One to the Other — see a noble picture, thus conceived, by Albertinelli (Florence Accademia). Nor was this conception unknown to earlier schools; it is before us in two examples of fourteenth-century art, in churches near Florence — a beautiful picture, ascribed to Giotto (?), at the Certosa, and another at the sanctuary of the famous Madonna of Impruneta (4). In different countries the insignia of the local sovereign, or of the Pope, are given to the Father, who in Italy and Spain is represented as a Pontiff, in France as a King, in Germany as an Emperor. Offensive and monstrous representations, with three heads to one body, or the features of three faces to one head, were produced at about the close of the XIV, or beginning of the next century; and such are extant in two deserted chapels at Perugia. They have been expressly forbidden by the Church. But two examples of later art, in which is seen the triple head without any body, and where treatment is indeed beautiful, are before us at Florence: one on the arch above Andrea del Sarto's « Cenacolo » at S. Salvi; the other in relief on the canopy above Verrocchio's group of the Incredulity of S. Thomas.

In earlier painting, the Blessed Virgin is crowned by the Son (a tradition followed by Fra Angelico); in later, by the Father; and, in the still more modern, by both Divine Persons conjointly — as in one of the frescoes lately executed by Podesti in the Vatican palace.

Far less conformable is this new than is the earlier artistic conception with the sublime doctrine of the Logos as sole

(4) The great picture, formerly over the high altar, now in the sacristy, at L' Impruneta — the entire history and legend of the Blessd Virgin in many scenes, with date below, 1374 — is one of the finest of its description and period.

manifestation, and sole impersonation, of the Invisible revealed to the adoring gaze — as the typical Being and Light, « in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily! » (1).

Still more than by any peculiar doctrines, or any system that Theology has founded upon the New Testament, is the Christian Religion distinguished by the concentrating of the highest sanctions, the most affecting and commanding attributes in a single Individuality; by presenting to us the love and imitation of One as the compendium of the religious life, as the reality and evidence of vital Faith. We might thoroughly enter into all that was taught or conjectured by Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, Cicero, without knowing anything as to the history of those men; but how could we appreciate, or honour with heart-loyalty, the Author of Christianity without knowledge, fully and deeply imbibed, of His life upon earth?

Revived Art, by rendering more familiar the scenes and acts of that life, private and public, may have credit for exciting more affectionate and reverential interest in those eternally attractive subjects; may have assisted thousands of minds in perceiving the consummate harmonies, the ineffable moral beauty, the perfect accord between precept and practice, which distinguish that individual history. This was the substantial service rendered to Religion by Giotto, Duccio, Niccolo and Giovanni Pisano, Andrea of Pontedera, and Orcagna. The Tuscan painters led the way, as did the Pisan sculptors in their walk, with feeling and enthusiasm, however inferior the performance to the purpose. Through such illustration Art may be said to have co-operated with Christianity for converting the world.

(1) See an interesting investigation of this phase of Art in Lecky's « History of Rationalism ».



## CHRONOLOGY OF MONUMENTS.

(1300-1350).

ROME. Lateran Basilica twice restored after conflagrations, 1308 and 1360; painting by Giotto, and tabernacle of high altar, in same church; S. Peter's, monuments of Popes in crypt; mosaic from Giotto in atrium; pictures of SS. Peter and Paul over the tomb of S. Peter; illuminated MSS in Archives of Canons (1); S. Maria Maggiore, mosaics of façade finished about 1300; S Paul's, mosaics in transept, and paintings in ancient chapter-house, attributed by Vasari to Cavallini (ob. 1364); S. Maria in Trastevere, mosaics (subjects from the life of the Blessed Virgin) by Cavallini, on lower part of apse (2); and remains of frescoes (with which interior was covered) by the same artist, in atrium; S. Maria sopra Minerva, 1286-1433; S. Sisto, paintings behind choir; monuments at S. Balbina and Ara Coeli; buildings of Capitoline Palace commenced by order of Rienzo, 1347; objects in Christian Museum of Vatican (3).

PAPAL STATES. Anagni, in cathedral, vestments and statue of Boniface VIII; cathedrals of Fara, Poli, Ponza, and Sezze.

FLORENCE. Duomo, buildings resumed, 1331 — under direction of Giotto, 1334-6; sculptures over southern portal, 1301;

(1) Miniatures ascribed to Giotto, but by some critics (Crowe and Cavalcaselle) conjectured to be by Oderisio da Gubbio, who died at Rome, 1299: subjects from the life of the Blessed Virgin, a Mass in which Boniface VIII and Celestine V are represented as deacon and subdeacon, and scenes in the life of S. George, painted in a MS. work on that subject written by Cardinal Stefaneschi.

(2) See the valuable work on Christian Mosaics by Mr. J. H. Parker.

(3) Montault, « Bibliothèque Vaticane », pp. 43, 69, 70, 71, 77, 83, 84, 88, 93, 101, 110; and by the same, « Les Souterrains et le Trésor de S. Pierre ».

Campanile founded, 1334, — reliefs upon it by Andrea Pisano; Baptistery, sculptured portal by Andrea Pisano, 1330-49; mosaics restored by Gaddi, 1346; S. Croce completed — frescoes by Giotto in Bardi and Peruzzi chapels, by Gaddi (and altar-piece by Giotto) in Baroncelli chapel; by Giotto in chapel of S. Silvestro (1). Or San Michele restored as a church, with architecture of Gaddi and Orcagna, 1336; chapter-house of S. Maria Novella (*cappella degli Spagnuoli*), 1320, and Campanile of church, 1319, built by Fra Jacopo Talenti; frescoes by Orcagna and Bernardo Cione in Strozzi chapel; campanile of Badia restored, 1330; Certosa (extramural) founded, 1341; S. Bartolomeo, Olivetan monastery (extramural), founded, 1337; public Palace (*Palazzo Vecchio*) enlarged and fortified by Andrea Pisano, 1342; wall-paintings by Giotto in chapel of Pretorio (2); statues, Virgin and Child, two Apostles, in court of Pretorio Museum.

NAPLES. Duomo finished, 1316; crypt (confessional of S. Gennaro), 1497, — Minutoli chapel (in same church) of XIII century; with Gothic details of XIV century; mosaics and paintings on cupola of ancient Baptistery, perhaps of XII

(1) The paintings in the Rinuccini chapel, off the Sacristy, ascribed by Vasari to Gaddi, are, probably, by Giovanni Iacopo di Milano, date 1379; those in the old refectory of this convent, a Crucifixion, Tree of Jesse, Last Supper *ec.*, by Taddeo Gaddi. Intelligently ordered repairs are now going on at S. Croce, for restoring the architecture of Arnolfini, as it stood prior to the alterations by Vasari. Ancient frescoes have been discovered on the whitewashed walls of the chapel of the Holy Sacrament. Others, scattered about the convent, will be collected in the refectory long used as a carpet-factory.

(2) These frescoes — the Paradise and Inferno, the legends of S. Mary Magdalene and S. Mary of Egypt — are supposed by some critics to be the work of another artist, as inferred from the date in an inscription, 1337. Below the scene of the Paradise are introduced portraits of Dante, Brunetto Latini, Corso Donati, Charles de Valois, and the Cardinal Legate, Acquasparta, sent by Boniface VIII to Florence, 1301, for the reconciling of the Bianchi and Neri.

century; — S. Chiara rebuilt, architect Masuccio II, 1348; monuments of Anjou Princes by same artist — church modernized, 1752 (1); S. Giovanni a Carbonara, 1344 — enlarged 1400; L'Incoronata church founded by Joanna I, 1347 (2); S. Lorenzo, finished by Masuccio II, 1324 (3); S. Trinita, S. Croce, S. Martino (Certosa), S. Angelo in Nilo, the Maddalena, built by the same architect; Gothic monuments of the Aquino family and the Archbishop Brancaccio in S. Domenico; S. Pietro a Maiella founded for Celestinian monks.

PALERMO. S. Maria delle Catene (Gothic with Saracenic details); S. Maria de'Chierici (apse alone, of this period, left); S. Maria Nuova; S. Francesco, built over ruins of mosque, 1302.

MESSINA. S. Maria di Loila (Romanesque with Saracenic details); S. Antonio; monument in Duomo, by Goro di Gregorio, to Archbishop Guidotto, 1333.

MILAN. Shrine of S. Peter Martyr (1337), altar-piece of Nativity, and monument of Stefano Visconti (1327), in S. Eustorgio; remains of sculptures by Balduccio from façade of Brera convent, founded 1337.

GENOA. Reliefs, Virgin and Child, near left door-way of Duomo, 1342; martyrdom of S. Laurence, Tree of Jesse, and other reliefs (scriptural subjects) on façade, probably of XII century; monument of Cardinal Luca Fieschi, in same church, 1336.

VENICE. S. Maria del Carmine, consecrated 1348; S. Maria dell'Orto founded — restored, 1399 and 1473; S. Stefano; bronze gates (external) of S. Mark's, 1300; monument of Andrea Dandolo (ob. 1336) in Baptistery of S. Mark's; Ducal

(1) In the refectory is a large fresco, attributed to Giotto, or to Simone di Martino; in another hall of the convent, now a furniture-shop, is an undoubted work by Giotto, the miracle of Loaves and Fishes, with SS. Francis and Clare.

(2) The frescoes on the vault of the Seven Sacraments, and the triumph of Religion, are erroneously ascribed to Giotto.

(3) A fresco in this church, by Simone di Martino, represents S. Louis crowning king Robert, his brother.

Palace commenced from designs of Basseggio, to whom Filippo Calendario succeeds as architect; external portico, with sculptures by the latter (Archangels, groups of Old Testament subjects, Sages, Lawgivers, Emperors, personified Virtues and Vices, the Ages of Man, the Planets ec.) finished about 1344; reliefs over entrance to Accademia, formerly a convent, 1345; statue of Simeon at S. Simeone, 1317, by Marcus Romanus, sole Roman sculpture of this period.

PADUA. Monuments in Basilica of S. Antonio; Arena chapel, of Scrovegni family, 1303 — paintings by Giotto, 1306.

SIENA. Duomo, façade adorned with statues, 1317, — encrusted with marble, 1333; enlargement of church commenced, 1339 — abandoned, 1350; altar-piece by Duccio 1308-14; Baptistery, façade by Agostino and Agnolo, 1317; S. Francesco completed by the same architects; also by the same, Communal Palace finished, 1308, and tower built, 1325 (?); chapel of same Palace, 1348; paintings by Simone di Martino in Sala di Consiglio, 1315; Fonte Gaja commenced, 1334 — finished with sculptures by Jacopo della Quercia, 1419 (recently restored, with much ability, by the sculptor Sarrocchi); Monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore (near Chiusuri) founded, 1320.

PISA. Oratory of S. Maria del Ponte rebuilt as S. Maria della Spina (after a citizen had bestowed a relic of the Crown of Thorns to be enshrined there), — architecture ascribed to Giovanni Pisano, — by some critics (v. Promis) to William of Innsbruck; S. Maria del Carmine, 1325; S. Martino, 1332; mosaics in apse of Duomo, 1301; sculptured pulpit of Duomo, 1302-14; allegoric statue of Pisa, and frescoes by the Lorenzetti brothers, in Campo Santo (1).

BOLOGNA. S. Petronio, works continue — four chapels finished, and first Mass celebrated, 1392; reliefs of Prophets on base-

(1) It seems evident that none of these frescoes are by either Giotto or Orcagna; and that they are, in the greater part, of dates near the close of this century.

ment of façade, by Bonafuto, 1303 (1); S. Martino rebuilt, or altered, 1313; Certosa (by the monastic architect, Galgano da Maggiano) 1339-1350; sculptured Ancona at S. Francesco (ascribed by Vasari to Agostino and Agnolo, and to date, 1329; now ascertained to be by the Venetian sculptors, Jacobello and Pietro Paolo di Massegne, A. D. 1388); monument to Liucci, Professor of Anatomy (ob. 1318), in porch of SS. Vitale e Agricola; monument of Taddeo Pepoli in S. Domenico, 1343.

ORVIETO. Works of Duomo directed by Maitani, 1304-'25; sculptures of façade mostly of period 1394-1325; mosaics commenced, 1321; reliquary of SS. Corporale, 1338; frescoes in same chapel (lately restored), 1336-7.

IMOLA. Reliefs (by Lanfrani) on portal of S. Francesco, 1343.

CAPUA. Duomo restored, with atrium and external porticoes.

PISTOIA. Baptistery, architects Cellino da Siena and Andrea Pisano, 1337; sculptures of exterior by the latter; shrine of S. James in Duomo, commenced 1316; sculptured pulpit by Giovanni Pisano, in S. Andrea, 1301; frescoes by Puccio Capanna in chapter-house of S. Francesco.

PRATO. Duomo renewed from designs of Giovanni Pisano, 1312; façade, 1356. The frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi illustrating the legend of the « Sacro Cintolo » (or girdle of the Blessed Virgin here enshrined), of Joachim and Anna, the early life and Assumption of Mary &c., date about 1365-7.

TREVISO. S. Niccolò, Dominican church, founded about 1310, works resumed in 1348 (architects, of same Order, Fra Ben-

(4) Four stone crosses, once standing near the city-gates, are erected in this church; adorned with curious mediaeval reliefs, of the VIII or IX, and later, centuries. Under the Crucifixion, on one, is read the following dialogue between the Divine Son and the Mother: « Filii - Quid, mater? — Deus es? Sum. Cur ita pendes? Ne genus humanorum vergat in interitum ». At the back of the same cross is a figure of the Saviour in a nimbus, supported by three Archangels; and an inscription tells us that this is the work of Petrus Albericus and his father.



venuto da Bologna and Fra Niccolò da Imola) — completed, 1352; vaulting restored after 1418.

PIACENZA. Atrium of S. Antonino, 1350.

CREMONA. S. Agostino and S. Domenico founded — both partly modernized.

ASTI. Duomo founded — one of most remarkable churches of this period in northern Italy.

AOSTA. Duomo built — modernized; cloisters of S. Orso, a basilica of the VIII century.

MODENA. Sculptures on pulpit of Duomo by Enrico da Campione, 1322; Ghirlandaja tower finished by same artist, 1317.

BERGAMO. S. Agostino, built by Ugo da Campione; portal of S. Maria Maggiore, by Giovanni da Campione, 1351; monuments in the same two churches by Ugo da Campione.

RAVENNA. Frescoes by Pietro da Rimini, a scholar of Giotto, and by Giuliano, scholar of Pietro, at S. Maria Portofuori; Pomposa, abandoned Benedictine Abbey between Ravenna and Ferrara: frescoes, of scriptural subjects, Last Judgment, and legend of S. Eustace, by Cecco da Firenze, 1316; others in refectory, probably by Pietro da Rimini.

PERUGIA. Duomo founded (architect Bevignate, a monk), 1300; S. Domenico, designed by Giovanni Pisano, 1304, consecrated 1459 — modernized by Carlo Maderno after 1614; S. Ercolano (probably by Bevignate) finished, 1325; Public Palace (principal architect Matteo di Maffeo, called Gattapone), first mentioned in 1346; monument to Benedict XI in S. Domenico, 1305 (4).

ASSISI. Paintings by Giotto, and Crucifixion by Cavallini (his masterpiece), in lower church of S. Francesco.

CORTONA. S. Francesco finished; shrine of S. Margarita by Giovanni Pisano.

(4) Some frescoes in the desecrated church and cloisters of S. Fiorenzo are, probably, the most ancient at Perugia; but not older than this century. Of the XIV century is also the so-called « Maestà delle Volte », a Madonna painted on the portico of the ancient Podestà Palace, but now enclosed within a chapel, and erroneously ascribed to date 1297.

SPOLETO. Frescoes in chapel of S. Domenico.

TERNI. Frescoes in chapel of S. Francesco, 1350.

GUBBIO. Public Palace, (by Gattapone), 1332-'5; frescoes in crypt of S. Maria dei Laici.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO. Public Palace finished, 1335.

MONTEPULCIANO. Duomo founded.

PIETRASANTA. Pieve church founded, about 1350.

VERONA. S. Fermo Maggiore, (founded in VIII century) rebuilt, 1319; monument above portal of S. Maria Antica, with effigy, statuettes, and equestrian statue, to Can Grande della Scala, by Bonino da Campione, 1329 (1). Reliefs on façade of S. Zenone, (above noticed), X. century: subjects, Creation of Adam and Eve, Creation of Animals; the Fall; Annunciation, Dream of Joseph, Adoration of Magi, Betrayal by Judas, Crucifixion, Flight into Egypt, Baptism, Adoration, Simeon; knights on horseback, fantastic animals ec. The metallic reliefs on the doors, supposed to be of different dates, the latest made after a fire in 1160, represent scriptural subjects, symbols of months, and a chace, in which king Theodoric is attended, or pursued, as a Spectre Huntsman, by the Devil.

SARZANA. Façade of Duomo built — restored, 1474.

MASSA DI MAREMMA. Shrine of S. Cerbone, Bishop and Patron, 1323.

S. GIMIGNANO. Monastery of Monte Oliveto, extramural, founded, 1340, — church modern; palace of Podestà enlarged, 1323; fresco by Lippo Memmi, 1317 (2).

(1) According to Ruskin, « the consummate form of the Gothic tomb ». The monument described above, page 568, is that of Can Signorio della Scala, by Bonino da Campione, one of first examples of a style transitional between the Gothic and Greco-Roman, date about 1374.

(2) This picturesque town, distinguished by its lofty towers (of dates from XII to XIV century), once twenty-five, now thirteen in number, is like an image of olden time; and such as could only have been produced amidst the manners peculiar to mediæval Italy.

MANTUA. S. Antonio rebuilt, 1350.

BARLETTA. S. Andrea, sculptures over portal by Simone da Ragusa.

ATRI. Duomo, sculptures of portal, 1302.

LUCERA. Duomo founded by Charles II, 1300; effigy of that King.

LANCIANO. S. Maria Maggiore, Gothic façade, sculptures over portal (by Perrini), 1317.

BITETTO. Basilica of S. Michele, reliefs (scriptural subjects) on front, showing decline of Apulian art, 1335, (4).

CARSOLI. Duomo founded, sculptures of XIII century.

ALTAMURA. S. Maria Assunta (founded 1232), chief portal and sculptures, 1309-43.

BENEVENTO. Sculptured ambones and Paschal candelabrum in Duomo, about 1311.

### Appendix to Chronology.

ROME. Mosaic of CHRIST blessing, in recess above tomb of S. Peter, XIII century.

PAPAL STATES. *Civitacastellana*, portico of Duomo, 1210; *Corneto*, S. Maria di Castello, XIII century; *Toscanella*, S. Pietro and S. Maria, both with sculptured façades, tabernacles and ambones, XI and XII centuries; *Montefiascone*, S. Flaviano (founded 1030) restored by Urban IV, 1262.

FLORENCE. Badia rebuilt by Arnolfo, 1285 — modernized, 1625.

It is well worthy of attention for the sake of its art-treasures, as well as for its singular local features; the wall-paintings in the Pieve church, by Bartolo Fredi and Berna di Siena (latter years of XIV century), and those by Benozzo Gozzoli at S. Agostino, being admirable works of different schools and periods.

(4) Perkins, « Italian Sculptors », a writer to whom I am much indebted.

MILAN. Painted Crucifix in S. Calimaro, with the Archbishop Heribert kneeling below, from the Carroccio (invented by that prelate) brought into the field at the battle of Legnano, 1176.

VENICE. S. Maria Gloriosa, Dominican church, founded 1246; works resumed, 1395; tombs of two Doges (1248, 1275) on outside of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; reliefs of the Baptism of Christ in the Baptistery of S. Mark's, XIII century.

FERRARA. Duomo rebuilt, 1135, and exterior decorated with sculptures by Niccolo da Ficarola, — agricultural labours of the twelve months round lateral door; equestrian statue of S. Romanus, on façade, probably a Greek work of the X century.

BOLOGNA. Public Palace, and that of Podestà, XIII century.

PARMA. Reliefs by Antelami on exterior of Baptistery, 1178: Patriarchs, Kings, Prophets, the Parable of the Labourers of the Vineyard in twelve parts, eleven personified Virtues — besides the scenes from the lives of our Lord and the Baptist, the Judgment, and the allegory of Sin, or human life; sculptures on doorway at S. Quintino, and wood-carvings at S. Alessandro, IX century.

MANTUA. Statue and alto-rilievo of Virgil, on piazza, 1220, 1242.

ANCONA. Porch of Duomo by Margaritone, about 1270; by same architect, Palazzo de' Governatori, with reliefs (scriptural subjects) over windows — altered by repairs, 1564 and 1647.

PISTOJA. S. Giovanni Evangelista, XII century; public Palace founded, 1294.

BARI. Sculptures on façade and portal of S. Niccolo, XI century; sculptured ciborium, about 1105; and sculptured pulpit (same church), 1167.

TRANI. Duomo, Romanesque-Norman, dedicated, 1143; Ognissanti, same period.

TROYA. Bronze gates of Duomo, 1149.

RUVO. Duomo, Gothic façade and sculptured portal, 1255.

BITONTO. Duomo, Norman-Gothic, sculptures on façade and am-bones, XIII century.

OTRANTO. Duomo, with crypt, about 1160.

VENOSA. La Trinità, XI century; tombs of Robert Guiscard and his first wife, Alberada; and of the archbishop Elias (1105), in same church.

ATRI. Duomo, Gothic, founded about 1160.

CANOSA. Duomo, XI century; sculptured cathedra, 1080; adjacent sepulchral chapel of Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, 1101.

MOSCUFO. Sculptured pulpit at S. Maria in Lago, 1158.

AMALFI. Duomo mostly rebuilt.

MONTE S. ANGELO (Gargano Mountains). Sanctuary of S. Michael, sculptured ambo, reliefs of S. Michael and the Dragon, XII century; bronze doors, 1075, and sculptured portal, XII century, of outer church.

MONASTERIES. Monte Vergine, near Avellino, founded by S. Guglielmo, a nobleman of Vercelli, 1119, as a hermitage, afterwards a Benedictine Abbey; chapel and tomb erected here for himself by King Manfred. *S. Clemente a Casauria*, near Chieti, founded, about 854, by the Emperor Louis II, restored 1110; almost completely rebuilt by the Abbot Leonas, 1176; façade and portico adorned with reliefs, which represent the donations of Louis to the monastery, and the transfer hither from Rome, in 872, of the relics of S. Clement, presented by Adrian II to that Emperor (1). *Badia* (ancient hermitage) between Amalfi and Vietri, below chapel adorned with frescoes of the XI century (supr. 1175), a crypt for sepulture, lately explored, where are some paintings referred to primitive antiquity (2).

### Universities.

The following were founded by, or received special privileges from, Popes prior to 1350. *Fermo*, the first founded by a Pope, namely by Boniface VIII, 1303. *Rome*, study of law introduced here by Innocent IV; but to Boniface VIII is due the origin, in 1303, of the Sapienza University. *Piacenza*, founded by Innocent IV, 1246, but for brief existence; renovated by the Duke Gian Galeazzo, 1398. *Perugia*, founded by Clement V, 1307; farther systematized by John XXII. *Verona*, founded by Benedict XII, but soon, as appears, extinct. *Florence*, brought into being by the energetic Signory, soon after the cessation of the plague, 1348; invested with the same privileges as Bologna by Clement VI. The Bolognese University, long primordial, owed its origin to private enterprise, to Irnerius, the famous jurisconsult, about 1098; attracted 40,000 students in the XIII century, and was authorized to have cathedrae of Theology by Innocent VI.

(1) *Chronic. Casauriense*, Muratori, T. II; Perkins, "Italian Sculptors", where these reliefs are engraved; "Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art", p. 562.

(2) See the *Italia* of Naples, 27th of February, '69.



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NB. Note to p. 479, read line from Dante :

Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso.

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